THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS

IN

ENGLAND

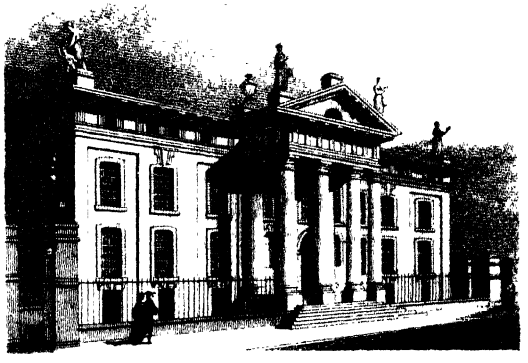
BY

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON,

SOME TIME LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND.

A NEW EDITION.

VOL. II. PART I.



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TO THE

QUEEN.

MADAM,

TO your Majeſty is moſt humbly dedicated this Second Part of the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion and Civil Wars,* written by Edward Earl of Clarendon. For to whom ſo naturally can the works of this Author, treating of the times of your royal grandfather, be addreſſed, as to yourſelf; now wearing, with luſtre and glory, that crown, which, in thoſe unhappy days, was treated with ſo much contempt and barbarity, and laid low even to the duſt?

This Second Part comes with the greater confidence into your preſence, by the advantage of the favourable reception the Firſt hath met with in the world; ſince it is not to be doubted, but the ſame truth, fairneſs, and impartiality, that will be found throughout the whole thread of the Hiſtory, will meet with the ſame candour from all equal judges.

It is true, ſome few perſons, whoſe anceſtors are here found not to have had that part during their lives which would have been more agreea-

ble to the wiſhes of their ſurviving poſterity, have been offended at ſome particulars, mentioned in this Hiſtory, concerning ſo near relations, and would have them paſs for miſtaken informations. But it is to be hoped, that ſuch a concern of kindred for their families, though not blameable in them, will rather appear partial on their ſide; ſince it cannot be doubted, but this Author muſt have had his materials from undeniable and unexceptionable hands, and could have no temptation to inſert any thing but the truth in a work of this nature, which was deſigned to remain to poſterity, as a faithful record of things and perſons in thoſe times, and of his own unqueſtionable ſincerity in the repreſentation of them.

In this aſſurance it is humbly hoped, it will not be unprofitable to your Majeſty to be here informed of the fatal and undeſerved misfortunes of one of your anceſtors, with the particular and ſad occaſions of them; the better to direct your royal perſon through the continual uncertainties of the greatneſs of this world. And as your Majeſty cannot have a better guide, throughout the whole courſe of your reign, for the good adminiſtration of your government, than hiſtory in general, ſo there cannot be a more uſeful one to your Majeſty than this of your own kingdoms; and it is preſumed, without lying under the imputation of miſleading your Majeſty, it may be aſſerted, that no author could have been

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better inſtructed, and have known more of the times and matters of which he writes, than this who is here preſented to you.

Your Majeſty may depend upon his relations to be true in fact; and you will find his obſervations juſt; his reflections made with judgment and weight; and his advices given upon wiſe and honeſt principles; not capable of being now interpreted as ſubſervient to any ambition or intereſt of his own; and having now outlived the prejudices and partialities of the times in which they were written. And your Majeſty thus elevated, as by God's bleſſing you are, from whom a great many truths may be induſtriouſly concealed, and on whom a great many wrong notions under falſe colours may with equal care be obtruded, will have the greater advantage from this faithful remembrancer.

This Author, once a privy counſellor and miniſter to two great Kings, and, in a good degree, favourite to one of them, hath ſome pretence to be admitted into your Majeſty's Council too, and may become capable of doing you ſervice alſo; whilſt the accounts he gives of times paſt, come ſeaſonably to guide you through the times preſent, and thoſe to come.

This Hiſtory may lie upon your table unenvied, and your Majeſty may paſs hours and days in the peruſal of it, when, poſſibly, they who ſhall be the moſt uſeful in your ſervice,

may be reflected on for aiming too much at influencing your actions, and engroſſing your time.

From this Hiſtory your Majeſty may come to know more of the nature and temper of your own people, than hath yet been obſerved by any other hand. Neither can any living converſation lay before your Majeſty in one view, ſo many tranſactions neceſſary for your obſervation. And ſeeing no Prince can be endued in a moment with a perfect experience in the conduct of affairs, whatever knowledge may be uſeful to your Majeſty's government, if it may have been concealed from you in the circumſtances of your private life, in this Hiſtory it may be the moſt effectually ſupplied; where your Majeſty will find the true conſtitution of your government, both in Church and State, plainly laid before you, as well as the miſtakes that were committed in the management of both.

Here your Majeſty will ſee how both thoſe intereſts are inſeparable, and ought to be preſerved ſo, and how fatal it hath proved to both, whenever, by the artifice and malice of wicked and ſelf-deſigning men, they have happened to be divided. And though your Majeſty will ſee here, how a great King loſt his kingdoms, and at laſt his life, in the defence of this Church, you will diſcern too, that it was by men who were no better friends to monarchy than

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to true religion, that his calamities were brought upon him; and as it was the method of thoſe men to take exceptions firſt to the ceremonies and outward order of the Church, that they might attack her the more ſurely in her very being and foundation, ſo they could not deſtroy the State, which they chiefly deſigned, till they had firſt overturned the Church. And a truth it is which cannot be controverted, that the monarchy of England is not now capable of being ſupported, but upon the principles of the Church of England; from whence it will be very natural to conclude, that the preſerving them both firmly united together is the likelieſt way for your Majeſty to reign happily over your ſubjects.

The religion by law eſtabliſhed is ſuch a vital part of the government, ſo conſtantly woven and mixed into every branch of it, that generally men look upon it as a good part of their property too; ſince that, and the government of the Church, is ſecured to them by the ſame proviſion. So that it ſeems that, next to treaſon againſt your ſacred perſon, an invaſion upon the Church ought to be watched and prevented by thoſe who have the honour to be truſted in the public adminiſtration, with the ſtricteſt care and diligence, as the beſt way to preſerve your perſon and government in their juſt dignity and authority.

Amongſt all the obſervations, that may be made out of this Hiſtory, there ſeems none more

more melancholic, than that, after ſo much miſery and deſolation brought upon theſe kingdoms by that unnatural civil war, which hath yet left ſo many deep and lamentable marks of its rage and fury, there have hitherto appeared ſo few ſigns of repentance and reformation.

Some perſons will ſee, they are deſigned to be excepted out of this remark, whoſe conduct hath happily made amends for the miſtakes of their anceſtors, and whoſe practice in the ſtations they are now in does ſufficiently diſtinguiſh them. Happy were it for the nation, had all the reſt thought fit to follow ſo good examples, and that either acts of indemnity and oblivion, or acts of grace and favour, or employments of authority, riches, and honour, had hitherto been able to recover many of them to the temper of good ſubjects. The truth of this obſervation is ſet forth by this Author in ſo lively a manner, that one hath frequent occaſions to look on him as a prophet as well as an hiſtorian, in ſeveral particulars mentioned in this book.

That this remark may not look froward or angry, with great ſubmiſſion to your Majeſty, it may be conſidered, what can be the meaning of the ſeveral ſeminaries, and as it were univerſities, ſet up in divers parts of the kingdom, by more than ordinary induſtry, contrary to law, ſupported by large contributions; where the youth is bred up in principles directly contrary to monarchical and epiſcopal government? What can

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be the meaning of the conſtant ſolemnizing by ſome men the anniverſary of that diſmal thirtieth of January, in ſcandalous and opprobrious feaſting and jeſting, which the law of the land hath commanded to be perpetually obſerved in faſting and humiliation? If no ſober man can ſay any thing in the defence of ſuch actions, ſo deſtructive to the very eſſence of the government, and yet impoſſible to be conducted without much conſultation and advice, it is hoped this reflection will not be thought to have proceeded from an uncharitable and ill-natured ſpirit, but from a dutiful and tender regard to the good of the nation, and the proſperity of your Majeſty's reign.

In the mean time, whether this does not look like an induſtrious propagation of the rebellious principles of the laſt age, and on that ſcore render it neceſſary that your Majeſty ſhould have an eye toward ſuch unaccountable proceedings, is humbly ſubmitted to your Majeſty; who will make a better judgment upon the whole than any others can ſuggeſt to you: you have a greater intereſt to do it; you have much more to preſerve, and much more to loſe; you have the happineſs of your kingdoms, your crown, and your government to ſecure, in a time of as great difficulties, as ever were yet known, under a very expenſive war at preſent, and ſome circumſtances attending it in relation to theſe nations, that may continue even after a peace;

peace; beſides the danger of a future ſeparation of the two kingdoms, very uncomfortable to reflect on; which yet, in all probability, will have influence upon the preſent times too, if it comes once to be thought that it is inevitable.

God give your Majeſty a ſafe and proſperous paſſage through ſo many appearances of hazard; you can never want undertakers of divers ſorts, who, according to their ſeveral politics, will warrant you ſucceſs if you will truſt them: but your real happineſs will very much depend upon yourſelf, and your chooſing to honour with your ſervice ſuch perſons as are honeſt, ſtout, and wiſe.

If informations of times paſt may be uſeful, this Author will deſerve a ſhare of credit with you, whoſe reputation and experience were ſo great in his life time, that they will be recorded in times to come for the real ſervices he did, beſides the honour, and great fortune, unuſual to a ſubject, of having been grandfather to two great Queens, your royal ſiſter and yourſelf; both ſo well beloved and eſteemed by your people; both ſo willing and zealous to do good. Her power indeed was more limited and dependent; but her early death made room for your Majeſty's more unreſtrained and ſovereign authority, and reſigned to yourſelf alone the more laſting diſpenſation of thoſe bleſſings that came from heaven to you both.

If the benefit your Majeſty may reap by the peruſal of this Hiſtory, ſhall prove ſerviceable to after-

after-times, it will be remembered to the praiſe and honour of his name; and your Majeſty yourſelf will not be diſpleaſed to allow his memory a ſhare of that advantage; nor be offended with being put in mind, that your Engliſh heart, ſo happily owned by yourſelf, and adored by your ſubjects, had not been ſo *entirely* Engliſh, without a communication with his heart too, than which there never was one more devoted to the good of his country, and the firm eſtabliſhment of the Crown.

It being deſigned by this Dedication only to introduce this noble Author into your preſence, it would be contrary to the intention of it to take up more of your Majeſty's time here; it is beſt therefore to leave this faithful counſellor alone with you. For God's ſake, Madam, and your own, be pleaſed to read him with attention, and ſerious and frequent reflections; and from thence, in conjunction with your own heart, preſcribe to yourſelf the methods of true and laſting greatneſs, and the ſolid maxims of a Sovereign truly Engliſh: that during this life you may exceed in felicities and fame, and after this life, in reputation and eſteem, that glorious predeceſſor of your Majeſty's, the renowned firſt *Semper Eadem*, whoſe motto you have choſen, and whoſe pattern you ſeem to have taken for your great example, to your own immortal glory, and the defence, ſecurity, and proſperity of the kingdoms you govern.

And God grant you may do ſo long.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION, &c

BOOK VI.

ISA. xviii. 2.

Go, ye ſwift meſſengers, to a nation ſcattered and peeled, to a people terrible from their beginning hitherto; a nation meted out and trodden down, whoſe land the rivers have ſpoiled.

ISA. xix. 13, 14.

The Princes of Zoan are become fools.
The Lord hath mingled a perverſe ſpirit in the midſt thereof.

WHEN the King ſet up his ſtandard at Nottingham, which was on the 25th of Auguſt, as is before remembered, he found the place much emptier than he thought the fame of his ſtandard would have ſuffered it to be; and received intelligence the next day, that the rebels' army, for ſuch now he had declared them, was horſe, foot, and cannon, at Northampton; beſides that party which, in the end of the fifth Book, we left at Coventry: whereas his few cannon and ammunition were ſtill at York, being neither yet in an equipage to march, though Sir John Heydon, his Majeſty's faithful Lieutenant of the Ordnance, uſed all poſſible diligence to form

The King's condition at Nottingham

and prepare it; neither were there foot enough levied to guard it: and at Nottingham, beſides ſome few of the Trained Bands, which Sir John Digby, the active Sheriff of that county, drew into the old ruinous caſtle there, there were not of foot levied for the ſervice yet three hundred men. So that they who were not overmuch given to fear, finding very many places in that great river, which was looked upon as the only ſtrength and ſecurity of the town, to be eaſily fordable, and nothing towards an army for defence but the ſtandard ſet up, begun ſadly to apprehend the danger of the King's own perſon. Inſomuch that Sir Jacob Aſhley, his Serjeant-Major-General of his intended army, told him, "that he could not "give any aſſurance againſt his Majeſty's being taken out "of his bed, if the rebels ſhould make a briſk attempt "to that purpoſe." And it was evident, all the ſtrength he had to depend upon was his horſe, which were under the command of Prince Rupert at Leiceſter, and were not at that time in number above eight hundred, few better armed than with ſwords; whilſt the enemy had, within leſs than twenty miles of that place, double the number of horſe excellently armed and appointed, and a body of five thouſand foot well trained and diſciplined; ſo that, no doubt, if they had advanced, they might at leaſt have diſperſed thoſe few troops of the King's, and driven his Majeſty to a greater diſtance, and expoſed him to notable hazards and inconveniencies.

Portſmouth beſieged by the Parliament's forces.

When men were almoſt confounded with this proſpect, his Majeſty received intelligence, that Portſmouth was ſo ſtraitly beſieged by ſea and land, that it would be reduced in very few days, except it were relieved. For the truth is, Colonel Goring, though he had ſufficient warning, and ſufficient ſupplies of money to put that place into a poſture, had relied too much upon probable

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and caſual aſſiſtance, and neglected to do that himſelf, which a vigilant officer would have done: and albeit his chief dependence was both for money and proviſions from the Iſle of Wight, yet he was careleſs to ſecure thoſe ſmall caſtles and block-houſes, that guarded the paſſage; which revolting to the Parliament as ſoon as he declared for the King, cut off all thoſe dependences; ſo that he had neither men enough to do ordinary duty, nor proviſions enough for thoſe few, for any conſiderable time. And at the ſame time with this news of Portſmouth, arrived certain advertiſements, that the Marquis of Hertford, and all his forces in the weſt, from whom only the King hoped that Portſmouth ſhould be relieved, was driven out of Somerſetſhire, where his power and intereſt was believed unqueſtionable, into Dorſetſhire; and there beſieged in Sherborne Caſtle.

The Marquis, after he left the King at Beverley, by ordinary journeys, and without making any long ſtay by the way, came to Bath, upon the very edge of Somerſetſhire, at the time when the general aſſizes were there held; where meeting all the conſiderable gentlemen of that great county, and finding them well affected to the King's ſervice, except very few who were ſufficiently known, he entered into conſultation with them from whom he was to expect aſſiſtance, in what place he ſhould moſt conveniently fix himſelf for the better diſpoſing the affections of the people, and to raiſe a ſtrength for the reſiſtance of any attempt which the Parliament might make, either againſt them, or to diſturb the peace of the country by their ordinance of the militia, which was the firſt power they were like to hear of. Some were of opinion, "that Briſtol would be the fitteſt place, being a great, "rich, and populous city; of which being once poſſeſſed, "they ſhould be eaſily able to give the law to Somerſet

The Marquis of Hertford's actions in Somerſetſhire, &c.

" and Glouceſterſhire; and could not receive any affront " by a ſudden or tumultuary inſurrection of the people." And if this advice had been followed, it would probably have proved very proſperous. But, on the contrary, it was objected, " that it was not evident, that his Lord- " ſhip's reception into the city would be ſuch as was " expected; Mr. Hollis being Lieutenant thereof, and " having exerciſed the militia there; and there being vi- " ſibly many diſaffected people in it, and ſome of emi- " nent quality; and if he ſhould attempt to go thither, " and be diſappointed, it would break the whole deſign: " then that it was out of the county of Somerſet, and " therefore that they could not legally draw that people " thither; beſides, that it would look like fear and ſuſ- " picion of their own power, to put themſelves into a " walled town, as if they feared the power of the other " party would be able to oppreſs them. Whereas, ex- " cept Popham and Horner, all the gentlemen of emi- " nent quality and fortune of Somerſetſhire were either " preſent with the Marquis, or preſumed not to be in- " clined to the Parliament. And therefore they propoſed " that Wells, being a pleaſant city, in the heart and near " the centre of that county, might be choſen for his " Lordſhip's reſidence." Which was accordingly agreed on, and thither the Marquis and his train went, ſending for the neareſt Trained Bands to appear before him; and preſuming that in little time, by the induſtry of the gentlemen preſent, and his Lordſhip's reputation, which was very great, the affections of the people would be ſo much wrought upon, and their underſtandings ſo well informed, that it would not be in the power of the Parliament to pervert them, or to make ill impreſſions on them towards his Majeſty's ſervice.

Whilſt his Lordſhip in this gentle way endeavoured to com-

compoſe the fears and apprehenſions of the people, and by doing all things in a peaceable way, and according to the rules of the known laws, to convince all men of the juſtice and integrity of his Majeſty's proceedings and royal intentions; the other party, according to their uſual confidence, and activity, wrought under-hand to perſuade the people that the Marquis was come down to put the commiſſion of array in execution, by which commiſſion a great part of the eſtate of every farmer or ſubſtantial yeoman ſhould be taken from them; alleging, that ſome Lords had ſaid, "that twenty pounds by the "year was enough for every peaſant to live on;" and ſo, taking advantage of the commiſſion's being in Latin, tranſlated it into what Engliſh they pleaſed; perſuading the ſubſtantial yeomen and freeholders, that at leaſt two parts of their eſtates would, by that commiſſion, be taken from them; and the meaner and poorer ſort of people, that they were to pay a tax for one day's labour in the week to the King; and that all ſhould be, upon the matter, no better than ſlaves to the Lords, and that there was no way to free and preſerve themſelves from this inſupportable tyranny, but by adhering to the Parliament, and ſubmitting to the ordinance for the militia; which was purpoſely prepared to enable them to reſiſt theſe horrid invaſions of their liberties.

It cannot eaſily be believed, how theſe groſs infuſions generally prevailed. For though the gentlemen of ancient families and eſtates in that county were, for the moſt part, well affected to the King, and eaſily diſcerned by what faction the Parliament was governed; yet there were a people of an inferior degree, who, by good huſbandry, clothing, and other thriving arts, had gotten very great fortunes; and, by degrees, getting themſelves into the gentlemen's eſtates, were angry that they found

not themſelves in the ſame eſteem and reputation with thoſe whoſe eſtates they had; and therefore, with more induſtry than the other, ſtudied all ways to make themſelves conſiderable. Theſe, from the beginning, were faſt friends to the Parliament; and many of them were now entruſted by them as Deputy Lieutenants in their new ordinance of the militia, and having found when the people were ripe, gathered them together, with a purpoſe on a ſudden, before there ſhould be any ſuſpicion, to ſurround and ſurpriſe the Marquis at Wells. For they had always this advantage of the King's party and his counſels, that their reſolutions were no ſooner publiſhed, than they were ready to be executed, there being an abſolute implicit obedience in the inferior ſort to thoſe who were to command them; and their private agents, with admirable induſtry and ſecrecy, preparing all perſons and things ready againſt a call. Whereas all the King's counſels were with great formality deliberated, before concluded: and then, with equal formality, and preciſe caution of the law, executed; there being no other way to weigh down the prejudice that was contracted againſt the Court, but by the moſt barefaced publiſhing all concluſions, and fitting them to that apparent juſtice and reaſon, that might prevail over the moſt ordinary underſtandings.

When the Marquis was thus in the midſt of an enemy that almoſt covered the whole kingdom, his whole ſtrength was a troop of horſe, raiſed by Mr. John Digby, ſon to the Earl of Briſtol, and another by Sir Francis Hawley, (both which were levied in thoſe parts to attend the King in the north,) and a troop of horſe, and a ſmall troop of dragoons, raiſed and armed by Sir Ralph Hopton at his own charge; and about one hundred foot gathered up by Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Lunsford towards

wards a regiment, which were likewiſe to have marched to the King. Theſe, with the Lord Pawlet, and the gentlemen of the country, which were about eight and twenty of the prime quality there, with their ſervants and retinue, made up the Marquis's force. Then their proceedings were with that exceeding caution, that upon advertiſement that the active miniſters of the contrary party had appointed a general meeting at a town within few miles of Wells, Sir Ralph Hopton being adviſed with his ſmall troop and ſome volunteer gentlemen to repair thither, and to diſappoint that convention, and to take care that it might produce the leaſt prejudice to the King's ſervice; before he reached the place, thoſe gentlemen who ſtayed behind (and by whoſe advice the Marquis thought it neceſſary abſolutely to govern himſelf, that they might ſee all poſſible warineſs was uſed in the entrance into a war, which being once entered into, he well knew muſt be carried on another way) ſent him word, "that he ſhould forbear any hoſtile act, "otherwiſe they would diſclaim whatſoever he ſhould "do." Whereas the courage and reſolution of thoſe few were ſuch, and the cowardice of the undiſciplined ſeditious rabble and their leaders was ſo eminent, that it was very probable, if thoſe few troops had been as actively employed as their commanders deſired, they might have been able to have driven the bigots out of the country, before they had fully poſſeſſed the reſt with their own rancour: which may be reaſonably preſumed by what followed ſhortly after, when Mr. Digby, Sir John Stawell and his ſons, with ſome volunteer gentlemen, being in the whole not above fourſcore horſe, and fourteen dragoons, charged a greater body of horſe, and above ſix hundred foot of the rebels, led by a Member of the Houſe of Commons; and without the loſs of one

man; killed ſeven in the place, hurt very many, took their chief officers, and as many more priſoners as they would; and ſo routed the whole body, that ſix men kept not together, they having all thrown down their arms.

But this good fortune abated only the courage of thoſe who had run away, the other making uſe of this overthrow as an argument of the Marquis's bloody purpoſes; and therefore, in few days, Sir John Horner and Alexander Popham, being the principal men of quality of that party in that county, with the aſſiſtance of their friends of Dorſet, and Devon, and the city of Briſtol, drew together a body of above twelve thouſand men, horſe and foot, with ſome pieces of cannon, with which they appeared on the top of the hill over Wells; where the Marquis, in contempt of them, ſtayed two days, having only barricadoed the town; but then, finding that the few Trained Bands, which attended him there, were run away, either to their own houſes, or to their fellows, on the top of the hill; and hearing that more forces, or at leaſt better officers, were coming from the Parliament againſt him, he retired in the noon day, and in the face of that rebellious herd from Wells to Somerton, and ſo to Sherborne, without any loſs or trouble. Thither, within two days, came to his Lordſhip Sir John Berkely, Colonel Aſhburnham, and ſome other good officers, enough to have formed a conſiderable army, if there had been no other want. But they had not been long there, (and it was not eaſy to reſolve whither elſe to go, they having no reaſon to believe they ſhould be any where more welcome than in Somerſetſhire, from whence they had been now driven), when the Earl of Bedford, General of the Horſe to the Parliament, with Mr. Hollis, Sir Walter Earl, and other Ephori,

He retires to Sherborne.

The Earl of Bedford comes againſt him.

Ephori, and a complete body of ſeven thouſand foot at leaſt, ordered by Charles Eſſex, their Serjeant-Major-General, a ſoldier of good experience and reputation in the Low Countries, and eight full troops of horſe, under the command of Captain Pretty, with four pieces of cannon, in a very ſplendid equipage, came to Wells, and from thence to Sherborne. The Marquis, by this time having increaſed his foot to four hundred, with which that great army was kept from entering that town, and perſuaded to encamp in the field about three quarters of a mile north from the caſtle; where, for the preſent, we muſt leave the Marquis and his great-ſpirited little army.

It could never be underſtood, why that army did not then march directly to Nottingham; which if it had done, his Majeſty's few forces muſt immediately have been ſcattered, and himſelf fled, or put himſelf into their hands, which there were enough ready to have adviſed him to do; and if he had eſcaped, he might have been purſued by one regiment of horſe till he had quitted the kingdom. But it pleaſed God, that they made not the leaſt advance towards Nottingham. They about the King began now to wiſh that he had ſtayed at York, and propoſed his return thither; but that was not hearkened to; and they who adviſed his ſtay there, and againſt the advance to Nottingham, were more againſt his return thither, as an abſolute flight; but urged the advance of the levies, and a little patience, till it might be diſcerned what the enemy did intend to do. In this great anxiety, ſome of the Lords deſired, "that "his Majeſty would ſend a meſſage to the Parliament, "with ſome overture to incline them to a treaty;" which propoſition was no ſooner made, but moſt concurred in it, and no one had the confidence to oppoſe it. The King himſelf was ſo offended at it, that he declared,

The King conſults at Nottingham of ſending a meſſage for peace.

"he

" he would never yield to it;" and broke up the council, that it might be no longer urged. But the next day, when they met again, they renewed the ſame advice with more earneſtneſs. The Earl of Southampton, a perſon of great prudence, and of a reputation at leaſt equal to any man's, preſſed it, " as a thing that might do good, " and could do no harm:" and the King's reaſons, with reference to the inſolence it would raiſe in the rebels, and the diſhonour that would thereby reflect upon himſelf, were anſwered, by ſaying " their inſolence would " be for the King's advantage; and when they ſhould " reject the offer of peace, which they believed they " would do, they would make themſelves the more " odious to the people, who would be thereby the more " inclined to ſerve the King." So that they took it as granted, that the propoſition would be rejected, and therefore it ought to be made. It was farther ſaid, " that his Majeſty was not able to make reſiſtance; that " the forces before Sherborne, Portſmouth, and at " Northampton, were three ſeveral armies, the leaſt of " which would drive his Majeſty out of his dominions; " that it was only in his power to chooſe, whether, by " making a fair offer himſelf, he would ſeem to make " peace, which could not but render him very gracious " to the people, or ſuffer himſelf to be taken priſoner, " (which he would not long be able to avoid), which " would give his enemies power, reputation, and autho- " rity to proceed againſt his Majeſty, and, it might be, " his poſterity, according to their own engaged malice.

Yet this motive made no impreſſion in him. " For, he " ſaid, no misfortune, or ill ſucceſs that might attend his " endeavour of defending himſelf, could expoſe him to " more inconveniences than a treaty at this time deſired " by him, where he muſt be underſtood to be willing to " yield

" yield to whatſoever they would require of him: and " how modeſt they were like to be, might be judged by " their nineteen propoſitions, which were tendered, when " their power could not be reaſonably underſtood to be " like ſo much to exceed his Majeſty's, as at this time " it was evident it did; and that, having now nothing to " loſe but his honour, he could be only excuſable to the " world, by uſing his induſtry to the laſt to oppoſe the " torrent, which if it prevailed would overwhelm him." This compoſed courage and magnanimity of his Majeſty ſeemed too philoſophical, and abſtracted from the policy of ſelf-preſervation, to which moſt others were paſſionately addicted: and that which was the King's greateſt diſadvantage, how many ſoever were of his mind, (as ſome few, and but few, there were), no man durſt publicly avow that he was ſo; a treaty for peace being ſo popular a thing, that whoſoever oppoſed it would be ſure to be, by general conſent, a declared enemy to his country.

That which prevailed with his Majeſty very reaſonably then to yield (and indeed it proved equally advantageous to him afterwards) was, " that it was moſt probable" (and his whole fortune was to be ſubmitted at beſt to probabilities) " that, out of their pride, and contempt of the King's " weakneſs and want of power, the Parliament would re- " fuſe to treat; which would be ſo unpopular a thing, " that as his Majeſty would highly oblige his people by " making the offer, ſo they would loſe the hearts of them " by rejecting it; which alone would raiſe an army for " his Majeſty. That if they ſhould embrace it, the King " could not but be a gainer; for by the propoſitions " which they ſhould make to him, he would be able to " ſtate the quarrel ſo clearly, that it ſhould be more de- " monſtrable to the kingdom, than yet it was, that the " war was, on his Majeſty's part, purely defenſive; ſince " he

" he never had, and now would not deny any thing, which " they could in reaſon or juſtice aſk: that this very over- " ture would neceſſarily produce ſome pauſe, and delay in " their preparations, or motions of their armies; for ſome " debate it muſt needs have; and during that time, men's " minds would be in ſuſpenſe; whereas his Majeſty " ſhould be ſo far from ſlackening his preparations, that " he might be more vigorous in them, by haſtening thoſe " levies, for which his commiſſions were out." For theſe reaſons, and almoſt the concurrent deſire and importunity of his council, the King was prevailed with to ſend the Earls of Southampton, and Dorſet, Sir John Colepepper, Chancellor of his Exchequer, and Sir William Udall, (whom his Majeſty gave leave under that pretence to intend the buſineſs of his own fortune), to the two Houſes with this meſſage, which was ſent the third day after his ſtandard was ſet up.

The King ſends to the two Houſes a meſſage for peace by the Earl of Southampton, &c.

" We have, with unſpeakable grief of heart, long beheld " the diſtractions of this our kingdom. Our very ſoul " is full of anguiſh, until we may find ſome remedy to " prevent the miſeries, which are ready to overwhelm this " whole nation by a civil war. And though all our en- " deavours, tending to the compoſing of thoſe unhappy " differences betwixt us and our two Houſes of Parliament, " (though purſued by us with all zeal and ſincerity), have " been hitherto without that ſucceſs we hoped for; yet " ſuch is our conſtant and earneſt care to preſerve the " public peace, that we ſhall not be diſcouraged from " uſing any expedient, which, by the bleſſing of the God " of mercy, may lay a firm foundation of peace and hap- " pineſs to all our good ſubjects. To this end, obſerving " that many miſtakes have ariſen by the meſſages, peti- " tions, and anſwers, betwixt us and our two Houſes of " Parliament, which happily may be prevented by ſome

" other

"other way of treaty, wherein the matters in difference "may be more clearly underſtood, and more freely tranſ- "acted; we have thought fit to propound to you, that "ſome fit perſons may be by you enabled to treat with "the like number to be authoriſed by us, in ſuch a man- "ner, and with ſuch freedom of debate, as may beſt tend "to that happy concluſion which all good men deſire, the "peace of the kingdom. Wherein, as we promiſe, in the "word of a King, all ſafety and encouragement to ſuch as "ſhall be ſent unto us, if you ſhall chooſe the place where "we are, for the treaty, which we wholly leave to you, "preſuming the like care of the ſafety of thoſe we ſhall "employ, if you ſhall name another place; ſo we aſſure "you, and all our good ſubjects, that, to the beſt of our "underſtanding, nothing ſhall be therein wanting on our "part, which may advance the true Proteſtant religion, "oppoſe popery and ſuperſtition, ſecure the law of the "land, (upon which is built as well our juſt prerogative, as "the propriety and liberty of the ſubject), confirm all juſt "power and privileges of Parliament, and render us and "our people truly happy by a good underſtanding betwixt "us and our two Houſes of Parliament. Bring with you "as firm reſolutions to do your duty; and let all our good "people join with us in our prayers to Almighty God, for "his bleſſing upon this work. If this propoſition ſhall be "rejected by you, we have done our duty ſo amply, that "God will abſolve us from the guilt of any of that blood "which muſt be ſpilt; and what opinion ſoever other "men may have of our power, we aſſure you nothing but "our Chriſtian and pious care to prevent the effuſion of "blood hath begot this motion; our proviſion of men, "arms, and money, being ſuch as may ſecure us from far- "ther violence, till it pleaſes God to open the eyes of our "people."

This

How it was received by them.

This meſſage had the ſame reception his Majeſty believed it would have; and was indeed received with unheard of inſolence and contempt. For the Earl of Southampton, and Sir John Colepepper, deſiring to appear themſelves before any notice ſhould arrive of their coming, made ſuch haſte, that they were at Weſtminſter in the morning ſhortly after the Houſes met. The Earl of Southampton went into the Houſe of Peers, where he was ſcarce ſate down in his place, when, with great paſſion, he was called upon to withdraw; albeit he told them he had a meſſage to them from the King, and there could be no exception to his Lordſhip's ſitting in the Houſe upon their own grounds; he having had leave from the Houſe to attend his Majeſty. However he was compelled to withdraw; and then they ſent the Gentleman Uſher of the Houſe to him, to require his meſſage; which, his Lordſhip ſaid, he was by the King's command to deliver himſelf, and refuſed therefore to ſend it, except the Lords made an order, that he ſhould not deliver it himſelf; which they did; and thereupon he ſent it to them; which they no ſooner received, than they ſent him word, "that he ſhould, at his peril, immediately depart the "town, and that they would take care that their anſwer "to the meſſage ſhould be ſent to him." And ſo the Earl of Southampton departed the town, repoſing himſelf at the houſe of a noble perſon ſeven or eight miles off. Whilſt the Earl had this ſkirmiſh with the Lords, Sir John Colepepper attended the Commons, forbearing to go into the Houſe without leave, becauſe there had been an order, (which is mentioned before), that all the members, who were not preſent at ſuch a day, ſhould not preſume to ſit there, till they had paid a hundred pounds, and given the Houſe ſatisfaction in the cauſe of their abſence. But he ſent word to the Speaker, "that he had a meſſage "from

" from the King to them, and that he desired to deliver it " in his place in the House." After some debate, (for there remained yet some, who thought it as unreasonable as irregular to deny a member of the House, against whom there had not been the least public objection, and a Privy Counsellor who had been in all times used there with great respect, leave to deliver a message from the King in his own place as a member), it was absolutely resolved, " that he should not sit in the House, but that " he should deliver his message at the bar, and immedi- " ately withdraw ;" which he did accordingly.

Then the two Houses met at a conference, and read the King's message with great superciliousness ; and within two days, with less difficulty and opposition than can be believed, agreed upon their answer. The King's messengers, in the mean time, though of that quality, did not receive ordinary civilities from any members of either House ; they who were very willing to have done it, not daring for their own safety to come near them ; and the others looking upon them as servants to a master whom they had, and meant farther to oppress. Private conferences they had with some of the principal governors ; from whom they received no other advice, but that, if the King had any care of himself or his posterity, he should immediately come to London, throw himself into the arms of his Parliament, and comply with whatsoever they proposed., The answer which they returned to the King was this.

The answer of the Lords and Commons to his Majesty's message of the 25th of August, 1642. Their answer.

" May it please your Majesty :

" The Lords and Commons, in Parliament assembled, " having received your Majesty's message of the 25th of " August,

" Auguſt, do with much grief reſent the dangerous and " diſtracted ſtate of this kingdom; which we have by all " means endeavoured to prevent, both by our ſeveral ad- " vices and petitions to your Majeſty; which hath been " not only without ſucceſs, but there hath followed that " which no ill counſel in former times hath produced, or " any age hath ſeen, namely, thoſe ſeveral proclamations " and declarations againſt both the Houſes of Parliament, " whereby their actions are declared treaſonable, and their " perſons traitors. And thereupon your Majeſty hath ſet " up your ſtandard againſt them, whereby you have put " the two Houſes of Parliament, and, in them, this whole " kingdom, out of your protection; ſo that until your " Majeſty ſhall recal thoſe proclamations and declarations, " whereby the Earl of Eſſex, and both Houſes of Par- " liament, and their adherents, and aſſiſtants, and ſuch as " have obeyed and executed their commands and direc- " tions, according to their duties, are declared traitors or " otherwiſe delinquents: and until the ſtandard, ſet up in " purſuance of the ſaid proclamation, be taken down, your " Majeſty hath put us into ſuch a condition, that, whilſt " we ſo remain, we cannot, by the fundamental privileges " of Parliament, the public truſt repoſed in us, or with " the general good and ſafety of this kingdom, give your " Majeſty any other anſwer to this meſſage."

When the King's meſſengers returned with this anſwer to Nottingham, all men ſaw to what they muſt truſt; and the King believed, he ſhould be no farther moved to make addreſſes to them. And yet all hopes of an army, or any ability to reſiſt that violence, ſeemed ſo deſperate, that he was privately adviſed by ſome, whom he truſted as much as any, and thoſe whoſe affections were as entire to him as any men's, to give all other thoughts over, and inſtantly to make all imaginable haſte to London, and to appear in

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the Parliament-Houſe before they had any expectation of him. And they conceived there would be more likelihood for him to prevail that way, than by any army he was like to raiſe. And it muſt be ſolely imputed to his Majeſty's own reſolution, that he took not that courſe. However he was contented to make ſo much farther uſe of their pride and paſſion, as to give them occaſion, by another meſſage, to publiſh more of it to the people; and therefore, within three days after the return of his meſſengers, he ſent the Lord Falkland, his principal Secretary of State, with a reply to their anſwer in theſe words.

The King ſends another meſſage to the two Houſes.

"We will not repeat, what means we have uſed to pre-
"vent the dangerous and diſtracted eſtate of the kingdom,
"nor how thoſe means have been interpreted; becauſe,
"being deſirous to avoid the effuſion of blood, we are
"willing to decline all memory of former bitterneſs, that
"might render our offer of a treaty leſs readily accepted.
"We never did declare, nor ever intended to declare,
"both our Houſes of Parliament traitors, or ſet up our
"ſtandard againſt them; and much leſs to put them and
"this kingdom out of our protection. We utterly profeſs
"againſt it before God, and the world; and, farther to re-
"move all poſſible ſcruples, which may hinder the treaty
"ſo much deſired by us, we hereby promiſe, ſo that a day
"be appointed by you for the revoking of your declara-
"tions againſt all perſons as traitors, or otherwiſe, for aſ-
"ſiſting us; we ſhall, with all cheerfulneſs, upon the ſame
"day recall our proclamations and declarations, and take
"down our ſtandard. In which treaty, we ſhall be ready
"to grant any thing, that ſhall be really for the good of
"our ſubjects: conjuring you to conſider the bleeding
"condition of Ireland, and the dangerous condition of
"England, in as high a degree, as by theſe our offers we
"have declared ourſelf to do; and aſſuring you, that

" our chief deſire, in this world, is to beget a good under-
" ſtanding and mutual confidence betwixt us and our two
" Houſes of Parliament."

This meſſage had no better effect or reception than the former; their principal officers being ſent down ſince the laſt meſſage to Northampton to put the army into a readineſs to march. And now they required the Earl of Eſſex himſelf to make haſte thither, that no more time might be loſt, ſending by the Lord Falkland, within two days, this anſwer to the King.

Their anſwer.

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty;

The humble anſwer and petition of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, unto the King's laſt meſſage.

" May it pleaſe your Majeſty:

" If we, the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſ-
" ſembled, ſhould repeat all the ways we have taken, the
" endeavours we have uſed, and the expreſſions we have
" made unto your Majeſty, to prevent thoſe diſtractions,
" and dangers, your Majeſty ſpeaks of, we ſhould too
" much enlarge this reply. Therefore, as we humbly,
" ſo ſhall we only let your Majeſty know, that we can-
" not recede from our former anſwer, for the reaſons
" therein expreſſed. For that your Majeſty hath not
" taken down your ſtandard, recalled your proclamations
" and declarations, whereby you have declared the actions
" of both Houſes of Parliament to be treaſonable, and
" their perſons traitors; and you have publiſhed the ſame
" ſince your meſſage of the 25th of Auguſt, by your late
" inſtructions ſent to your Commiſſioners of array; which
" ſtandard being taken down, and the declarations, pro-
" clamations, and inſtructions recalled, if your Majeſty
" ſhall then, upon this our humble petition, leaving your
" forces,

" forces, return unto your Parliament, and receive their " faithful advice, your Majeſty will find ſuch expreſſions " of our fidelities, and duties, as ſhall aſſure you, that " your ſafety, honour, and greatneſs, can only be found " in the affections of your people, and the ſincere coun- " ſels of your Parliament; whoſe conſtant and undiſcou- " raged endeavours and conſultations have paſſed through " difficulties unheard of, only to ſecure your kingdoms " from the violent miſchiefs and dangers now ready to " fall upon them, and every part of them; who deſerve " better of your Majeſty, and can never allow themſelves " (repreſenting likewiſe your whole kingdom) to be ba- " lanced with thoſe perſons, whoſe deſperate diſpoſitions " and counſels prevail ſtill to interrupt all our endeavours " for the relieving of bleeding Ireland; as we may fear " our labours and vaſt expences will be fruitleſs to that " diſtreſſed kingdom. As your preſence is thus humbly " deſired by us, ſo it is in our hopes your Majeſty will in " your reaſon believe, there is no other way than this, to " make your Majeſty's ſelf happy, and your kingdom " ſafe."

And leſt this overture of a treaty might be a means to allay and compoſe the diſtempers of the people, and that the hope and expectation of peace might not diſhearten their party, in their preparations and contributions to the war, the ſame day they ſent their laſt anſwer to the King, they publiſhed this declaration to the kingdom.

The two Houſes' declaration to the kingdom.

" Whereas his Majeſty, in a meſſage received the fifth " of September, requires that the Parliament would re- " voke their declarations againſt ſuch perſons, as have aſ- " ſiſted his Majeſty in this unnatural war againſt his king- " dom; it is this day ordered, and declared by the Lords " and Commons, that the arms, which they have been " forced to take up, and ſhall be forced to take up, for

" the preſervation of the Parliament, religion, the laws " and liberties of the kingdom, ſhall not be laid down, " until his Majeſty ſhall withdraw his protection from " ſuch perſons as have been voted by both Houſes to be " delinquents, or that ſhall by both Houſes be voted to " be delinquents, and ſhall leave them to the juſtice of " the Parliament to be proceeded with according to their " demerit; to the end that both this and ſucceeding ge- " nerations may take warning, with what danger they in- " cur the like heinous crimes: and alſo to the end that " thoſe great charges and damages, wherewith all the " commonwealth hath been burthened in the premiſes, " ſince his Majeſty's departure from the Parliament, may " be borne by the delinquents, and other malignant and " diſaffected perſons: and that all his Majeſty's good and " well affected ſubjects, who by loan of moneys, or other- " wiſe at their charge, have aſſiſted the commonwealth, " or ſhall in like manner hereafter aſſiſt the common- " wealth in time of extreme danger, may be repaid all " ſums of money lent by them for thoſe purpoſes, and " be ſatisfied their charges ſo ſuſtained, out of the eſtates " of the ſaid delinquents, and of the malignant and diſ- " affected party in this kingdom."

This declaration did the King no harm; for beſides that it was evident to all men, that the King had done whatſoever was in his power, or could be expected from him, for the prevention of a civil war, all perſons of honour and quality plainly diſcerned, that they had no ſafety but in the preſervation of the regal power, ſince their eſtates were already diſpoſed of by them who could declare whom they would delinquents, and would infallibly declare all ſuch who had not concurred with them. And the advantage the King received by thoſe overtures, and the pride, frowardneſs, and perverſeneſs of the rebels, is

not

not imaginable; his levies of men, and all other preparations for the war, being incredibly advanced from the time of his firſt meſſage. Prince Rupert lay ſtill with the horſe at Leiceſter; and though he, and ſome of the principal officers with him, were diſcontented to that degree, upon the King's firſt meſſage and deſire of a treaty, as likely not only to deſtroy all hopes of raiſing an army, but to ſacrifice thoſe who were raiſed, that they were not without ſome thoughts, at leaſt diſcourſes, of offering violence to the principal adviſers of it, he now found his numbers increaſed, and better reſolved by it; and from Yorkſhire, Lincolnſhire, and Staffordſhire, came very good recruits of foot; ſo that his cannon and munition being likewiſe come up from York, within twenty days his numbers began to look towards an army; and there was another air in all men's faces: yet Nottingham ſeemed not a good poſt for his Majeſty to ſtay longer at; and therefore, about the middle of September, the Earl of Eſſex being then with his whole army at Northampton, his Majeſty marched from Nottingham to Derby; being not then reſolved whither to bend his courſe, to Shrewſbury or Cheſter, not well knowing the temper of thoſe towns, in both which the Parliament party had been very active; but reſolving to ſit down near the borders of Wales, where the power of the Parliament had been leaſt prevalent, and where ſome regiments of foot were levying for his ſervice. Before his leaving Nottingham, as a farewell to his hopes of a treaty, and to make the deeper ſenſe and impreſſion, in the hearts of the people, of thoſe who had ſo pertinaciouſly rejected it, his Majeſty ſent this meſſage to the Houſes.

Another meſſage from the King to the two Houſes in reply to their anſwer.

"Who have taken moſt ways, uſed moſt endeavours, "and made moſt real expreſſions to prevent the preſent "diſtractions and dangers, let all the world judge, as well

" by former paſſages, as by our two laſt meſſages, which " have been ſo fruitleſs, that, though we have deſcended " to deſire and preſs it, not ſo much as a treaty can be " obtained; unleſs we would denude ourſelf of all force " to defend us from a viſible ſtrength marching againſt " us; and admit thoſe perſons as traitors to us, who, ac- " cording to their duty, their oaths of allegiance, and the " law, have appeared in defence of us, their King and " liege Lord, (whom we are bound in conſcience and ho- " nour to preſerve), though we diſclaimed all our procla- " mations, and declarations, and the erecting of our ſtand- " ard, as againſt our Parliament. All we have now left " in our power, is to expreſs the deep ſenſe we have of " the public miſery of this kingdom, in which is involved " that of our diſtreſſed Proteſtants of Ireland; and to " apply ourſelf to our neceſſary defence, wherein we " wholly rely upon the providence of God, the juſtice of " our cauſe, and the affection of our good people; ſo far " we are from putting them out of our protection. " When you ſhall deſire a treaty of us, we ſhall piouſly " remember, whoſe blood is to be ſpilt in this quarrel, " and cheerfully embrace it. And as no other reaſon in- " duced us to leave our city of London, but that, with " honour and ſafety we could not ſtay there; nor to raiſe " any force, but for the neceſſary defence of our perſon " and the law, againſt levies in oppoſition to both; ſo we " ſhall ſuddenly and moſt willingly return to the one, and " diſband the other, as ſoon as thoſe cauſes ſhall be re- " moved. The God of heaven direct you, and in mercy " divert thoſe judgments, which hang over this nation; " and ſo deal with us, and our poſterity, as we deſire the " preſervation and advancement of the true Proteſtant re- " ligion; the law, and the liberty of the ſubject; the juſt " rights of Parliament, and the peace of the kingdom."

When

When the King came to Derby, he received clear information from the well affected party in Shrewſbury, that the town was at his devotion; and that the very rumour of his Majeſty's purpoſe of coming thither had driven away all thoſe who were moſt inclined to ſedition. And therefore, as well in regard of the ſtrong and pleaſant ſituation of it, (one ſide being defended by the Severn, the other having a ſecure paſſage into Wales, the confines of Montgomeryſhire extending very near the town), as for the correſpondence with Worceſter, of which city he hoped well, and that, by his being at Shrewſbury, he ſhould be as well able to ſecure Cheſter, as by carrying his whole train ſo far north; beſides that the other might give ſome apprehenſion of his going into Ireland, which had been formerly mentioned, his Majeſty reſolved for that town; and, after one day's ſtay at Derby, by eaſy marches he went thither, drawing his whole ſmall forces to a rendezvous at Wellington, a day's march ſhort of Shrewſbury; and that being the firſt time that they were together, his Majeſty then cauſed his military orders for the diſcipline and government of the army to be read at the head of each regiment; and then, which is not fit ever to be forgotten, putting himſelf in the middle, where he might be beſt heard, not much unlike the Emperor Trajan, who, when he made Sura Great Marſhal of the empire, gave him a ſword, ſaying, "Receive this ſword of "me, and if I command as I ought, employ it in my de-"fence; if I do otherwiſe, draw it againſt me, and take "my life from me," his Majeſty made this ſpeech to his ſoldiers.

The King removes to Derby.

"Gentlemen, you have heard thoſe orders read: it is "your part, in your ſeveral places, to obſerve them ex-"actly. The time cannot be long before we come to ac-"tion, therefore you have the more reaſon to be careful:

The King's ſpeech and proteſtation at the head of his forces, after the reading his orders of war.

" and I muſt tell you, I ſhall be very ſevere in the pu-
" niſhing of thoſe, of what condition ſoever, who tranſ-
" greſs theſe inſtructions. I cannot ſuſpect your courage
" and reſolution; your conſcience and your loyalty hath
" brought you hither, to fight for your religion, your
" king, and the laws of the land. You ſhall meet with
" no enemies but traitors, moſt of them Browniſts, Ana-
" baptiſts, and Atheiſts; ſuch who deſire to deſtroy both
" Church and State, and who have already condemned
" you to ruin for being loyal to us. That you may ſee
" what uſe I mean to make of your valour, if it pleaſe
" God to bleſs it with ſucceſs, I have thought fit to pub-
" liſh my reſolution to you in a proteſtation; which
" when you have heard me make, you will believe you
" cannot fight in a better quarrel; in which I promiſe
" to live and die with you."

The proteſtation his Majeſty was then pleaſed to make was in theſe words.

" I do promiſe in the preſence of Almighty God, and
" as I hope for his bleſſing and protection, that I will,
" to the utmoſt of my power, defend and maintain
" the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed in
" the Church of England; and, by the grace of God,
" in the ſame will live and die.

" I deſire to govern by all the known laws of the
" land, and that the liberty and property of the ſubject
" may be by them preſerved with the ſame care, as my
" own juſt rights. And if it pleaſe God, by his bleſſing
" upon this army, raiſed for my neceſſary defence, to
" preſerve me from this rebellion, I do ſolemnly and
" faithfully promiſe, in the ſight of God, to maintain
" the juſt privileges and freedom of Parliament, and to
" govern by the known laws of the land to my utmoſt
" power; and particularly to obſerve inviolably the laws

" con-

" conſented to by me this Parliament. In the mean " while, if this time of war, and the great neceſſity and " ſtraits I am now driven to, beget any violation of " thoſe, I hope it ſhall be imputed by God and men to " the authors of this war, and not to me; who have ſo " carneſtly laboured for the preſervation of the peace " of this kingdom.

" When I willingly fail in theſe particulars, I will " expect no aid or relief from any man, or protection " from heaven. But in this reſolution, I hope for the " cheerful aſſiſtance of all good men, and am confident " of God's bleſſing."

This proteſtation, and the manner and ſolemnity of making it, gave not more life and encouragement to the little army, than it did comfort and ſatisfaction to the gentry and inhabitants of thoſe parts; into whom the Parliament had infuſed, that, if his Majeſty prevailed by force, he would, with the ſame power, aboliſh all thoſe good laws, which had been made this Parliament; ſo that they looked upon this proteſtation, as a more ample ſecurity for their enjoying the benefit of thoſe acts, than the royal aſſent he had before given. And a more general and paſſionate expreſſion of affections cannot be imagined, than he received by the people of thoſe counties of Derby, Stafford, and Shropſhire, as he paſſed; or a better reception, than he found at Shrewſbury; into which town he entered on Tueſday the 20th of September. The King comes to Shrewſbury.

It will be, and was then, wondered at, that ſince the Parliament had a full and well formed army, before the King had one full regiment, and the Earl of Eſſex was himſelf come to Northampton, ſome days before his Majeſty went from Nottingham, his Lordſhip neither diſquieted the King whilſt he ſtaid there, nor gave him

him any diſturbance in his march to Shrewſbury; which if he had done, he might either have taken him priſoner, or ſo diſperſed his ſmall power, that it would never have been poſſible for him to have gotten an army together. But as the Earl had not yet received his inſtructions, ſo they, upon whom he depended, avoided that expedition out of mere pride, and contempt of the King's forces; and upon a preſumption, that it would not be poſſible for him to raiſe ſuch a power, as would be able to look their army in the face; but that, when he had in vain tried all other ways, and thoſe, who not only followed him upon their own charges, but ſupported thoſe who were not able to bear their own, (for his army was maintained and paid by the nobility and gentry, who ſerved likewiſe in their own perſons), were grown weary and unable longer to bear that burthen, his Majeſty would be forced to put himſelf into their arms for protection and ſubſiſtence; and ſuch a victory without blood had crowned all their deſigns. And if their army, which they pretended to raiſe only for their defence, and for the ſafety of the King's perſon, had been able to prevent the King's raiſing any; or if the King, in that melancholic conjuncture at Nottingham, had returned to Whitehall, he had juſtified all their proceedings, and could never after have refuſed to yield to whatſoever they propoſed.

And it is moſt certain, that the common ſoldiers of their army were generally perſuaded, that they ſhould never be brought to fight; but that the King was in truth little better than impriſoned by evil counſellors, Malignants, Delinquents, and Cavaliers, (the terms applied to his whole party), and would gladly come to his Parliament, if he could break from that company; which he would undoubtedly do, if their army came once to ſuch

ſuch a diſtance, that his Majeſty might make an eſcape to them. In this kind of diſcourſe they were ſo ſottiſh, that they were perſuaded, that thoſe perſons, of whoſe piety, honour, and integrity, they had received heretofore the greateſt teſtimony, were now turned Papiſts; and that the ſmall army, and forces the King had, conſiſted of no other than Papiſts. Inſomuch as truly thoſe of the King's party, who promiſed themſelves any ſupport, but from the comfort of their own conſciences, or relied upon any other means than from God Almighty, could hardly have made their expectations appear reaſonable; for his enemies were in a manner poſſeſſed of the whole kingdom.

Colonel Goring ſurrenders Portſmouth.

Portſmouth, the ſtrongeſt and beſt fortified town then in the kingdom, was ſurrendered to them; Colonel Goring, about the beginning of September, though he had ſeemed to be ſo long reſolved, and prepared to expect a ſiege, and had been ſupplied with moneys according to his own propoſal, was brought ſo low, that he gave it up, only for liberty to tranſport himſelf beyond ſeas, and for his officers to repair to the King. And it were to be wiſhed that there might be no more occaſion to mention him hereafter, after this repeated treachery; and that his incomparable dexterity and ſagacity had not prevailed ſo far over thoſe, who had been ſo often deceived by him, as to make it abſolutely neceſſary to ſpeak at large of him, more than once, before this diſcourſe comes to an end.

The Marquis of Hertford's proceedings in the weſt.

The Marquis of Hertford, though he had ſo much diſcredited the Earl of Bedford's ſoldiery, and diſheartened his great army, that the Earl (after lying in the field four or five nights within leſs than cannon ſhot of the caſtle, and town, and after having refuſed to fight a duel with the Marquis, to which he provoked him by a chal-

challenge) ſent Sir John Norcot, under pretence of a treaty and the godly care to avoid the effuſion of Chriſtian blood, in plain Engliſh to deſire "that he might "fairly and peaceably draw off his forces, and march "away;" the which, how reaſonable a requeſt ſoever it was, the Marquis refuſed; ſending them word, "that "as they came thither upon their own counſels, ſo they "ſhould get off as they could:" and at laſt they did draw off, and march above a dozen miles for repoſe; leaving the Marquis, for ſome weeks, undiſturbed at Sherborne: yet when he heard of the loſs of Portſmouth, the relief whereof was his principal buſineſs, and ſo that thoſe forces would probably be added to the Earl of Bedford, and by their ſucceſs give much courage to his baſhful army, and that a good regiment of horſe, which he expected, (for Sir John Byron had ſent him word from Oxford, that he would march towards him), was retired to the King; and that the committees were now ſo buſy in the ſeveral counties, that the people in all places declared for the Parliament; and more particularly ſome ſtrong and populous towns in Somerſetſhire; as Taunton, Wellington, and Dunſtar-Caſtle; by reaſon whereof it would not be poſſible for him to increaſe his ſtrength; he reſolved to leave Sherborne, where his ſtay could no way advance the King's ſervice, and to try all ways to get to his Majeſty. But when he came to Minhead, a port-town, from whence he made no doubt he ſhould be able to tranſport himſelf and his company into Wales, he found the people both of the town and county ſo diſaffected, that all the boats, of which there uſed always to be great ſtore, by reaſon of the trade for cattle and corn with Wales, were induſtriouſly ſent away, ſave only two; ſo that the Earl of Bedford having taken new heart, and being within four miles with his

his army, his Lordſhip, with his ſmall cannon and few foot, with the Lord Pawlet, Lord Seymour, and ſome gentlemen of Somerſetſhire, tranſported himſelf into Glamorganſhire; leaving Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir John Berkely, Mr Digby, and ſome other officers with their horſe, (conſiſting of about one hundred and twenty), to march into Cornwall, in hopes to find that county better prepared for their reception. Thence tranſporteth himſelf into Glamorganſhire.

On the other hand, the Earl of Bedford, thinking thoſe few fugitives not worth his farther care, and that they would be eaſily apprehended by the committee of the militia, which was very powerful in Devon and Cornwall, contented himſelf with having driven away the Marquis, and ſo expelled all hope of raiſing an army for the King in the weſt; and retired with his forces to the Earl of Eſſex, as Sir William Waller had done from Portſmouth; ſo that as it was not expected, that the forces about his Majeſty could be able to defend him againſt ſo puiſſant an army, ſo it was not imaginable that he could receive any addition of ſtrength from any other parts. For wherever they found any perſon of quality inclined to the King, or but diſinclined to them, they immediately ſeized upon his perſon, and ſent him in great triumph to the Parliament; who committed him to priſon, with all circumſtances of cruelty and inhumanity.

Thus they took priſoner the Lord Mountague of Boughton, at his houſe in Northamptonſhire, a perſon of great reverence, being above fourſcore years of age, and of unblemiſhed reputation, for declaring himſelf unſatisfied with their diſobedient and undutiful proceedings againſt the King, and more expreſsly againſt their ordinance for the militia; and notwithſtanding that he had a brother of the Houſe of Peers, the Lord Privy Seal, and

and a nephew, the Lord Kimbolton, who had as full a power in that council as any man, and a ſon in the Houſe of Commons very unlike his father; his Lordſhip was committed to the Tower a cloſe priſoner; and, though he was afterwards remitted to more air, he continued a priſoner to his death.

Thus they took priſoner in Oxfordſhire the Earl of Berkſhire, and three or four principal gentlemen of that county; and committed them to the Tower, for no other reaſon but wiſhing well to the King; for they never appeared in the leaſt action in his ſervice. And thus they took priſoner the Earl of Bath in Devonſhire, who neither had, or ever meant to do the King the leaſt ſervice; but only out of the moroſity of his own nature, had before, in the Houſe, expreſſed himſelf not of their minds; and carried him, with many other gentlemen of Devon and Somerſet, with a ſtrong guard of horſe, to London; where, after they had been expoſed to the rudeneſs and reproach of the common people, who called them traitors and rebels to the Parliament, and purſued them with ſuch uſage as they uſe to the moſt infamous malefactors, they were, without ever being examined, or charged with any particular crime, committed to ſeveral priſons; ſo that not only all the priſons about London were quickly filled with perſons of honour, and great reputation for ſobriety and integrity to their counties, but new priſons were made for their reception; and, which was a new and barbarous invention, very many perſons of very good quality, both of the clergy and laity, were committed to priſon on board the ſhips in the river of Thames; where they were kept under decks, and no friend ſuffered to come to them, by which many loſt their lives. And that the loſs of their liberty might not be all their puniſhment, it was

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the uſual courſe, and very few eſcaped it, after any man was committed as a notorious Malignant, (which was the brand), that his eſtate and goods were ſeized or plundered by an order from the Houſe of Commons, or ſome committee, or the ſoldiers, who in their march took the goods of all Papiſts and eminent Malignants, as lawful prize; or by the fury and licence of the common people, who were in all places grown to that barbarity and rage againſt the nobility and gentry, (under the ſtyle of Cavaliers), that it was not ſafe for any to live at their houſes, who were taken notice of as no votaries to the Parliament.

So the common people (no doubt by the advice of their ſuperiors) in Eſſex on a ſudden beſet the houſe of Sir John Lucas, one of the beſt gentlemen of that county, and of the moſt eminent affection to the King, being a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to the Prince of Wales; and, upon pretence that he was going to the King, poſſeſſed themſelves of all his horſes and arms, ſeized upon his perſon, and uſed him with all poſſible indignities, not without ſome threats to murder him: and when the Mayor of Colcheſter, whither he was brought, with more humanity than the reſt, offered to keep him priſoner in his own houſe, till the pleaſure of the Parliament ſhould be farther known, they compelled him, or he was willing to be compelled, to ſend him to the common gaol; where he remained, glad of that ſecurity, till the Houſe of Commons removed him to another priſon, (without ever charging him with any crime,) having ſent all his horſes to the Earl of Eſſex, to be uſed in the ſervice of that army.

At the ſame time the ſame rabble entered the houſe of the Counteſs of Rivers, near Colcheſter; for no other ground, than that ſhe was a Papiſt; and in few hours diſfurniſhed it of all the goods, which had been many years

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with great curioſity providing, and were not of leſs value than forty thouſand pounds ſterling; the Counteſs herſelf hardly eſcaping, after great inſolence had been uſed to her perſon: and ſhe could never receive any reparation from the Parliament. Theſe and many other inſtances of the ſame kind in London and the parts adjacent, gave ſufficient evidence to all men how little elſe they were to keep, who meant to preſerve their allegiance and integrity in the full vigour.

I muſt not forget, though it cannot be remembered without much horror, that this ſtrange wild-fire among the people was not ſo much, and ſo furiouſly kindled by the breath of the Parliament, as of their Clergy, who both adminiſtered fuel, and blowed the coals in the Houſes too. Theſe men having creeped into, and at laſt driven all learned and orthodox men from, the pulpits, had, as is before remembered, from the beginning of this Parliament, under the notion of reformation and extirpating of Popery, infuſed ſeditious inclinations into the hearts of men againſt the preſent Government of the Church, with many libellous invectives againſt the State too. But ſince the raiſing an army, and rejecting the King's laſt overture of a treaty, they contained themſelves within no bounds; and as freely and without control inveighed againſt the perſon of the King, as they had before againſt the worſt Malignant; profanely and blaſphemouſly applying whatſoever had been ſpoken and declared by God himſelf, or the Prophets, againſt the moſt wicked and impious Kings, to incenſe and ſtir up the people againſt their moſt gracious Sovereign.

There are monuments enough in the [illegible]tious ſermons at that time printed, and in the [illegible]ries of men, of others not printed, of ſuch wreſting and perverting of Scripture to the odious purpoſes of the preacher, that

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pious men will not look over without trembling. One takes his text out of Moſes's words in the 32d chapter of Exodus, and the 29th verſe; *Conſecrate yourſelves to-day to the Lord, even every man upon his ſon, and upon his brother, that he may beſtow upon you a bleſſing this day:* and from thence incites his auditory to the utmoſt proſecution of thoſe, under what relation ſoever of blood, neighbourhood, dependence, who concurred not in the reformation propoſed by the Parliament. Another makes as bold with David's words, in the 1ſt Chron. chap. xxii. verſe 16. *Ariſe therefore, and be doing:* and from thence aſſures them, it was not enough to wiſh well to the Parliament; if they brought not their purſe, as well as their prayers, and their hands, as well as their hearts, to the aſſiſtance of it, the duty in the text was not performed. There were more than Mr. Marſhall, who from the 23d verſe of the 5th chapter of Judges, *Curſe ye Meroz, ſaid the Angel of the Lord, curſe ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof, becauſe they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord againſt the mighty,* preſumed to inveigh againſt, and in plain terms to pronounce God's own curſe againſt all thoſe, who came not, with their utmoſt power and ſtrength, to deſtroy and root out all the Malignants, who in any degree oppoſed the Parliament.

There was one, who from the 48th chapter of the Prophet Jeremiah, and the 10th verſe, *Curſed be he that keepeth back his ſword from blood,* reproved thoſe who gave any quarter to the King's ſoldiers. And another out of the 5th verſe of the 25th chapter of Proverbs, *Take away the wicked from before the King, and his throne ſhall be eſtabliſhed in righteouſneſs,* made it no leſs a caſe of conſcience by force to remove the evil counſellors from the King, (with bold intimation what might be done to the King himſelf, if he would not ſuf-

fer them to be removed), than to perform any Chriſtian duty that is enjoined. It would fill a volume to inſert all the impious madneſs of this kind, ſo that the complaint of the Prophet Ezekiel might moſt truly and ſeaſonably have been applied; *There is a conſpiracy of her Prophets in the midſt thereof, like a roaring lion ravening the prey; they have devoured ſouls; they have taken the treaſure and precious things; they have made her many widows in the midſt thereof.*

Ezek. xxii. 25.

It was the complaint of Eraſmus of the Clergy in his time, that when Princes were inclinable to wars, *alius e ſacro ſuggeſto promittit omnium admiſſorum condonationem, alius promittit certam victoriam, Prophetarum voces ad rem impiam detorquens. Tam bellaces conciones audivimus*, ſays he. And indeed no good Chriſtian can, without horror, think of thoſe miniſters of the Church, who, by their function being meſſengers of peace, were the only trumpets of war, and incendiaries towards rebellion. How much more Chriſtian was that Athenian Nun in Plutarch, and how ſhall ſhe riſe up in judgment againſt thoſe men, who, when Alcibiades was condemned by the public juſtice of the State, and a decree made that all the religious prieſts and women ſhould ban and curſe him, ſtoutly refuſed to perform that office; anſwering, "that ſhe was profeſſed religious, to *pray* and to *bleſs*, "not to *curſe* and to *ban*." And if the perſon and the place can improve and aggravate the offence, (as without doubt it doth, both before God and man), methinks the preaching treaſon and rebellion out of the pulpits ſhould be worſe than the advancing it in the market, as much as poiſoning a man at the communion would be worſe than murdering him at a tavern. And it may be, in that catalogue of ſins, which the zeal of ſome men hath thought to be the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, there may not

not any one be more reaſonably thought to be ſuch, than a miniſter of Chriſt's turning rebel againſt his Prince, (which is a moſt notorious apoſtaſy againſt his order), and his preaching rebellion to the people, as the doctrine of Chriſt; which, adding blaſphemy and pertinacy to his apoſtaſy, hath all the marks by which good men are taught to avoid that ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt.

The Earl of Eſſex moves with his army from Northampton.

Within three or four days after the King's remove from Nottingham, the Earl of Eſſex, with his whole army, removed from Northampton, and marched towards Worceſter; of which his Majeſty had no ſooner intelligence, than he ſent Prince Rupert, with the greateſt part of the horſe, on the other ſide of the Severn, towards that city; as well to obſerve the motion of the enemy, as to give all aſſiſtance to that place, which had declared good affections to him; at leaſt to countenance and ſecure the retreat of thoſe gentlemen, who were there raiſing forces for the King; but eſpecially to join with Sir John Byron, whom his Majeſty had ſent, in the end of Auguſt, to Oxford to convey ſome money, which had been ſecretly brought from London thither to his Majeſty. And he, after ſome ſmall diſaſters in his march, by the inſurrection of the country people, who were encouraged by the agents for the Parliament, and ſeconded by the officers of the militia, came ſafe with his charge to Worceſter; where he had been very few hours, when a ſtrong party of horſe and dragoons, being ſent by the Earl of Eſſex, under the command of Nathaniel Fiennes, ſon to the Lord Say, came to ſurpriſe the town; which was open enough to have been entered in many places, though in ſome it had an old decayed wall; and, at the moſt uſual and frequented entrances into the city, weak and rotten gates to be ſhut, but without either lock or bo[illegible]

Yet this commander, coming early in the morning, when the ſmall guard which had watched, conceiving all to be ſecure, were gone to reſt, and being within muſket ſhot of the gate before he was diſcovered, finding that weak gate ſhut, or rather cloſed againſt him, and not that quick appearance of a party within the town, as he promiſed himſelf, without doing any harm, retired in great diſorder, and with ſo much haſte, that the wearied horſe, ſent out preſently to attend him, could not overtake any of his train; ſo that when Prince Rupert came thither, they did not conceive any conſiderable party of the enemy to be near. However his Highneſs reſolved to retire from thence, as ſoon as he ſhould receive perfect intelligence of the motion of the enemy, when on the ſudden repoſing himſelf on the ground with Prince Maurice his brother, the Lord Digby, and the principal officers, in the field before the town, ſome of his wearied troops (for they had had a long march) being by, but the reſt and moſt of the officers in the town, he eſpied a fair body of horſe, conſiſting of near five hundred, marching in very good order up a lane within muſket ſhot of him. In this confuſion, they had ſcarce time to get upon their horſes, and none to conſult of what was to be done, or to put themſelves into their ſeveral places of command. And, it may be, it was well they had not; for if all thoſe officers had been in the heads of their ſeveral troops, it is not impoſſible it might have been worſe. But the Prince inſtantly declaring, "that he would charge;" his brother, the Lord Digby, Commiſſary General Wilmot, Sir John Byron, Sir Lewis Dives, and all thoſe officers and gentlemen, whoſe troops were not preſent or ready, put themſelves next the Prince; the other wearied troops coming in order after them.

In this manner the Prince charged them, as ſoon as they

they came out of the lane; and being ſeconded by this handful of good men, though the rebels being gallantly led by Colonel Sandys, (a gentleman of Kent, and the ſon of a worthy father), and completely armed both for offence and defence, ſtood well; yet in a ſhort time, many of their beſt men being killed, and Colonel Sandys himſelf falling with his hurts, the whole body was routed, fled, and was purſued by the conquerors for the ſpace of above a mile. The number of the ſlain were not many, not above forty or fifty, and thoſe moſt officers; for their arms were ſo good, that in the charge they were not to be eaſily killed, and in the chaſe the goodneſs of their horſe made it impoſſible. Colonel Sandys, who died ſhortly after of his wounds, Captain Wingate, who was the more known, by being a member of the Houſe of Commons, and taken notice of for having in that charge behaved himſelf ſtoutly, and two or three Scottiſh officers, were taken priſoners. Of the King's party none of name was loſt: Commiſſary General Wilmot hurt with a ſword in the ſide, and Sir Lewis Dives in the ſhoulder, and two or three other officers of inferior note; none miſcarrying of their wounds, which was the more ſtrange for that, by reaſon they expected not an encounter, there was not, on the Prince's ſide, a piece of armour worn that day, and but few piſtols; ſo that moſt of the hurt that was done was by the ſword. Six or ſeven cornets of the enemy's were taken, and many good horſes, and ſome arms; for they who run away made themſelves as light as they could.

A rencounter between the forces near Worceſter, where Prince Rupert gets the better.

This rencounter proved of great advantage and benefit to the King. For it being the firſt action his horſe had been brought to, and that party of the enemy being the moſt picked and choice men, it gave his troops great courage, and rendered the name of Prince Rupert very

terrible, and exceedingly appalled the adverſary; inſomuch as they had not, in a long time after, any confidence in their horſe, and their very numbers were much leſſened by it. For that whole party being routed, and the chief officers of name and reputation either killed or taken, though the number left upon the place was not conſiderable, there were very many more who never returned to the ſervice; and, which was worſe, for their own excuſe, in all places, talked aloud of the incredible and unreſiſtible courage of Prince Rupert, and the King's horſe. So that, from this time, the Parliament begun to be apprehenſive, that the buſineſs would not be as eaſily ended, as it was begun; and that the King would not be brought back to them with their bare votes. Yet how faintly ſoever the private pulſes beat, (for no queſtion many, who had made greateſt noiſe, wiſhed they were again to chooſe their ſide,) the two Houſes were ſo far from any viſible abatement of their mettle, that to weigh down any poſſible ſuppoſition that they might be inclined, or drawn to treat with the King, or that they had any apprehenſion that the people would be leſs firm, and conſtant to them, they proceeded to bolder acts to evince both, than they had yet done.

For to the firſt, to ſhew how ſecure they were againſt reſentment from his allies, as well as againſt his Majeſty's own power, they cauſed the Capuchin Friars, who, by the articles of marriage, were to have a ſafe reception and entertainment in the Queen's family, and had, by her Majeſty's care, and at her charge, a ſmall, but a convenient habitation, by her own chapel, in her own houſe, in the Strand, and had continued there, without diſturbance, from the time of the marriage, after many inſolencies and indignities offered to them by the rude multitude, even within thoſe gates of her own houſe, to be taken from thence,

thence, and to be ſent over into France, with proteſtation, " that if they were found again in England, they " ſhould be proceeded againſt as traitors:" and this in the face of the French Ambaſſador, who notwithſtanding withdrew not from them his courtſhip and application.

Then, that the King might know how little they dreaded his forces, they ſent down their inſtructions to the Earl of Eſſex their General, who had long expected them; whereby, among other things of form for the better diſcipline of the army, " they required him to march, with ſuch forces " as he thought fit, towards the army raiſed, in his Majeſ- " ty's name, againſt the Parliament and the kingdom; and " with them, or any part of them, to fight at ſuch time " and place as he ſhould judge moſt to conduce to the " peace and ſafety of the kingdom: and that he ſhould uſe " his utmoſt endeavour by battle, or otherwiſe, to reſcue " his Majeſty's perſon, and the perſons of the Prince, " and Duke of York, out of the hands of thoſe deſperate " perſons, who were then about them. They directed " him to take an opportunity, in ſome ſafe and honour- " able way, to cauſe the petition of both Houſes of Par- " liament, then ſent to him, to be preſented to his Ma- " jeſty; and if his Majeſty ſhould thereupon pleaſe to " withdraw himſelf from the forces then about him, and " to reſort to the Parliament, his Lordſhip ſhould cauſe " his Majeſty's forces to diſband, and ſhould ſerve and " defend his Majeſty with a ſufficient ſtrength in his " return. They required his Lordſhip to publiſh and de- " clare, that if any who had been ſo ſeduced, by the " falſe aſperſions caſt upon the proceedings of the Parlia- " ment, as to aſſiſt the King in acting of thoſe danger- " ous counſels, ſhould willingly, within ten days after " ſuch publication in the army, return to their duty, not " doing any hoſtile act within the time limited, and join

The two Houſes' inſtructions to their General.

" themſelves with the Parliament in defence of religion,
" his Majeſty's perſon, the liberties, and law of the king-
" dom, and privileges of Parliament, with their perſons,
" and eſtates, as the Members of both Houſes, and the
" reſt of the kingdom, have done, that the Lords and
" Commons would be ready, upon their ſubmiſſion, to
" receive ſuch perſons in ſuch a manner, as they ſhould
" have cauſe to acknowledge they had been uſed with cle-
" mency and favour; provided that that favour ſhould not
" extend to admit any man into either Houſe of Parlia-
" ment, who ſtood ſuſpended, without giving ſatisfaction
" to the Houſe whereof he ſhould be a Member; and ex-
" cept all perſons who ſtood impeached, or particularly
" voted againſt in either Houſe of Parliament for any delin-
" quency whatſoever; excepting likewiſe ſuch adherents of
" thoſe, who ſtood impeached in Parliament of treaſon, as
" had been eminent perſons, and chief actors in thoſe trea-
" ſons." And left thoſe clauſes of exception (which no doubt comprehended all the King's party, and if not, they were ſtill to be judges of their own clemency and favour, which was all was promiſed to the humbleſt penitent) might invite thoſe, whom they had no mind to receive on any terms, they vouchſafed a " particular exception of the
" Earl of Briſtol, the Earl of Cumberland, the Earl of
" Newcaſtle, the Earl of Rivers, the Duke of Rich-
" mond, the Earl of Caernarvon, the Lord Newark, and
" the Lord Viſcount Falkland, Principal Secretary of
" State to his Majeſty, Mr. Secretary Nicholas, Mr.
" Endymion Porter, Mr. Edward Hyde;" againſt not one of whom was there a charge depending of any crime, and againſt very few of them ſo much as a vote, which was no great matter of delinquency.

It will be here neceſſary to inſert the petition, directed to be preſented in ſome ſafe and honourable way to his Majeſ-

ty;

ry; the rather for that the ſame was, upon the reaſons hereafter mentioned, never preſented; which was afterwards objected to his Majeſty as a rejection of peace on his part, when they deſired it. The petition was in theſe words.

The petition of both Houſes to the King, ſent to the General to be preſented, but never delivered.

"We your Majeſty's loyal ſubjects, the Lords and "Commons in Parliament, cannot, without great grief, "and tenderneſs of compaſſion, behold the preſſing mi- "ſeries, the imminent dangers, and the devouring cala- "mities, which extremely threaten, and have partly ſeized "upon, both your kingdoms of England and Ireland, "by the practices of a party prevailing with your Ma- "jeſty; who, by many wicked plots and conſpiracies, "have attempted the alteration of the true religion, and "the ancient government of this kingdom, and the in- "troducing of Popiſh idolatry and ſuperſtition in the "Church, and tyranny and confuſion in the State; and, "for the compaſſing thereof, have long corrupted your "Majeſty's counſels, abuſed your power, and, by ſudden "and untimely diſſolving of former Parliaments, have "often hindered the reformation and prevention of thoſe "miſchiefs; and being now diſabled to avoid the endea- "vours of this Parliament, by any ſuch means, have "traitorouſly attempted to overawe the ſame by force; "and, in proſecution of their wicked deſigns, have ex- "cited, encouraged, and foſtered an unnatural rebellion "in Ireland; by which, in a moſt cruel and outrageous "manner, many thouſands of your Majeſty's ſubjects "there have been deſtroyed; and, by falſe ſlanders upon "your Parliament, and malicious and unjuſt accuſations, "have endeavoured to begin the like maſſacre here; and "being, through God's bleſſing, therein diſappointed, "have, as the moſt miſchievous and bloody deſign of all, "drawn your Majeſty to make war againſt your Parlia- "ment, and good ſubjects of this kingdom, leading in

"your

" your perſon an army againſt them, as if you intended,
" by conqueſt, to eſtabliſh an abſolute and unlimited
" power over them; and by your power, and the coun-
" tenance of your preſence, have ranſacked, ſpoiled, im-
" priſoned, and murdered divers of your people; and,
" for their better aſſiſtance in their wicked deſigns, do
" ſeek to bring over the rebels of Ireland, and other
" forces, beyond the ſeas, to join with them.

" And we, finding ourſelves utterly deprived of your
" Majeſty's protection, and the authors, counſellors, and
" abettors of theſe miſchiefs in greateſt power and favour
" with your Majeſty, and defended by you againſt the
" juſtice and authority of your high court of Parliament;
" whereby they are grown to that height and inſolence,
" as to manifeſt their rage and malice againſt thoſe of the
" Nobility, and others, who are any whit inclinable to
" peace, not without great appearance of danger to your
" own royal perſon, if you ſhall not in all things concur
" with their wicked and traitorous courſes; have, for the
" juſt and neceſſary defence of the Proteſtant religion, of
" your Majeſty's perſon, crown, and dignity, of the laws
" and liberties of the kingdom, and the privileges and
" power of Parliament, taken up arms, and appointed and
" authorized Robert Earl of Eſſex to be Captain General
" of all the forces by us raiſed, and to lead and conduct
" the ſame againſt theſe rebels and traitors, and them to
" ſubdue, and bring to condign puniſhment; and do
" moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to withdraw your
" royal preſence and countenance from [illegible] wicked per-
" ſons; and, if they ſhall ſtand out in defence of their
" rebellious and unlawful attempts, that your Majeſty
" will leave them to be ſuppreſſed by that power, which
" we have ſent againſt them; and that your Majeſty will
" not mix your own dangers with theirs, but in peace

" and

" and ſafety, without your forces, forthwith return to " your Parliament; and, by their faithful counſel and " advice, compoſe the preſent diſtempers and confuſions " abounding in both your kingdoms; and provide for " the ſecurity and honour of yourſelf and your royal " poſterity, and the proſperous eſtate of all your ſubjects; " wherein if your Majeſty pleaſe to yield to our moſt " humble and earneſt deſires, we do, in the preſence of " Almighty God, profeſs, that we will receive your Ma- " jeſty with all honour, yield you all due obedience and " ſubjection, and faithfully endeavour to ſecure your per- " ſon and eſtate from all dangers; and, to the uttermoſt " of our power, to procure and eſtabliſh to yourſelf, and " to your people, all the bleſſings of a glorious and happy " reign."

Beſides this, that it might appear they were nothing jealous or apprehenſive of the people's defection and revolt from them, whereas before they had made the general deſire of the kingdom the ground and argument for whatſoever they had done, and had only invited men to contribute freely what they thought fit, to the charge in hand, without compelling any who were unwilling; they now took notice not only of thoſe who oppoſed their proceedings, or privately diſſuaded other men from concurring with them, but of thoſe, who either out of fear, or covetouſneſs, or both, had neglected really to contribute; and therefore they boldly publiſhed their votes, (which were laws to the people, or of much more authority), " That all ſuch perſons, as ſhould not contribute to the " charge of the commonwealth, in that time of eminent " neceſſity, ſhould be diſarmed and ſecured;" and that this vote might be the more terrible, they ordered, the ſame day, the Mayor and Sheriffs of London " to ſearch " the houſes, and ſeize the arms belonging to ſome Al- " dermen,

Votes of both Houſes for raiſing and procuring money.

" dermen, and other principal ſubſtantial citizens of Lon-
" don," whom they named in their order; " for that it
" appeared by the report from their committee, that they
" had not contributed, as they ought, to the charge of
" the commonwealth."

By this means the pooreſt and loweſt of the people became informers againſt the richeſt and moſt ſubſtantial: and the reſult of ſearching the houſes and ſeizing the arms was, the taking away plate, and things of the greateſt value, and very frequently plundering whatſoever was worth the keeping. They farther appointed, " that the fines,
" rents, and profits of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans,
" Deans and Chapters, and of all Delinquents, who had
" taken up arms againſt the Parliament, or had been
" active in the commiſſion of array, ſhould be ſequeſtered
" for the uſe and benefit of the commonwealth." And that the King might not fare better than his adherents, they directed " all his revenue, ariſing out of rents, fines
" in courts of juſtice, compoſition for wards, and the like,
" and all other his revenue, ſhould be brought into the
" ſeveral courts, and other places, where they ought to
" be paid in, and not iſſued forth, or paid forth, until far-
" ther order ſhould be taken by both Houſes of Parlia-
" ment;" without ſo much as aſſigning him any part of his own, towards the ſupport of his own perſon.

This ſtout invaſion of the people's property, and compelling them to part with what was moſt precious to them, any part of their eſtates, was thought by many an unpopular act, in the morning of their ſovereignty, and that it would wonderfully have irreconciled their new ſubjects to them. But the conductors well underſtood, that their empire already depended more on the fear, than love of the people: and that as they could carry on the war only by having money enough to pay the ſoldiers, ſo, that whilſt

whilſt they had that, probably they ſhould not want men to recruit their armies upon any miſadventure.

It cannot be imagined, how great advantages the King received by the Parliament's rejecting the King's meſſages for peace, and their manner in doing it. All men's mouths were opened againſt them, the meſſages and anſwers being read in all churches; they, who could not ſerve him in their perſons, contrived ways to ſupply him with money. Some eminent Governors in the Univerſities gave him notice that all the colleges were very plentifully ſupplied with plate, which would amount to a good value, and lay uſeleſs in their treaſuries, there being enough beſides for their common uſe; and there was not the leaſt doubt, but that whenſoever his Majeſty ſhould think fit to require that treaſure, it would all be ſent to him. Of this the King had long thought, and, when he was at Nottingham, in that melancholic ſeaſon, two Gentlemen were diſpatched away to Oxford, and to Cambridge, (two to each), with letters to the ſeveral Vice-Chancellors, that they ſhould move the Heads and Principals of the ſeveral colleges and halls, that they would ſend their plate to the King; private advertiſements being firſt ſent to ſome truſty perſons to prepare and diſpoſe thoſe, without whoſe conſent the ſervice could not be performed.

This whole affair was tranſacted with ſo great ſecrecy and diſcretion, that the meſſengers returned from the two Univerſities, in as ſhort a time as ſuch a journey could well be made; and brought with them all, or very near all, their plate, and a conſiderable ſum of money, which was ſent as a preſent to his Majeſty from ſeveral of the Heads of colleges, out of their own particular ſtores; ſome Scholars coming with it, and helping to procure horſes and carts for the ſervice; all which came ſafe to Nottingham,

The two Univerſities contributed their money and plate to the King.

Nottingham, at the time when there appeared no more expectation of a treaty, and contributed much to raiſing the dejected ſpirits of the place. The plate was preſently weighed out, and delivered to the ſeveral officers, who were entruſted to make levies of horſe and foot, and who received it as money; the reſt was carefully preſerved to be carried with the King, when he ſhould remove from thence; ſecret orders being ſent to the officers of the Mint, to be ready to come to his Majeſty as ſoon as he ſhould require them; which he meant to do, as ſoon as he ſhould find himſelf in a place convenient. There was now no more complaining or murmuring. Some gentlemen undertook to make levies upon their credit and intereſt, and others ſent money to the King upon their own inclinations.

There was a pleaſant ſtory, then much ſpoken of in the Court, which adminiſtered ſome mirth. There were two great men who lived near Nottingham, both men of great fortunes and of great parſimony, and known to have much money lying by them. To the former the Lord Capel was ſent; to the latter, John Aſhburnham of the Bedchamber, and of entire confidence with his Maſter; each of them with a letter, all written with the King's hand, to borrow of each ten or five thouſand pounds. Capel was very civilly received by one, and entertained as well as the ill accommodations in his houſe, and his manner of living, would admit. He expreſſed, with wonderful civil profeſſions of duty, "the great trouble he "ſuſtained, in not being able to comply with his Ma"jeſty's commands:" He ſaid, "all men knew that he "neither had, nor could have money, becauſe he had "every year, of ten or a dozen which were paſt, pur"chaſed a thouſand pounds land a year; and therefore he "could not be imagined to have any money lying by "him,

" him, which he never loved to have. But, he ſaid, he had " a neighbour, who lived within few miles of him, who " was good for nothing, and lived like a hog, not allow- " ing himſelf neceſſaries, and who could not have ſo little " as twenty thouſand pounds in the ſcurvy houſe in " which he lived;" and adviſed, " he might be ſent to, " who could not deny the having of money;" and concluded with great duty to the King, and deteſtation of the Parliament, and as if he meant to conſider farther of the thing, and to endeavour to get ſome money for him; which though he did not remember to ſend, his affections were good, and he was afterwards killed in the King's ſervice.

Aſhburnham got no more money, nor half ſo many good words. That Lord had ſo little correſpondence with the Court, that he had never heard his name; and when he had read the King's letter, he aſked from whom it was; and when he told him, " he ſaw it was from the " King," he replied, " that he was not ſuch a fool as to " believe it. That he had received letters both from " the King and his father;" and haſtily running out of the room, returned with half a dozen letters in his hand; ſaying, " that thoſe were all the King's letters, and that " they always begun with *Right truſty and well-beloved*, " and the King's name was ever at the top; but this " letter begun with his own name, and ended with *your* " *loving friend C. R.* which, he ſaid, he was ſure could " not be the King's hand." His other treatment was according to this, and, after an ill ſupper, he was ſhewed an indifferent bed; the Lord telling him, " that he " would confer more of the matter in the morning;" he having ſent a ſervant with a letter to the Lord Falkland, who was his wife's nephew, and who had ſcarce ever ſeen his uncle. The man came to Nottingham about midnight,

night, and found my Lord Falkland in his bed. The letter was to tell him, "that one Aſhburnham was with "him, who brought him a letter, which he ſaid was "from the King; but he knew that could not be; and "therefore he deſired to know, who this man was, "whom he kept in his houſe till the meſſenger ſhould "return." In ſpite of the laughter, which could not be forborne, the Lord Falkland made haſte to inform him of the condition and quality of the perſon, and that the letter was writ with the King's own hand, which he ſeldom vouchſafed to do. And the meſſenger returning early the next morning, his Lordſhip treated Mr. Aſhburnham with ſo different a reſpect, that he, who knew nothing of the cauſe, believed that he ſhould return with all the money that was deſired. But it was not long before he was undeceived. The Lord with as cheerful a countenance as his could be, for he had a very unuſual and unpleaſant face, told him, "that though he had no "money himſelf, but was in extreme want of it, he "would tell him where he might have money enough; "that he had a neighbour, who lived within four or five "miles, that never did good to any body, and loved no-"body but himſelf, who had a world of money, and could "furniſh the King with as much as he had need of; and "if he ſhould deny that he had money when the King "ſent to him, he knew where he had one trunk full, and "would diſcover it; and that he was ſo ill beloved, and "had ſo few friends, that nobody would care how the "King uſed him." This good counſel was all Mr. Aſhburnham could make of him; and yet this wretched man was ſo far from wiſhing well to the Parliament, that when they had prevailed and were poſſeſſed of the whole kingdom, as well as of Nottinghamſhire, he would not give them one penny; nor compound for his delinquency,

quency, as they made the having lived in the King's quarters to be; but ſuffered his whole eſtate to be ſequeſtered, and lived in a very miſerable faſhion, only by what he could raviſh from his tenants; who, though they paid their rents to the Parliament, were forced by his rage and threats to part with ſo much as kept him, till he died, in that condition he choſe to live in: his conſcience being powerful enough to deny himſelf, though it could not diſpoſe him to grant to the King. And thus the two meſſengers returned to the King, ſo near the ſame time, that he who came firſt had not given his account to the King, before the other entered into his preſence.

The ſame day, a gentleman in thoſe parts, known to be very rich, being preſſed to lend the King five hundred pounds, ſent him a preſent of one hundred pieces in gold; "which," he ſaid, "he had procured with great "difficulty;" and proteſted, with many execrable imprecations, "that he had never in his life ſeen five hundred "pounds of his own together;" when, within one month after the King's departure, the Parliament troops, which borrowed in another ſtyle, took five thouſand pounds from him, which was lodged with him, in the chamber in which he lay. Which is therefore mentioned in this place, that upon this occaſion it may be ſeen, that the unthrifty retention of their money, which poſſeſſed the ſpirits of thoſe, who did really wiſh the King all the ſucceſs he wiſhed for himſelf, was one unhappy cauſe of all his misfortunes: and if they had, in the beginning, but lent the King the fifth part of what, after infinite loſſes, they found neceſſary to ſacrifice to his enemies, in the concluſion, to preſerve themſelves from total ruin, his Majeſty had been able, with God's bleſſing, to have preſerved them, and to have deſtroyed all his enemies.

The news of the important advantage before Worceſter found the King at Cheſter, whither his Majeſty thought neceſſary to make a journey himſelf, as ſoon as he came to Shrewſbury, both to aſſure that city to his ſervice, which was the key to Ireland, and to countenance the Lord Strange (who, by the death of his father, became Earl of Derby) againſt ſome oppoſition he met with, on the behalf of the Parliament. Here Crane, ſent by Prince Rupert, gave his Majeſty an account of that action; and preſented him with the enſigns, which had been taken; and informed him of the Earl of Eſſex's being in Worceſter; which made the King return ſooner to Shrewſbury than he intended, and before the Earl of Derby was poſſeſſed of that power, which a little longer ſtay would have given him.

Prince Rupert the ſame night, after his victory, finding the groſs of the rebels' army to be within five or ſix miles, againſt which that city was in no degree tenable, though all the King's foot had been there, retired from Worceſter on the Welſh ſide of the river, without any diſturbance, into his quarters near Shrewſbury, and with all his priſoners, Colonel Sandys only excepted, whom he left to die of his wounds there; the Earl of Eſſex being ſo much ſtartled with this late defeat, that he advanced not in two days after; and then being ſurely informed, that he ſhould find no reſiſtance, he entered with his army into Worceſter; uſing great ſeverity to thoſe citizens, who had been eminently inclined to the King's ſervice, and ſending the principal of them priſoners to London.

The King comes to Shrewſbury.

Upon the King's coming to Shrewſbury, there was a very great conflux of the gentry there, and the neighbouring counties, which were generally well affected, and made great profeſſions of duty to his Majeſty: ſome of

of them undertook to make levies of horſe and foot, and performed it at their own charge. The town was very commodious in all reſpects, ſtrong in its ſituation; and in reſpect of its neighbourhood to North Wales, and the uſe of the Severn, yielded excellent proviſions of all kinds; ſo that both court and army were very well accommodated, only the incurable diſeaſe of want of money could not be aſſuaged in either. Yet whilſt they ſat ſtill, it was not very ſenſible, much leſs importunate. The ſoldiers behaved themſelves orderly, and the people were not inclined, or provoked to complain of their new gueſts; and the remainder of the plate, which was brought from the Univerſities, together with the ſmall preſents in money, which were made to the King by many particular perſons, ſupplied the preſent neceſſary expences very conveniently. But it was eaſily diſcerned, that, when the army ſhould move, which the King reſolved it ſhould do with all poſſible expedition, the neceſſity of money would be very great, and the train of artillery, which is commonly a ſponge that can hardly be filled, was deſtitute of all things neceſſary for motion. Nor was there any hope that it could march, till a good ſum of money were aſſigned to it; ſome carriage-horſes, and waggons, which were prepared for the ſervice of Ireland, and lay ready at Cheſter, to be tranſported with the Earl of Leiceſter, Lieutenant of that kingdom, were brought to Shrewſbury, by his Majeſty's order, for his own train: and the Earl's paſſionate labouring to prevent or remedy that application, with ſome other reaſons, hindered the Earl himſelf from purſuing that journey; and, in the end, deprived him of that province. But this ſeaſonable addition to the train increaſed the neceſſity of money, there being more uſe of it thereby.

Two expedients were found to make ſuch a compe-

tent proviſion for all wants, that they were at laſt broken through. Some perſon of that inclination had inſinuated to the King, that, "if the Roman Catholics, which "that and the adjacent counties were well inhabited by, "were ſecretly treated with, a conſiderable ſum of money "might be raiſed among them; but it muſt be carried "with great privacy, that no notice might be taken of "it, the Parliament having declared ſo great animoſities "againſt them;" nor did it in that conjuncture concern the King leſs that it ſhould be very ſecret, to avoid the ſcandal of a cloſe conjunction with the Papiſts, which was every day imputed to him. Upon many conſultations how, and in what method, to carry on this deſign, the King was informed, "that if he would depute a per-"ſon, much truſted by him, to that ſervice, the Roman "Catholics would truſt him, and aſſign one or two of "their body to confer with him, and by this means the "work might be carried on." Hereupon the King ſent for that perſon, and told him this whole matter, as it is here ſet down, and required him to conſult with ſuch a perſon, whom he would ſend to him the next morning. The next morning a perſon of quality, very much truſted by all that party, came to him to confer upon that ſubject; and ſhewed a liſt of the names of all the gentlemen of quality and fortune of that religion, who were all convict Recuſants, and lived within thoſe counties of Shropſhire and Stafford. They appeared to be a good number of very valuable men, on whoſe behalf he had only authority to conclude, though he believed that the method, they agreed on there, would be ſubmitted to, and confirmed by that party in all other places. He ſaid, "they would by no means hearken to any motion "for the loan of money, for which they had paid ſo "dear, upon their ſerving the King in that manner, in "his

" his firſt expedition againſt the Scots." It was in the end agreed upon, that the King ſhould write to every one of them to pay him an advance of two or three years of ſuch rent, as they were every year obliged to pay him, upon the compoſition they had made with him for their eſtates; which would amount to a conſiderable ſum of money. And theſe letters were accordingly writ, and within ten or twelve days between four and five thouſand pounds were returned to his Majeſty; which was a ſeaſonable ſupply for his affairs.

At his return to Shrewſbury, the King found as much done towards his march, as he expected. And then the other expedient (which was hinted before) for money offered itſelf. There was a gentleman of a very good extraction, and of the beſt eſtate of any gentleman of that country, who lived within four or five miles of Shrewſbury, and was looked upon as a very prudent man, and had a very powerful influence upon that people, and was of undoubted affections and loyalty to the King, and to the government both in Church and State: his eldeſt ſon was a young gentleman of great expectation, and of excellent parts, a member of the Houſe of Commons, who had behaved himſelf there very well. This gentleman intimated to a friend of his, " That, if his father might " be made a Baron, he did believe he might be prevailed " with to preſent his Majeſty with a good ſum of money." It was propoſed to the King, who had no mind to embrace the propoſition, his Majeſty taking occaſion often to ſpeak againſt " making merchandize of honour; how " much the Crown ſuffered at preſent by the licence of " that kind, which had been uſed during the favour of " the Duke of Buckingham; and that he had not taken " a firmer reſolution againſt many things, than againſt " this particular expedient for raiſing money." However, after he returned from Cheſter, and found by the

increaſe of his levies, and the good diſpoſition all things were in, that he might in a ſhort time be able to march, and in ſo good a condition, that he ſhould rather ſeek the rebels, than decline meeting with them, if the indiſpenſable want of money did not make his motion impoſſible; the merit and ability of the perſon, and the fair expectation from his poſterity, he having two ſons, both very hopeful, prevailed with his Majeſty to reſume the ſame overture; and in few days it was perfected, and the gentleman was made a Baron; who preſented the ſum of ſix thouſand pounds to his Majeſty; whereupon all preparations for the army were proſecuted with effect.

As ſoon as the King came to Shrewſbury, he had diſpatched his letters and agents into Wales, Cheſhire, and Lancaſhire, to quicken the levies of men which were making there, and returned from Cheſter through the north part of Wales (where he found the people cordial to him, and arming themſelves for him) to Shrewſbury. The King's cuſtom was in all counties, through which he paſſed, to cauſe the High Sheriff to draw all the gentlemen and the moſt ſubſtantial inhabitants of thoſe parts together, to whom (beſides his careſſing the principal gentlemen ſeverally, familiarly, and very obligingly) he always ſpoke ſomething publicly, (which was afterwards printed), telling them,

The ſubſtance of the King's ſpeeches to the gentry and commonalty of ſeveral counties rough which he paſſed.

"That it was a benefit to him from the inſolences "and misfortunes, which had driven him about, that "they had brought him to ſo good a part of his king-"dom, and to ſo faithful a part of his people. He "hoped, neither they nor he ſhould repent their coming "together. He would do his part, that they might "not; and of them he was confident before he came." He told them, "the reſidence of an army was not uſually "pleaſant to any place; and his might carry more fear "with it, ſince it might be thought, (being robbed, and "ſpoiled

" ſpoiled of all his own, and ſuch terror uſed to fright " and keep all men from ſupplying him), he muſt only " live upon the aid and relief of his people. But he bid " them not be afraid;" and ſaid, " he wiſhed to God, " his poor ſubjects ſuffered no more by the inſolence " and violence of that army raiſed againſt him, though " they had made themſelves wanton with plenty, than " they ſhould do by his; and yet he feared he ſhould " not be able to prevent all diſorders; he would do his " beſt; and promiſed them, no man ſhould be a loſer " by him, if he could help it." He ſaid, " he had ſent " for a mint, and would melt down all his own plate, " and expoſe all his land to ſale, or mortgage, that he " might bring the leaſt preſſure upon them." However, he invited them " to do that for him, and themſelves, " for the maintenance of their religion, and the law of " the land, (by which they enjoyed all that they had), " which other men did againſt them;" he deſired them, " not to ſuffer ſo good a cauſe to be loſt, for want of " ſupplying him with that, which would be taken from " them, by thoſe who purſued his Majeſty with that " violence. And whilſt thoſe ill men ſacrificed their " money, plate, and utmoſt induſtry, to deſtroy the " commonwealth, they would be no leſs liberal to pre- " ſerve it. He bid them aſſure themſelves, if it pleaſed " God to bleſs him with ſucceſs, he would remember " the aſſiſtance every particular man gave him to his " advantage. However it would hereafter (how furi- " ouſly ſoever the minds of ſome men were now poſ- " ſeſſed) be honour and comfort to them, that, with ſome " charge and trouble to themſelves, they had done their " part to ſupport their King, and preſerve the kingdom."

His Majeſty always took notice of any particular reports, which, either with reference to the public, or their

private concerns, might make impreſſion upon that people, and gave clear anſwers to them. With this gracious and princely demeanour, it is hardly credible how much he won upon the people; ſo that not only his army daily increaſed by volunteers, (for there was not a man preſſed), but ſuch proportions of plate and money were voluntarily brought in, that the army was fully and conſtantly paid: the King having erected a mint at Shrewſbury, more for reputation than uſe, (for, for want of workmen and inſtruments, they could not coin a thouſand pounds a week), and cauſing all his own plate, for the ſervice of his houſehold, to be delivered there, made other men think, theirs was the leſs worth the preſerving.

Shortly after the Earl of Eſſex came to Worceſter, he ſent a gentleman (Fleetwood, the ſame who had afterwards ſo great power in the army, but then a Trooper in his guards) to Shrewſbury, without a trumpet, or any other ceremony than a letter to the Earl of Dorſet; in which he ſaid, "he was appointed by the Parliament, "to cauſe a petition, then in his hands, to be preſented "to his Majeſty; and therefore deſired his Lordſhip to "know his Majeſty's pleaſure, when he would be "pleaſed to receive it from ſuch perſons, as he ſhould "ſend over with it." The Earl of Dorſet (by his Majeſty's command, after it had been debated in council what anſwer to return) ſent him word in writing, "that "the King had always been, and would be ſtill, ready to "receive any petition from his two Houſes of Parlia-"ment; and if the Earl had any ſuch to be preſented, "if he ſent it by any perſons who ſtood not perſonally "accuſed by his Majeſty of high treaſon, and excepted "ſpecially in all offers of pardon made by him, the per-"ſons who brought it ſhould be welcome; and the "King

" King would return ſuch an anſwer to it, as ſhould be " agreeable to honour and juſtice." Whether this limitation as to meſſengers diſpleaſed them, (as it was afterwards ſaid, that the meſſengers appointed to have delivered it were the Lord Mandeville and Mr. Hambden, who, they thought, would have ſkill to make infuſions into many perſons then about his Majeſty; and the hopes of that acceſs being barred by that limitation and exception, they would not ſend any other), or what other reaſon ſoever there was, the King heard no more of this petition, or any addreſs of that nature, till he found, by ſome new printed votes, and declarations, " that he was " guilty of another breach of the privilege of Parliament, " for having refuſed to receive their petition, except it " were preſented in ſuch a manner as he preſcribed: " whereas they alone were judges in what manner, and " by what perſons, their own petitions ſhould be deli- " vered, and he ought ſo to receive them." So that petition, which is before ſet down in the very terms it paſſed both Houſes, was never delivered to his Majeſty.

The ſtrength of the King's army at Shrewſbury.

There cannot be too often mention of the wonderful providence of God, that from that low deſpiſed condition the King was in at Nottingham, after the ſetting up his ſtandard, he ſhould be able to get men, money, or arms, ſo that, within twenty days after his coming to Shrewſbury, he reſolved to march, in deſpite of the enemy, even towards London; his foot, by this time, conſiſting of about ſix thouſand; and his horſe of two thouſand; his train in very good order, commanded by Sir John Heydon. And though this ſtrength was much inferior to the enemy, yet as it was greater than any man thought poſſible to be raiſed, ſo all thought it ſufficient to encounter the rebels. Beſides that it was confidently believed, (and not without ſome grounds, upon correſpondence

ſpondence with ſome officers in the other army), that, as ſoon as the armies came within any reaſonable diſtance of each other, very many ſoldiers would leave their colours, and come to the King; which expectation was confirmed by divers ſoldiers, who every day dropped in from thoſe forces; and, to make themſelves welcome, told many ſtories of their fellows' reſolutions, whom they had left behind.

And this muſt be confeſſed, that either by the care and diligence of the officers, or by the good inclinations and temper of the ſoldiers themſelves, the army was in ſo good order and diſcipline, that, during the King's ſtay at Shrewſbury, there was not any remarkable diſorder; the country being very kind to the ſoldiers, and the ſoldiers juſt, and regardful to the country. And by the free loans and contributions of the gentlemen and ſubſtantial inhabitants, but eſpecially by the aſſiſtance of the nobility, who attended, the army was ſo well paid, that there was not the leaſt mutiny or diſcontent for want of pay; nor was there any cauſe; for they ſeldom failed every week, never went above a fortnight unpaid.

The greateſt difficulty was to provide arms; of which indeed there was a wonderful ſcarcity, the King being exceedingly diſappointed in his expectation of arms from Holland; a veſſel or two having been taken by his own ſhips, under the command of the Earl of Warwick; ſo that, except eight hundred muſquets, five hundred pair of piſtols, and two hundred ſwords, which came with the powder, landed in Yorkſhire, as is before mentioned, the King had none in his magazine; ſo that he was compelled to begin at Nottingham, and ſo in all places as he paſſed, to borrow the arms from the Trained Bands; which was done with ſo much warineſs and caution, (albeit it was known that thoſe arms would, being left in

thoſe

thoſe hands, be employed againſt him, or at leaſt be of no uſe to him), that it was done rather with their conſent, than by any conſtraint, and always with the full approbation of their commanders. And therefore in Yorkſhire and Shropſhire, where the gentlemen very unſkilfully, though with good meaning, deſired that the arms might ſtill be left in the country men's hands, there was none of that kind of borrowing. But, in all places, the noblemen, and gentlemen of quality, ſent the King ſuch ſupplies of arms, out of their own armories, (which were very mean), ſo that by all thoſe means together, the foot, all but three or four hundred, who marched without any weapon but a cudgel, were armed with muſquets, and bags for their powder, and pikes; but, in the whole body, there was not a pikeman had a corſlet, and very few muſqueteers who had ſwords. Among the horſe, the officers had their full deſire, if they were able to procure old backs, and breaſts, and pots with piſtols, or carabines, for their two or three firſt ranks, and ſwords for the reſt; themſelves (and ſome ſoldiers by their examples) having gotten, beſides their piſtols and ſwords, a ſhort pole-axe.

The foot were divided into three brigades; the firſt commanded by Sir Nicholas Byron, the ſecond by Colonel Harry Wentworth, the third by Colonel Richard Fielding, Sir Jacob Aſhley being Major General, and commanding the foot immediately under the General. For, though General Ruthen, who came to the King ſome few days before he left Shrewſbury, was made Field Marſhal, yet he kept wholly with the horſe to aſſiſt Prince Rupert: and Sir Arthur Aſton, of whoſe ſoldiery there was a very great eſteem, was made Colonel General of the dragoons; which at that time, though conſiſting of two or three regiments, were not above eight hundred,

or

or a thouſand at the moſt. Moſt of the perſons of quality, except thoſe whoſe attendance was near the King's own perſon, put themſelves into the King's troop of guards, commanded by the Lord Bernard Stewart; and made indeed ſo gallant a body, that, upon very modeſt computation, the eſtate and revenue of that ſingle troop, it was thought, might juſtly be valued at leaſt equal to all theirs, who then voted in both Houſes, under the name of the Lords and Commons of Parliament, which made and maintained that war. Their ſervants, under the command of Sir William Killigrew, made another full troop, and always marched with their lords and maſters.

The King having formed an army, marches from Shrewſbury towards London.

In this equipage the King marched from Shrewſbury, on the twelfth of October, to Bridgenorth, never leſs baggage attending a royal army, there being not one tent, and very few waggons belonging to the whole train; having in his whole army not one officer of the field who was a Papiſt, except Sir Arthur Aſton, if he were one; and very few common ſoldiers of that religion. However the Parliament, in all their declarations, and their Clergy much more in their ſermons, aſſured the people, "that the King's army conſiſted only of Papiſts," whilſt themſelves entertained all of that religion, that they could get; and very many, both officers and ſoldiers, of that religion engaged with them; whether it was that they really believed, that that army did deſire liberty of conſcience for all religions, as ſome of the chief of them pretended, or that they deſired to divide themſelves for communication of intelligence, and intereſt. And here it is not fit to forget one particular, that, when the committee of Parliament appointed to advance the ſervice upon the propoſition for plate, and horſes, in the county of Suffolk, ſent word to the Houſe of Commons, "that

"ſome

" ſome Papiſts offered to lend money upon thoſe pro-
" poſitions, and deſired advice whether they ſhould ac-
" cept of it," it was anſwered, " that if they offered any
" conſiderable ſum, whereby it might be conceived to
" proceed from a real affection to the Parliament, and
" not out of policy to bring themſelves within their pro-
" tection, and ſo to excuſe their delinquency, it ſhould
" be accepted of."

When the King was ready for his march, there was ſome difference of opinion which way he ſhould take; many were of opinion that he ſhould march towards Worceſter, where the Earl of Eſſex ſtill remained: thoſe countries were thought well affected to the King; where his army would be ſupplied with proviſions, and increaſed in numbers; and that no time ſhould be loſt in coming to a battle; becauſe the longer it was deferred, the ſtronger the Earl would grow, by the ſupplies which were every day ſent to him from London; and he had ſtore of arms with him to ſupply all defects of that kind. However it was thought more counſellable to march directly towards London, it being morally ſure, that the Earl of Eſſex would put himſelf in their way. The King had much confidence in his horſe, (his nephew Prince Rupert being in the head of them), which were fleſhed by their ſucceſs at Worceſter; and if he had made his march that way, he would have been entangled in the incloſures, where his horſe would have been leſs uſeful; whereas there were many open grounds near the other way, much fitter for an engagement. And ſo, about the middle of October, the King marched from Shrewſbury, and quartered that night at Bridgenorth, ten miles from the other place, where there was a rendezvous of the whole army, which appeared very cheerful; and thence to Wolverhampton, Bromicham, and Killingworth, a houſe

of

of the King's, and a very noble ſeat, where the King reſted one day; where the Lord Chief Juſtice Heath, who was made Chief Juſtice for that purpoſe, (Bramſton, a man of great learning and integrity, being, without any purpoſe of diſfavour, removed from that office, becauſe he ſtood bound by recognizance to attend the Parliament, upon an accuſation depending there againſt him), begun to ſit upon a commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer, to attaint the Earl of Eſſex, and many other perſons who were in rebellion, of high treaſon.

Some days had paſſed without any notice of that army; ſome reporting that it remained ſtill at Worceſter; others, that they were marched the direct way from thence towards London. But intelligence came from London, "that very many officers of name, and command in the "Parliament army, had undergone that ſervice with a "full reſolution to come to the King as ſoon as they "were within any diſtance; and it was wiſhed, that the "King would ſend a proclamation into the army itſelf, "and to offer pardon to all who would return to their "obedience." A proclamation was prepared accordingly, and all circumſtances reſolved upon, that a herald ſhould be ſent to proclaim it in the head of the Earl's army, when it ſhould be drawn up in battle. But that, and many other particulars, prepared and reſolved upon, were forgotten, or omitted at the time appointed, which would not admit any of thoſe formalities.

Faction begun in the King's army.

When the whole army marched together, there was quickly diſcovered an unhappy jealouſy, and diviſion between the principal officers, which grew quickly into a perfect faction between the foot and the horſe. The Earl of Lindſey was General of the whole army by his commiſſion, and thought very equal to it. But when Prince Rupert came to the King, which was after the ſtandard

ſtandard was ſet up, and received a commiſſion to be General of the horſe, which, all men knew, was deſigned for him, there was a clauſe inſerted into it, exempting him from receiving orders from any body but from the King himſelf; which, upon the matter, ſeparated all the horſe from any dependence upon the General, and had other ill conſequences in it: for when the King at midnight, being in his bed, and receiving intelligence of the enemy's motion, commanded the Lord Falkland, his principal Secretary of State, to direct Prince Rupert, what he ſhould do, his Highneſs took it very ill, and expoſtulated with the Lord Falkland, for giving him orders. He could not have directed his paſſion againſt any man, who would feel or regard it leſs. He told him, "that it "was his office to ſignify what the King bid him; "which he ſhould always do; and that his Highneſs, in "neglecting it, neglected the King;" who did neither the Prince nor his own ſervice any good, by complying in the beginning with his rough nature. But the King was ſo indulgent to him, that he took his advice in all things relating to the army, and upon the deliberation of their march, and the figure of the battle they reſolved to fight in with the enemy, he concurred entirely with Prince Rupert's advice, rejecting the opinion of the General, who preferred the order he had learned under Prince Maurice, and Prince Harry, with whom he had ſerved at the ſame time, when the Earl of Eſſex and he, both of them, had regiments. The reſervedneſs of the Prince's nature, and the little education he then had in courts, made him unapt to make acquaintance with any of the Lords, who were thereby likewiſe diſcouraged from applying themſelves to him; whilſt ſome officers of the horſe were well pleaſed to obſerve that ſtrangeneſs, and fomented it; believing their credit would be the greater with

with the Prince, and desiring that no other person should have any credit with the King. So the war was scarce begun, when there appeared such faction and designs in the army, which wise men looked upon as a very evil presage; and the inconveniences, which flowed from thence, gave the King great trouble in a short time after.

The Earl of Essex marches after the King.

Within two days after the King marched from Shrewsbury, the Earl of Essex moved from Worcester to attend him, with an army far superior in number to the King's; the horse and foot being completely armed, and the men very well exercised, and the whole equipage (being supplied out of the King's magazines) suitable to an army set forth at the charge of a kingdom. The Earl of Bedford had the name of General of the horse, though that command principally depended upon Sir William Balfour. Of the Nobility he had with him the Lords Kimbolton, Saint-John, Wharton, Roberts, and the Lords Rochford, and Fielding, (whose fathers, the Earls of Dover, and Denbigh, charged as volunteers in the King's guards of horse,) and many gentlemen of quality; but his train was so very great, that he could move but in slow marches. So that the two armies, though they were but twenty miles asunder, when they first set forth, and both marched the same way, gave not the least disquiet in ten days march to each other; and in truth, as it appeared afterwards, neither army knew where the other was.

The King by quick marches, having seldom rested a day in any place, came, on Saturday the twenty-second of October, to Edgcot, a village in Northamptonshire, within four miles of Banbury, in which the rebels had a garrison. As soon as he came thither, he called a council of war, and having no intelligence that the Earl of Essex was within any distance, it was resolved "the King and

"the

" the army ſhould reſt in thoſe quarters the next day, " only that Sir Nicholas Byron ſhould march with his bri- " gade, and attempt the taking in of Banbury." With this reſolution the council broke up, and all men went to their quarters, which were at a great diſtance, without any apprehenſion of an enemy. But that night, about twelve of the clock, Prince Rupert ſent the King word, " that the body of the rebels army was within ſeven or " eight miles, and that the head quarter was at a village " called Keinton on the edge of Warwickſhire; and " that it would be in his Majeſty's power, if he thought " fit, to fight a battle the next day;" which his Majeſty liked well, and therefore immediately diſpatched orders to croſs the deſign for Banbury, " and that the whole " army ſhould draw to a rendezvous on the top of Edge- " hill;" which was a high hill about two miles from Keinton, where the head quarter of the Earl was, which had a clear proſpect of all that valley.

The battle of Keinton or Edge-hill.

In the morning, being Sunday the twenty-third of October, when the rebels were beginning their march, (for they ſuſpected not the King's forces to be near,) they perceived a fair body of horſe on the top of that hill, and eaſily concluded their march was not then to be far. It is certain they were exceedingly ſurpriſed, having never had any other confidence of their men, than by the diſparity they concluded would be ſtill between their numbers and the King's, the which they found themſelves now deceived in. For two of their ſtrongeſt and beſt regiments of foot, and one regiment of horſe, was a day's march behind with their ammunition. So that, though they were ſtill ſuperior in number, yet that difference was not ſo great as they promiſed themſelves. However it cannot be denied that the Earl, with great dexterity, performed whatſoever could be expected

from a wife General. He chofe that ground which beſt liked him. There was between the hill and the town a fair campaign, ſave that near the town it was narrower, and on the right hand ſome hedges, and incloſures: ſo that there he placed muſqueteers, and not above two regiments of horſe, where the ground was narroweſt; but on his left wing he placed a body of a thouſand horſe, commanded by one Ramſey a Scotſman; the reſerve of horſe, which was a good one, was commanded by the Earl of Bedford, General of their horſe, and Sir William Balfour with him. The General himſelf was with the foot, which were ordered as much to advantage as might be. And in this poſture they ſtood from eight of the clock in the morning.

On the other ſide, though Prince Rupert was early in the morning with the greateſt part of the horſe on the top of the hill, which gave the enemy the firſt alarm of the neceſſity of fighting, yet the foot were quartered at ſo great a diſtance, that many regiments marched ſeven or eight miles to the rendezvous: ſo that it was paſt one of the clock, before the King's forces marched down the hill; the General himſelf alighted at the head of his own regiment of foot, his ſon the Lord Willoughby being next to him, with the King's regiment of guards, in which was the King's ſtandard, carried by Sir Edmund Verney, Knight Marſhal. The King's right wing of horſe was commanded by Prince Rupert, the left wing by Mr. Wilmot, Commiſſary General of the horſe, who was aſſiſted by Sir Arthur Aſton with moſt of the dragoons, becauſe that left wing was oppoſed to the enemy's right, which had the ſhelter of ſome hedges lined with muſqueteers: and the reſerve was committed to Sir John Byron, and conſiſted indeed only of his own regiment. At the entrance into the field, the King's troop

troop of guards, either provoked by ſome unſeaſonable ſcoffs among the ſoldiery, or out of deſire of glory, or both, beſought the King, "that he would give them "leave to be abſent that day from his perſon, and to "charge in the front among the horſe;" the which his Majeſty conſented to. They deſired Prince Rupert "to give them that honour which belonged to them;" who accordingly aſſigned them the firſt place; which, though they performed their parts with admirable courage, may well be reckoned among the overſights of that day.

It was near three of the clock in the afternoon, before the battle begun; which, at that time of the year, was ſo late, that ſome were of opinion, "that the buſineſs "ſhould be deferred till the next day." But againſt that there were many objections: "the King's numbers "could not increaſe, the enemy's might;" for they had not only their garriſons, Warwick, Coventry, and Banbury, within diſtance, but all that country ſo devoted to them, that they had all proviſions brought to them, without the leaſt trouble; whereas, on the other ſide, the people were ſo diſaffected to the King's party, that they had carried away, or hid, all their proviſions, inſomuch as there was neither meat for man, or horſe; and the very ſmiths hid themſelves, that they might not be compelled to ſhoe horſes, of which in thoſe ſtony ways there was great need. This proceeded not from any radical malice, or diſaffection to the King's cauſe, or his perſon; though it is true, that circuit in which this battle was fought, being very much in the intereſt of the Lord Say, and the Lord Brooke, was the moſt eminently corrupted of any county in England; but by the reports, and infuſions which the other very diligent party had wrought into the people's belief; "that the Cavaliers

" were of a fierce, bloody, and licentious diſpoſition, and " that they committed all manner of cruelty upon the " inhabitants of thoſe places where they came, of which " robbery was the leaſt:" ſo that the poor people thought there was no other way to preſerve their goods, than by hiding them out of the way; which was confeſſed by them, when they found how much that information had wronged them, by making them ſo injurious to their friends. And therefore where the army reſted a day they found much better entertainment at parting, than when they came; for it will not be denied, that there was no perſon of honour or quality, who paid not punctually and exactly for what they had; and there was not the leaſt violence or diſorder among the common ſoldiers in their march, which ſcaped exemplary puniſhment; ſo that at Bromicham, a town ſo generally wicked, that it had riſen upon ſmall parties of the King's, and killed or taken them priſoners, and ſent them to Coventry, declaring a more peremptory malice to his Majeſty than any other place, two ſoldiers were executed, for having taken ſome ſmall trifle of no value out of a houſe, whoſe owner was at that time in the rebels army. So ſtrict was the diſcipline in this army; when the other, without control, practiſed all the diſſoluteneſs imaginable. But the march was ſo faſt, that the leaving a good reputation behind them, was no harbinger to provide for their better reception in the next quarters. So that their wants were ſo great, at the time when they came to Edgehill, that there were very many companies of the common ſoldiers, who had ſcarce eaten bread in eight and forty hours before. The only way to cure this was a victory; and therefore the King gave the word, though it was late, the enemy keeping their ground to receive him without advancing at all.

In

In this hurry, there was an omiſſion of ſomewhat, which the King intended to have executed before the beginning of the battle. He had cauſed many proclamations to be printed of pardon to all thoſe ſoldiers who would lay down their arms, which he reſolved, as is ſaid before, to have ſent by a herald to the Earl of Eſſex, and to have found ways to have ſcattered and diſperſed them in that army, as ſoon as he underſtood they were within any diſtance of him. But all men were now ſo much otherwiſe buſied, that it was not ſoon enough remembered; and when it was, the proclamations were not at hand; which, by that which follows, might probably have produced a good effect. For as the right wing of the King's horſe advanced to charge the left wing, which was the groſs of the enemy's horſe, Sir Faithful Forteſcue (who, having his fortune and intereſt in Ireland, was come out of that kingdom to haſten ſupplies thither, and had a troop of horſe raiſed for him for that ſervice; but as many other of thoſe forces were, ſo his troop was likewiſe diſpoſed into that army, and he was now Major to Sir William Waller; he) with his whole troop advanced from the groſs of their horſe, and diſcharging all their piſtols on the ground, within little more than carabine ſhot of his own body, preſented himſelf and his troop to Prince Rupert; and immediately, with his highneſs, charged the enemy. Whether this ſudden accident, as it might very well, and the not knowing how many more were of the ſame mind, each man looking upon his companion with the ſame apprehenſion as upon the enemy, or whether the terror of Prince Rupert, and the King's horſe, or all together, with their own evil conſciences, wrought upon them, I know not, but that whole wing, having unſkilfully diſcharged their carabines and piſtols into the air, wheeled

about, the King's horſe charging in the flank and rear, and having thus abſolutely routed them, purſued them flying; and had the execution of them above two miles.

The left wing, commanded by Mr. Wilmot, had as good ſucceſs, though they were to charge in worſe ground, among hedges, and through gaps and ditches, which were lined with muſqueteers. But Sir Arthur Aſton, with great courage and dexterity, beat off thoſe muſqueteers with his dragoons; and then the right wing of their horſe was as eaſily routed and diſperſed as their left, and thoſe followed the chaſe as furiouſly as the other. The reſerve ſeeing none of the enemy's horſe left, thought there was nothing more to be done, but to purſue thoſe that fled; and could not be contained by their commanders; but with ſpurs, and looſe reins, followed the chaſe, which their left wing had led them. And by this means, whilſt moſt men thought the victory unqueſtionable, the King was in danger of the ſame fate which his predeceſſor Henry the third had at the battle of Lewes againſt his Barons; when his ſon the Prince, having routed their horſe, followed the chaſe ſo far, that, before his return to the field, his father was taken priſoner; and ſo his victory ſerved only to make the misfortunes of that day the more intolerable. For all the King's horſe having thus left the field, many of them only following the execution, others intending the ſpoil in the town of Keinton, where all the baggage was, and the Earl of Eſſex's own coach, which was taken, and brought away; their reſerve, commanded by Sir William Balfour, moved up and down the field in good order, and marching towards the King's foot pretended to be friends, till obſerving no horſe to be in readineſs to charge them, they brake in upon the foot, and did great execution. Then was the General the Earl

of

of Lindſey, in the head of his regiment, being on foot, ſhot in the thigh; with which he fell, and was preſently encompaſſed with the enemy; and his ſon, the Lord Willoughby, piouſly endeavouring the reſcue of his father, taken priſoner with him. Then was the ſtandard taken, (Sir Edmund Verney, who bore it, being killed), but reſcued again by Captain John Smith, an officer of the Lord Grandiſon's regiment of horſe, and by him brought off. And if thoſe horſe had beſtirred themſelves, they might with little difficulty have deſtroyed, or taken priſoner, the King himſelf, and his two ſons, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, being with fewer than one hundred horſe, and thoſe without officer or command, within half muſket ſhot of that body, before he ſuſpected them to be enemies.

When Prince Rupert returned from the chaſe, he found this great alteration in the field, and his Majeſty himſelf with few noblemen, and a ſmall retinue about him, and the hope of ſo glorious a day quite vaniſhed. For though moſt of the officers of horſe were returned, and that part of the field covered again with the looſe troops, yet they could not be perſuaded, or drawn to charge either the enemy's reſerve of horſe, which alone kept the field, or the body of their foot, which only kept their ground. The officers pretending, "that their ſoldiers "were ſo diſperſed, that there were not ten of any troop "together; and the ſoldiers, that their horſes were ſo "tired, that they could not charge." But the truth is, where many ſoldiers of one troop or regiment were rallied together, there the officers were wanting; and where the officers were ready, there the ſoldiers were not together; and neither officers nor ſoldiers deſired to move without thoſe who properly belonged to them. Things had now ſo ill an aſpect, that many were of

opinion, that the King ſhould leave the field, though it was not eaſy to adviſe whither he ſhould have gone; which if he had done, he had left an abſolute victory to thoſe, who even at this time thought themſelves overcome. But the King was poſitive againſt this advice, well knowing, that as that army was raiſed by his perſon and preſence only, ſo it could by no other means be kept together; and he thought it unprincely, to forſake them who had forſaken all they had to ſerve him: beſides, he obſerved the other ſide looked not as if they thought themſelves conquerors; for that reſerve, which did ſo much miſchief before, ſince the return of his horſe, betook themſelves to a fixed ſtation between their foot, which at beſt could but be thought to ſtand their ground, which two brigades of the King's did with equal courage, and gave equal volleys; and therefore he tried all poſſible ways to get the horſe to charge again; eaſily diſcerning by ſome little attempts which were made, what a notable impreſſion a briſk one would have made upon the enemy. And when he ſaw it was not to be done, he was content with their only ſtanding ſtill. Without doubt, if either party had known the conſtitution of the other, they had not parted ſo fairly; and, very probably, which ſoever had made a bold offer, had compaſſed his end upon his enemy. This made many believe, though the horſe vaunted themſelves aloud to have done their part, that the good fortune of the firſt part of the day, which well managed would have ſecured the reſt, was to be imputed rather to their enemy's want of courage, than to their own virtue, (which, after ſo great a victory, could not ſo ſoon have forſaken them), and to the ſudden and unexpected revolt of Sir Faithful Forteſcue with a whole troop, no doubt much to the conſternation of thoſe he left; though they had not ſo good fortune

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as they deſerved; for by the negligence of not throwing away their orange-tawny ſcarfs, which they all wore as the Earl of Eſſex's colours, and being immediately engaged in the charge, many of them, not fewer than ſeventeen or eighteen, were ſuddenly killed by thoſe to whom they joined themſelves.

In this doubt of all ſides, the night, the common friend to wearied and diſmayed armies, parted them; and then the King cauſed his cannon, which were neareſt the enemy's, to be drawn off; and with his whole forces himſelf ſpent the night in the field, by ſuch a fire as could be made of the little wood, and buſhes which grew thereabouts, unreſolved what to do the next morning; many reporting, "that the enemy was gone:" but when the day appeared, the contrary was diſcovered; for then they were ſeen ſtanding in the ſame poſture, and place in which they fought, from whence the Earl of Eſſex, wiſely, never ſuffered them to ſtir all that night; preſuming reaſonably, that if they were drawn off never ſo little from that place, their numbers would leſſen, and that many would run away; and therefore he cauſed all manner of proviſions, with which the country ſupplied him plentifully, to be brought thither to them for their refreſhment, and repoſed himſelf with them in the place; beſides, that night he received a great addition of ſtrength, not only by rallying thoſe horſe and foot, which had run out of the field in the battle, but by the arrival of Colonel Hambden, and Colonel Grantham, with two thouſand freſh foot, (which were reckoned among the beſt of the army), and five hundred horſe, which marched a day behind the army for the guard of their ammunition, and a great part of their train, not ſuppoſing there would have been any action that would have required their preſence. All the advan-

advantage this ſeaſonable recruit brought them, was to give their old men ſo much courage as to keep the field, which it was otherwiſe believed, they would hardly have been perſuaded to have done. In the other army, after a very cold night ſpent in the field, without any refreſhment of victual, or proviſion for the ſoldiers, (for the country was ſo diſaffected, that it not only not ſent in proviſions, but ſoldiers, who ſtraggled into the villages for relief, were knocked in the head by the common people), the King found his troops very thin; for though, by conference with the officers, he might reaſonably conclude, that there were not many ſlain in the battle, yet a third part of his foot were not upon the place, and of the horſe many miſſing; and they that were in the field were ſo tired with duty, and weakened with want of meat, and ſhrunk up with the cruel cold of the night, (for it was a terrible froſt, and there was no ſhelter of either tree or hedge), that though they had reaſon to believe, by the ſtanding ſtill of the enemy, whilſt a ſmall party of the King's horſe, in the morning, took away four pieces of their cannon very near them, that any offer towards a charge, or but marching towards them, would have made a notable impreſſion in them, yet there was ſo viſible an averſeneſs from it in moſt officers, as well as ſoldiers, that the King thought not fit to make the attempt; but contented himſelf to keep his men in order, the body of horſe facing the enemy upon the field where they had fought.

Towards noon the King reſolved to try that expedient, which was prepared for the day before; and ſent Sir William Le Neve, Clarencieux King at Arms, to the enemy, with his proclamation of pardon to ſuch as would lay down arms; believing, though he expected then little benefit by the proclamation, that he ſhould, by

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that means, receive ſome advertiſement of the condition of the army, and what priſoners they had taken, (for many perſons of command and quality were wanting), giving him order likewiſe to deſire to ſpeak with the Earl of Lindſey, who was known to be in their hands. Before Sir William came to the army, he was received by the out-guards, and conducted, with ſtrictneſs, (that he might ſay or publiſh nothing among the ſoldiers), to the Earl of Eſſex; who, when he offered to read the proclamation aloud, and to deliver the effect of it, that he might be heard by thoſe who were preſent, rebuked him, with ſome roughneſs, and charged him, "as he loved "his life, not to preſume to ſpeak a word to the ſol-"diers;" and, after ſome few queſtions, ſent him preſently back well guarded through the army, without any anſwer at all. At his return he had ſo great and feeling a ſenſe of the danger he had paſſed, that he made little obſervation of the poſture or numbers of the enemy. Only he ſeemed to have ſeen, or apprehended ſo much trouble and diſorder in the faces of the Earl of Eſſex, and the principal officers about him, and ſo much dejection in the common ſoldiers, that they looked like men who had no farther ambition, than to keep what they had left. He brought word of the death of the Earl of Lindſey; who, being carried out of the field a priſoner, into a barn of the next village, for want of a ſurgeon, and ſuch accommodations as were neceſſary, within few hours died with the loſs of blood, his wound not being otherwiſe mortal or dangerous. This was imputed to the inhumanity of the Earl of Eſſex, as if he had purpoſely neglected, or inhibited the performing any neceſſary offices to him, out of the inſolence of his nature, and in revenge of ſome former unkindneſſes, which had paſſed between them. But, I preſume, it may

may be with more juſtice attributed to the hurry and diſtraction of that ſeaſon, when, being ſo unſecure of their friends, they had no thoughts vacant for their enemies. For it is not to be denied at the time when the Earl of Lindſey was taken priſoner, the Earl of Eſſex thought himſelf in more danger; and among his faults want of civility and courteſy was none.

The number of the ſlain, by the teſtimony of the miniſters, and others of the next pariſh, who took care of the burying of the dead, and which was the only computation that could be made, amounted to above five thouſand; whereof two parts were conceived to be of thoſe of the Parliament party, and not above a third part of the King's. Indeed the loſs of both ſides was ſo great, and ſo little of triumph appeared in either, that the victory could ſcarce be imputed to the one or the other. Yet the King's keeping the field, and having the ſpoil of it, by which many perſons of quality, who had lain wounded in the field, were preſerved, his purſuing afterwards the ſame deſign he had when he was diverted to the battle, and ſucceeding in it, (which ſhall be touched anon), were greater enſigns of victory on that ſide, than taking the General priſoner, and the taking the ſtandard, which was likewiſe recovered, were on the other. Of the King's the principal perſons, who were loſt, were the Earl of Lindſey, General of the army, the Lord Stewart, Lord Aubigney, ſon to the Duke of Lenox, and brother to the then Duke of Richmond and Lenox, Sir Edmund Verney, Knight Marſhal of the King's Horſe, and Standard Bearer, and ſome others of leſs name, though of great virtue, and good quality.

A character of the Earl of Lindſey, the King's General.

The Earl of Lindſey was a man of very noble extraction, and inherited a great fortune from his anceſtors; which though he did not manage with ſo great care, as if

if he desired much to improve, yet he left it in a very fair condition to his family, which more intended the increase of it. He was a man of great honour, and spent his youth and vigour of his age in military actions and commands abroad; and albeit he indulged to himself great liberties of life, yet he still preserved a very good reputation with all men, and a very great interest in his country, as appeared by the supplies he and his son brought to the King's army; the several companies of his own regiment of foot being commanded by the principal Knights and Gentlemen of Lincolnshire, who engaged themselves in the service principally out of their personal affection to him. He was of a very generous nature, and punctual in what he undertook, and in exacting what was due to him; which made him bear that restriction so heavily, which was put upon him by the commission granted to Prince Rupert, and by the King's preferring the Prince's opinion, in all matters relating to the war, before his. Nor did he conceal his resentment: the day before the battle, he said to some friends, with whom he had used freedom, "that he "did not look upon himself as General; and there- "fore he was resolved, when the day of battle should "come, that he would be in the head of his regiment as "a private Colonel, where he would die." He was carried out of the field to the next village; and if he could then have procured surgeons, it was thought his wound would not have proved mortal. And as soon as the other army was composed by the coming on of the night, the Earl of Essex, about midnight, sent Sir William Balfour, and some other officers, to see him, and to offer him all offices, and meant himself to have visited him. They found him upon a little straw in a poor house, where they had laid him in his blood, which had run

run from him in great abundance, no ſurgeon having been yet with him; only he had great vivacity in his looks; and told them, "he was ſorry to ſee ſo many "gentlemen, ſome whereof were his old friends, engaged "in ſo foul a rebellion;" and principally directed his diſcourſe to Sir William Balfour, whom he put in mind of "the great obligations he had to the King; how "much his Majeſty had diſobliged the whole Engliſh "nation by putting him into the command of the "Tower; and that it was the moſt odious ingratitude "in him to make him that return." He wiſhed them to tell my Lord Eſſex, "that he ought to caſt himſelf "at the King's feet to beg his pardon; which if he did "not ſpeedily do, his memory would be odious to the "nation;" and continued this kind of diſcourſe with ſo much vehemence, that the officers by degrees withdrew themſelves; and prevented the viſit the Earl of Eſſex intended him, who only ſent the beſt ſurgeons to him; but in the very opening of his wounds he died before the morning, only upon the loſs of blood. He had very many friends, and very few enemies; and died generally lamented.

The Lord Aubigney was a gentleman of great hopes, of a gentle and winning diſpoſition, and of very clear courage: he was killed in the firſt charge with the horſe; where, there being ſo little reſiſtance, gave occaſion to ſuſpect that it was done by his own Lieutenant, who was a Dutchman, and had not been ſo punctual in his duty, but that he received ſome reprehenſion from his Captain, which he murmured at. His body was brought off, and buried at Chriſt-Church in Oxford; his two younger brothers, the Lord John and the Lord Bernard Stewart, were in the ſame battle, and were afterwards both killed in the war, and his only ſon is now

Duke

Duke of Richmond. Sir Edmund Verney hath been mentioned before; he was a perſon of great honour and courage, and loſt his life in that charge, when Balfour, with that reſerve of horſe, which had been ſo long, undiſcerned, broke into thoſe regiments; but his body was not found.

Of the Parliament party that periſhed, the Lord Saint-John of Bletnezo, and Charles Eſſex, were of the beſt quality. The laſt had been bred up a page under the Earl of Eſſex, who afterwards, at his charge, preferred him to a command in Holland; where he lived with very good reputation, and preſerved the credit of his decayed family: and as ſoon as the Earl unfortunately accepted this command, he thought his gratitude obliged him to run the fortune of his patron, and out of pure kindneſs to the perſon of the Earl, as many other gentlemen did, engaged himſelf againſt the King without any malice or rebellion in his heart towards the Crown. He had the command of a regiment of foot, and was eſteemed the beſt and moſt expert officer of the army, and was killed by a muſket ſhot in the beginning of the battle. The Lord Saint-John was eldeſt ſon to the Earl of Bullingbroke, and got himſelf ſo well beloved by the reputation of his courteſy and civility, which he expreſſed towards all men, that though his parts of underſtanding were very ordinary at beſt, and his courſe of life licentious and very much depraved, he got credit enough, by engaging the principal gentlemen of Bedfordſhire and Hertfordſhire to be bound for him, to contract a debt of fifty or threeſcore thouſand pounds; for the payment whereof the fortune of the family was not engaged, nor in his power to engage. So that the clamour of his debts growing importunate, ſome years before the rebellion, he left the kingdom, and fled into France; leav-

leaving his vaſt debt to be paid by his ſureties, to the utter ruin of many families, and the notable impairing of others. In the beginning of the Parliament, the King was prevailed with to call him to the Houſe of Peers, his father being then alive, upon an aſſurance, "that by his preſence and liberty, which could by no "other way be ſecured, means would be found out to "pay his debts, and free ſo many worthy perſons from "their engagements: beſides that the times being like "to be troubleſome, the King might be ſure of a faith-"ful ſervant, who would always advance his ſervice in "that Houſe." But the King had very ill fortune in conferring thoſe graces, nor was his ſervice more paſſionately and inſolently oppoſed by any men in that Houſe than by thoſe, who upon thoſe profeſſions were advanced by him from the condition of Commoners. And this gentleman, from the firſt hour of his ſitting in that Houſe by the King's ſo extraordinary grace, was never known to concur in any one vote for the King's ſervice, that received any oppoſition: and, as ſoon as it was in his power, he received a commiſſion with the firſt to command a troop of horſe againſt him, in which he behaved himſelf ſo ill, that he received ſome wounds in running away; and being taken priſoner, died before the next morning, without any other ſigns of repentance, than the canting words, "that he did not intend to be "againſt the King, but wiſhed him all happineſs:" ſo great an influence the firſt ſeeds of his birth had upon his nature, that how long ſoever they were concealed, and ſeemed even buried in a very different breeding and converſation, they ſprung up, and bore the ſame fruit upon the firſt occaſion. And it was an obſervation of that time, that the men of moſt licentious lives, who appeared to be without any ſenſe of religion, or reverence

rence to virtue, and the moſt unreſtrained by any obligations of conſcience, betook themſelves to that party, and pretended an impulſe of religion out of fear of Popery; and, on the other ſide, very many perſons of quality, both of the Clergy and Laity, who had ſuffered under the imputation of Puritaniſm, and did very much diſlike the proceedings of the Court, and oppoſed them upon all occaſions, were yet ſo much ſcandalized at the very approaches to rebellion, that they renounced all their old friends, and applied themſelves with great reſolution, courage, and conſtancy to the King's ſervice, and continued in it to the end, with all the diſadvantages it was liable to.

Priſoners taken by the enemy were, the Lord Willoughby, haſtily and piouſly endeavouring the reſcue of his father; Sir Thomas Lunsford, and Sir Edward Stradling, both Colonels; and Sir William Vavaſour, who commanded the King's regiment of guards under the Lord Willoughby; and ſome other inferior commanders. There were hurt, Sir Jacob Aſhley, and Sir Nicholas Byron, and more dangerouſly, Colonel Charles Gerrard, who, being ſhot in the thigh, was brought off the field without any hopes of life, but recovered to act a great part afterwards in the war; Sir George Strode, and ſome other gentlemen who ſerved among the foot; for of the horſe there was not an officer of name, who received a wound, the Lord Aubigney only excepted; ſo little reſiſtance did that part of the enemy make. Of the rebels there were ſlain, beſides the Lord Saint-John's, Colonel Charles Eſſex, the ſoldier of whom they had the beſt opinion, and who had always, till this laſt action, preſerved a good reputation in the world, which was now the worſe, over and above the guilt of rebellion, by his having ſworn to the Queen of Bohemia, by whoſe

interceſſion he procured leave from the Prince of Orange to go into England, "that he would never ſerve againſt "the King:" and many other of obſcure names, though officers of good command. There were a good number of their officers, eſpecially of horſe, taken priſoners, but (ſave that ſome of them were Parliament men) of mean quality in the world, except only Sir William Eſſex, the father of the Colonel, whoſe wants, from having waſted a very great fortune, and his ſon's invitation, led him into that company; where he was a private captain of his regiment.

When the armies had thus only looked one upon another the whole day, and it being diſcerned that the enemy had drawn off his carriages, the King directed all his army to retire into their old quarters, preſuming (as it proved) that many of thoſe who were wanting would be found there. And ſo himſelf with his two ſons went to Edgecot, where he lay the night before the battle, reſolving to reſt the next day, both for the refreſhing his wearied, and even tired men, and to be informed of the motion and condition of the enemy, upon which ſome troops of the King's horſe attended. The Earl of Eſſex retired with his to Warwick Caſtle, whither he had ſent all his priſoners; ſo that, on the Tueſday morning, the King was informed, that the enemy was gone, and that ſome of his horſe had attended the rear of the enemy almoſt to Warwick, and that they had left many of their carriages, and very many of their wounded ſoldiers, at the village next to the field; by which it appeared that their remove was in haſte, and not without apprehenſion.

After the horſe had marched almoſt to Warwick, and found the coaſt clear from the enemy, they returned to the field to view the dead bodies, many going to enquire after

after their friends who were miſſing, where they found many not yet dead of their wounds, but lying ſtripped among the dead; among whom, with others, young Mr. Scroop brought off his father, Sir Gervas Scroop; who, being an old gentleman of great fortune in Lincolnſhire, had raiſed a foot company among his tenants, and brought them into the Earl of Lindſey's regiment, out of devotion and reſpect to his Lordſhip, as well as duty to the King; and had, about the time that the General was taken, fallen with ſixteen wounds in his body and head; and had lain ſtripped among the dead, from that time, which was about three in the afternoon on Sunday, all that cold night, all Monday, and Monday night, and till Tueſday evening, for it was ſo late before his ſon found him; whom with great piety he carried to a warm lodging, and afterwards to Oxford; where he wonderfully recovered. The next morning after, being Wedneſday, there was another gentleman, one Bellingham, of an ancient extraction, and the only ſon of his father, found among the dead, and brought off by his friends, with twenty wounds; who, after ten days, died at Oxford, by the negligence of his ſurgeons, who left a wound in his thigh, of itſelf not dangerous, undiſcerned, and ſo by feſtering deſtroyed a body very hopefully recovered of thoſe which were only thought mortal. The ſurgeons were of opinion, that both theſe gentlemen owed their lives to the inhumanity of thoſe who ſtripped them, and to the coldneſs of the nights, which ſtopped their blood, better than all their ſkill and medicaments could have done; and that, if they had been brought off within any reaſonable diſtance of time after their wounds, they had undoubtedly periſhed.

On Wedneſday morning, the King drew his army to a rendezvous, where he found his numbers greater than

he expected; for, in the night after the battle, very many of the common ſoldiers, out of cold and hunger, had found their old quarters. So that it was really believed upon this view, when this little reſt had recovered a ſtrange cheerfulneſs into all men, that there were not in that battle loſt above three hundred men at moſt. There the King declared General Ruthen General of his army in the place of the Earl of Lindſey; and then marched to Ayno, a little village two miles diſtant from Banbury, of which his Majeſty that day took a view, and meant to attempt it the next day following. There was at that time in Banbury Caſtle a regiment of eight hundred foot, and a troop of horſe, which, with ſpirits proportionable, had been enough to have kept ſo ſtrong a place from an army better prepared to have aſſaulted it, than the King's then was, and at a ſeaſon of the year more commodious for a ſiege. And therefore many were of opinion, that the King ſhould have marched by it, without taking notice of it, and that the engaging before it might prove very prejudicial to him. That which prevailed with him to ſtay there, beſides the courage of his ſoldiers, who had again recovered their appetite to action, was that he could not well reſolve whither to go; for till he was informed what the Earl of Eſſex did, he knew not how to direct his march; and if the enemy advanced upon him, he could not fight in a place of more advantage. And therefore, having ſent a trumpet to ſummon the Caſtle, and having firſt taken the Lord Say's houſe at Broughton, where there was ſome ſhew of reſiſtance, and in it a troop of horſe, and ſome good arms, the cannon were planted againſt the Caſtle, and the army drawn out before it; but, upon the firſt ſhot made, the Caſtle ſent to treat, and, upon leave to go away without their arms, they fairly and kindly

kindly delivered the place; and half the common soldiers at the least readily took conditions, and put themselves into the King's army; the rest of the arms came very seasonably to supply many soldiers of every regiment, who either never had any before, or had lost them at the battle. Banbury Castle surrendered to the King.

This last success declared where the victory was before at Edgehill; for, though the routing of their horse, the having killed more upon the place, and taken more prisoners, the number of the colours won from the enemy, (which were near forty in number), without the loss of above three or four, and lastly the taking four pieces of their cannon the next morning after the battle, were so many arguments that the victory inclined to the King: on the other side, the loss of the General himself, and so many men of name either killed or taken prisoners, who were generally known over the kingdom, (whereas, besides the Lord Saint-John's, and Colonel Essex, the names of the rest of that party were so obscure, that neither the one side seemed to be gainers by having taken or killed them, nor the other side to be losers by being without them), the having kept the field last, were sufficient testimonies at the least that they were not overcome. But now the taking of Banbury, which was the more signal, by the circumstances of that part of the army's being, before the battle, designed for that service, then recalled to the field, and after that field fought, and the retreat of the enemy, the re-advancing upon it, and taking it, was so undeniable an argument that the Earl of Essex was more broken and scattered than at first he appeared to be, that the King's army was looked upon as victorious. A garrison was put into Banbury, and the command thereof committed to the Earl of Northampton, and then the King marched to his own

houſe at Woodſtock; and the next day with the whole army to Oxford, which was the only city of England, that he could ſay was entirely at his devotion; where he was received by the Univerſity, to whom the integrity and fidelity of that place is to be imputed, with all joy and acclamation.

The condition of the Earl of Eſſex's army after the fight.

The Earl of Eſſex continued ſtill at Warwick, repairing his broken regiments and troops, which every day leſſened and impaired; for the number of his ſlain men was greater than it was reported to be, there being very many killed in the chaſe, and many who died of their wounds after they were carried off, and, of thoſe, who run away in the beginning, more ſtayed away than returned; and, which was more, they who run fartheſt and faſteſt told ſuch lamentable ſtories of the defeat, and many of them ſhewed ſuch hurts, that the terror thereof was even ready to make the people revolt to their allegiance in all places. Many of thoſe who had ſtood their ground, and behaved themſelves well in the battle, either with remorſe of conſcience, horror of what they had done, and ſeen, or wearineſs of the duty and danger, withdrew themſelves from their colours, and ſome from their commands. And it is certain many engaged themſelves firſt in that ſervice, out of an opinion, that an army would procure a peace without fighting; others out of a deſire to ſerve the King, and reſolving to go away themſelves, and to carry others with them, as ſoon as they ſhould find themſelves within a ſecure diſtance to do it; both theſe being, contrary to their expectation, brought to fight, the latter not knowing how to get to the King's army in the battle, diſcharged themſelves of the ſervice as ſoon as they came to Warwick; ſome with leave, and ſome without. But that which no doubt moſt troubled his Excellency, was the temper and

and conſtitutions of his new maſters; who, he knew, expected no leſs from him than a victory complete, by his bringing the perſon of the King alive or dead to them; and would conſider what was now fallen out, as it was ſo much leſs than they looked for, not as it was more than any body elſe could have done for them. However, he gave them a glorious account of what had paſſed, and made as if his ſtay at Warwick were rather to receive new orders and commands from them, than out of any weakneſs or inability to purſue the old, and that he attended the King's motion as well as if he had been within ſeven miles of him.

It is certain the conſternation was very great at London, and in the two Houſes, from the time that they heard, that the King marched from Shrewſbury with a formed army, and that he was reſolved to fight, as ſoon as he could meet with theirs. However, they endeavoured to keep up confidently the ridiculous opinion among the common people, that the King did not command, but was carried about in that army of the Cavaliers, and was deſirous to eſcape from them; which they hoped the Earl of Eſſex would give him opportunity to do. The firſt news they heard of the army's being engaged, was by thoſe who fled upon the firſt charge; who made marvellous haſte from the place of danger, and thought not themſelves ſafe, till they were gotten out of any poſſible diſtance of being purſued. It is certain, though it was paſt two of the clock before the battle begun, many of the ſoldiers, and ſome commanders of no mean name, were at St. Alban's, which was near thirty miles from the field, before it was dark. Theſe men, as all runaways do for their own excuſe, reported all for loſt, and the King's army to be ſo terrible, that it could not be encountered. Some of them, that they

might not be thought to come away before there was cauſe, or whilſt there was any hope, reported the progreſs of the battle, and preſented all thoſe lamentable things, and the circumſtances by which every part of the army was defeated, which their terrified fancies had ſuggeſted to them whilſt they run away; ſome had ſeen the Earl of Eſſex ſlain, and heard his dying words: "That every one ſhould ſhift for himſelf, for all reſiſt-"ance was to no purpoſe:" ſo that the whole city was, the Monday, full of the defeat; and though there was an expreſs, from the Earl of Eſſex himſelf, of the contrary, there was not courage enough left to believe it, and every hour produced ſomewhat to contradict the reports of the laſt. Monday in the afternoon, the Earl of Holland produced a letter in the Houſe of Peers, which was written the night before by the Earl of Eſſex, in which all particulars of the day were ſet down, and "the impreſſion which had in the beginning been made "upon his horſe, but that the concluſion was proſper-"ous." Whilſt this was reading, and every man greedily digeſting the good news, the Lord Haſtings, who had a command of horſe in the ſervice, entered the Houſe with frighted and ghaſtly looks, and poſitively declared "all to be loſt, againſt whatſoever they be-"lieved or flattered themſelves with." And though it was evident enough that he had run away from the beginning, and only loſt his way thither, moſt men looked upon him as the laſt meſſenger, and even ſhut their ears againſt any poſſible comfort; ſo that without doubt very many, in the horror and conſternation of eight and forty hours, paid and underwent a full penance and mortification for the hopes and inſolence of three months before. At the laſt, on Wedneſday morning, the Lord Wharton, and Mr. William Strode, the one a Member of the Houſe

Houſe of Lords, the other of the Commons, arrived from the army, and made ſo full a relation of the battle, "of the great numbers ſlain on the King's part, without any conſiderable loſs on their ſide, of the miſerable and weak condition the King's army was in, "and of the Earl of Eſſex's reſolution to purſue him," that they were not now content to be ſavers, but voted "that their army had the victory;" and appointed a day for a ſolemn thankſgiving to God for the ſame; and, that ſo great a joy might not be enjoyed only within thoſe walls, they appointed thoſe two truſty meſſengers to communicate the whole relation with all circumſtances to the city; which was convened together at the Guildhall to receive the ſame. But by this time, ſo many perſons, who were preſent at the action, came to the town of both ſides, (for there was yet a free intercourſe with all quarters), and ſome diſcourſes were publiſhed, how little either of theſe two meſſengers had ſeen themſelves of that day's buſineſs, that the city ſeemed not ſo much exalted at their relations, as the Houſes had been; the King's taking Banbury, and marching afterwards to Oxford, and the reports from thoſe parts of his power, with the Earl of Eſſex's lying ſtill at Warwick, gave great argument of diſcourſe; which grew the greater by the commitment of ſeveral perſons, for reporting, "that the King had the better of the field;" which men thought would not have been, if the ſucceſs had been contrary; and therefore there was nothing ſo generally ſpoken of, or wiſhed for, as peace.

They who were really well affected to the King, and from the beginning oppoſed all the extravagances, for of ſuch there were many in both Houſes, who could not yet find in their hearts to leave the company, ſpake now aloud, "that an humble addreſs to the King for the "removal

" removal of all miſunderſtandings was both in duty " neceſſary, and in policy convenient." The half hearted and half witted people, which made much the major part of both Houſes, plainly diſcerned there muſt be a war, and that the King at leaſt would be able to make reſiſtance, which they had been promiſed he could not do, and ſo were equally paſſionate to make any overtures for accommodation. They only who had contrived the miſchief, and already had digeſted a full change and alteration of government, and knew well, that all their arts would be diſcovered, and their perſons odious, though they might be ſecured, violently oppoſed all motions of this kind. Theſe men preſſed earneſtly " to ſend an expreſs to their brethren of Scotland, to " invite and conjure them to come to their aſſiſtance, " and to leave no way unthought of for ſuppreſſing, and " totally deſtroying, all thoſe who had preſumed to ſide " with the King." This overture of calling the Scots in again was as unpopular a thing, as could be mentioned; beſides that it implied a great and abſolute diffidence in their own ſtrength, and an acknowledgment that the people of England ſtood not ſo generally affected to their deſires, which they had hitherto publiſhed, and urged, as the beſt argument to juſtify thoſe deſires. Therefore the wiſe managers of that party, by whoſe conduct they had been principally governed, ſeemed fully to concur with thoſe who deſired peace, " and to ſend an humble addreſs to the King, which " they confeſſed to be due from them as ſubjects, and " the only way to procure happineſs for the kingdom." And having hereby rendered themſelves gracious, and gained credit, they adviſed them " ſo to endeavour " peace, that they might not be diſappointed of it," and wiſhed them " to conſider that the King's party were " high

" high upon the ſucceſs of having an army, (of which " they had reaſonably before deſpaired), though not " upon any thing that army had yet done. That it " was apparent, the King had miniſters ſtirring for him " in the north, and in the weſt, though hitherto with " little effect; and therefore if they ſhould make ſuch " an application for peace, as might imply the giving " over the thoughts of war, they muſt expect ſuch a " peace, as the mercy of thoſe whom they had provoked " would conſent to. But if they would ſteadily purſue " thoſe counſels as would make their ſtrength formida- " ble, they might then expect ſuch moderate condi- " tions, as they might, with their own, and the king- " dom's ſafety, ſecurely ſubmit to. That therefore the " propoſition of ſending into Scotland was very ſeaſon- " able; not that it could be hoped, or was deſired, that " they ſhould bring an army into England, of which " there was not like to be any need; but that that king- " dom might make ſuch a declaration of their affections, " and readineſs to aſſiſt the Parliament, that the King " might look upon them with the more conſideration, as " a body not eaſily to be oppreſſed, if he ſhould inſiſt " upon too high conditions."

By this artifice, whilſt they who preſſed a treaty thought, that, that being once conſented to, a peace would inevitably be concluded, the ſame day that a committee was appointed, " to prepare heads of an hum- " ble addreſs unto his Majeſty, for compoſing the pre- " ſent differences and diſtractions, and ſettling the peace " of the kingdom," (which was a great condeſcenſion), they made no ſcruple to declare, " that the preparations " of forces, and all other neceſſary means for defence, " ſhould be proſecuted with all vigour;" and thereupon required " all thoſe officers and ſoldiers, who had left " their

" their General, of which the town was then full, upon " pain of death, to return to him;" and, for his better recruit, ſolemnly declared, " that, in ſuch times of com- " mon danger and neceſſity, the intereſt of private per- " ſons ought to give way to the public; and therefore " they ordained, that ſuch apprentices, as would be liſted " to ſerve as ſoldiers for the defence of the kingdom, " the Parliament, and city, (with their other uſual ex- " preſſions of religion, and the King's perſon), their " ſureties, and ſuch as ſtood engaged for them, ſhould " be ſecured againſt their maſters; and that their maſ- " ters ſhould receive them again, at the end of their ſer- " vice, without imputing any loſs of time to them, but " the ſame ſhould be reckoned as well ſpent, according " to their indentures, as if they had been ſtill in their " ſhops." And by this means many children were en- gaged in that ſervice, not only againſt the conſent, but againſt the perſons of their fathers, and the Earl received a notable ſupply thereby.

Apprentices invited by the Parliament to take arms.

Then, in return for their conſent that a formal and perfunctory meſſage ſhould be ſent to his Majeſty, whereby they thought a treaty would be entered upon, they procured at the ſame time, and as an expedient for peace, this material and full declaration of both Houſes to the ſubjects of Scotland, which they cauſed with all expedition to be ſent into that kingdom.

The two Houſes' declaration to the ſubjects of Scotland.

" We the Lords and Commons, aſſembled in the " Parliament of England, conſidering with what wiſdom, " and public affection, our brethren of the kingdom of " Scotland did concur with the endeavours of this Par- " liament, and the deſires of the whole kingdom, in pro- " curing and eſtabliſhing a firm peace and amity be- " tween the two nations, and how lovingly they have " ſince invited us to a nearer and higher degree of union

" in

" in matters concerning religion, and church-govern-
" ment, which we have moſt willingly and affection-
" ately embraced, and intend to purſue, cannot doubt
" but they will, with as much forwardneſs and affection,
" concur with us in ſettling peace in this kingdom, and
" preſerving it in their own; that ſo we may mutually
" reap the benefit of that amity and alliance, ſo happily
" made, and ſtrongly confirmed betwixt the two nations.
" Wherefore, as we did about a year ſince, in the firſt
" appearance of trouble then beginning among them,
" actually declare, that, in our ſenſe and apprehenſion
" of the national alliance betwixt us, we were thereby
" bound to apply the authority of Parliament, and
" power of this kingdom, to the preſervation and main-
" tenance of their peace: and, ſeeing now that the
" troubles of this kingdom are grown to a greater height,
" and the ſubtle practices of the common enemies of
" the religion and liberty of both nations do appear
" with more evident ſtrength and danger than they did
" at that time, we hold it neceſſary to declare, that, in
" our judgment, the ſame obligation lies upon our bre-
" thren, by the aforementioned act, with the power and
" force of that kingdom, to aſſiſt us in repreſſing thoſe
" among us, who are now in arms, and make war, not
" only without conſent of Parliament, but even againſt
" the Parliament, and for the deſtruction thereof.

" Wherefore we have thought good to make known
" unto our brethren, that his Majeſty hath given com-
" miſſion to divers eminent and known Papiſts, to raiſe
" forces, and to compoſe an army in the north, and
" other parts of this kingdom, which is to join with di-
" vers foreign forces, intended to be tranſported from
" beyond the ſeas, for the deſtruction of this Parliament,
" and of the religion and liberty of the kingdom: and

" that

" that the principal part of the Clergy and their adhe-
" rents have likewiſe invited his Majeſty to raiſe an-
" other army, which, in his own perſon, he doth conduct
" againſt the Parliament, and the city of London, plun-
" dering and robbing ſundry well affected towns within
" their power; and, in proſecution of their malice, they
" were ſo preſumptuous, and predominant of his Ma-
" jeſty's reſolutions, that they forbear not thoſe out-
" rages in places to which his Majeſty hath given his
" royal word and protection; a great cauſe and incentive
" of which malice proceeds from the deſign they have
" to hinder the reformation of eccleſiaſtical govern-
" ment in this kingdom, ſo much longed for by all the
" true lovers of the Proteſtant religion.

" And hereupon we farther deſire our brethren of the
" nation of Scotland, to raiſe ſuch forces as they ſhall
" think ſufficient for ſecuring the peace of their own
" borders, againſt the ill-affected perſons there, as like-
" wiſe to aſſiſt us in ſuppreſſing the army of Papiſts,
" and foreigners; which, as we expect, will ſhortly be
" on foot here, and, if they be not timely prevented, may
" prove as miſchievous and deſtructive to that kingdom,
" as to ourſelves. And though we ſeek nothing from
" his Majeſty that may diminiſh his juſt authority, or
" honour, and have, by many humble petitions, endea-
" voured to put an end to this unnatural war and com-
" buſtion in the kingdom, and to procure his Majeſty's
" protection, and ſecurity for our religion, liberty, and
" perſons, (according to that great truſt which his Ma-
" jeſty is bound to by the laws of the land), and ſhall
" ſtill continue to renew our petitions in that kind; yet,
" to our great grief, we ſee the Papiſtical and Malignant
" council ſo prevalent with his Majeſty, and his perſon
" ſo engaged to their power, that we have little hope of
" better

" better ſucceſs of our petitions than we formerly had;
" and are thereby neceſſitated to ſtand upon our juſt
" defence, and to ſeek this ſpeedy and powerful aſſiſtance
" of our brethren of Scotland, according to that act
" agreed upon in the Parliament of both kingdoms, the
" common duty of Chriſtianity, and the particular inte-
" reſts of their own kingdom: to which we hope God
" will give ſuch a bleſſing, that it may produce the pre-
" ſervation of religion, the honour, ſafety, and peace of
" his Majeſty, and all his ſubjects, and a more ſtrict
" conjunction of the counſels, deſigns, and endeavours
" of both nations, for the comfort and relief of the Re-
" formed Churches beyond ſea."

The condition and inclination of the kingdom of Scotland at that time.

It will not be here unſeaſonable to take ſome ſhort ſurvey of the affections and inclinations of Scotland; the ordering and well diſpoſing whereof, either ſide ſufficiently underſtood, would be of moment, and extraordinary importance in the growing contention. From the time of the King's being laſt there, when he had ſo fully complied with all they had deſired, both for the public government, and their private advancements, that kingdom within itſelf enjoyed as much quiet and tranquillity as they could deſire; having the convenience of diſburthening themſelves of their late army into Ireland, whither their old General Leſlie, then made Earl of Leven, was employed in his full command by the King and the two Houſes, at the charge of England. So that many believed they had been ſo abundantly ſatisfied with what they had already gotten from England, that they had no farther projects upon this kingdom, but meant to make their fortunes by a new conqueſt in Ireland, where they had a very great part of the province of Ulſter planted by their own nation. So that, according to their rules of good huſbandry, they might expect

what-

whatſoever they got from the rebels to keep for themſelves. And the King himſelf was ſo confident that the affections of that people could not be ſo corrupted towards him, as to make a farther attempt upon him, that he believed them, to a degree, ſenſible of their former breach of duty, and willing to repair it by any ſervice. Leſlie himſelf had made great acknowledgments, and great profeſſions to him, and had told him, "That it "was nothing to promiſe him, that he would never "more bear arms againſt him; but he promiſed he would "ſerve his Majeſty upon any ſummons, without aſking "the cauſe." The Earl of Lowden, and all the reſt, who had miſled the people, were poſſeſſed of whatſoever they could deſire, and the future fortune of that nation ſeemed to depend wholly upon the keeping up the King's full power in this.

His Majeſty had, from time to time, given his council of that kingdom full relations of all his differences with his Parliament, and had carefully ſent them the declarations, and public paſſages of both ſides; and they had always returned very ample expreſſions of their affections and duty, and expreſſed a great ſenſe of the Parliament's proceedings towards him. And ſince the time of his being at York, the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, in whoſe integrity and loyalty he was leaſt ſecure, had been with him; and ſeemed ſo well ſatisfied with the juſtice and honour of his Majeſty's carriage towards the Parliament, that he writ to the Scottiſh Commiſſioners at London, in the name, and as by the direction of the Lords of the Secret Council of that kingdom, "that they ſhould preſent to the two Houſes the deep "ſenſe they had of the injuries and indignities, which "were offered to the King, whoſe juſt rights they were "bound to defend; and that they ſhould conjure them

"to

" to bind up thoſe wounds which were made, and not " to widen them by ſharpneſs of language; and to give " his Majeſty ſuch real ſecurity for his ſafety among " them, by an effectual declaring againſt tumults, and " ſuch other actions as were juſtly offenſive to his Ma- " jeſty, that he might be induced to reſide nearer to " them, and comply with them in ſuch propoſitions as " ſhould be reaſonably made;" with many ſuch expreſ- ſions, as together with his return into Scotland without coming to London, where he was expected, gave them ſo much offence and jealouſy, that they never communicated that letter to the Houſes, and took all poſſible care to conceal it from the people.

The Marquis Hamilton had been likewiſe with his Majeſty at York, and finding the eyes of all men directed towards him with more than ordinary jealouſy, he offered the King to go into Scotland, with many aſſurances and undertakings, confident " that he would " at leaſt keep that people from doing any thing, that " might ſeem to countenance the carriage of the Parlia- " ment." Upon which promiſes, and to be rid of him at York, where he was by all men looked upon with marvellous prejudice, the King ſuffered him to go, with full aſſurance that he would, and he was ſure he could, do him very good ſervice there: as, on the other ſide, in his own court he was ſo great an offence, that the whole gentry of Yorkſhire, who no doubt had infuſions to that purpoſe from others, had a deſign to have petitioned the King, that the Marquis might be ſequeſtered from all councils, and preſence at Court, as a man too much truſted by them who would not truſt his Majeſty.

Laſtly, the King had many of the Nobility of Scotland then attending, and among thoſe the Earl of Calander, who had been Lieutenant-General of the Scottiſh

army, when it invaded England, and had freely confeſſed to his Majeſty, upon what errors and miſtakes he had been corrupted, and by whom, and pretended ſo deep a ſenſe of what he had done amiſs, that it was believed he would have taken command in the King's army; which he declined, as if it might have been penal to him in Scotland by ſome clauſe in the Act of the Pacification, but eſpecially upon pretence it would diſable him from doing him greater ſervice in that kingdom: whither, ſhortly after the ſtandard was ſet up, he repaired, with all ſolemn vows of aſſerting and improving his Majeſty's intereſt in thoſe parts.

The Parliament on the other hand aſſured themſelves, that that nation was entirely theirs, having their commiſſioners reſiding with them at London; and the chief managers and governors in the firſt war, by their late intercourſe, and communication of guilt, having a firm correſpondence with the Marquis of Argyle, the Earl of Lowden, and that party, who, being not able to excuſe themſelves, thought the King could never in his heart forgive them, when it ſhould be in his power to bring them to juſtice. And they undertook that when there ſhould be need of that nation, (which the other thought there would never be), they ſhould be as forward to ſecond them as they had been; in the mean time returned as fair and reſpective anſwers to all their meſſages, and upon their declarations, which were conſtantly ſent to them, as they did to the King; aſſiſting them in their deſign againſt the Church, which was not yet grown popular even in the two Houſes, by declaring "that the "people of that nation could never be engaged on any "other ground, than the reformation of religion." And therefore, about the beginning of Auguſt, the aſſembly of the Kirk of Scotland publiſhed a declaration; "how

"ex-

" exceedingly grieved they were, and made heavy, that " in ſo long a time, againſt the profeſſions both of King " and Parliament, and contrary to the joint deſires and " prayers of the godly in both kingdoms, to whom it " was more dear and precious than what was deareſt to " them in the world, the reformation of religion had " moved ſo ſlowly, and ſuffered ſo great interruption."

The ground of which reproach was this: in the late treaty of peace, the commiſſioners for Scotland had expreſſed a deſire or wiſh warily couched in words, rather than a propoſition, " that there were ſuch an unity of reli- " gion, and uniformity of Church-government agreed on, " as might be a ſpecial means for conſerving of peace " betwixt the two kingdoms:" to which there had been a general inclination to return a rough anſwer, and reproof for their intermeddling in any thing that related to the laws of England. But, by the extraordinary induſtry and ſubtlety of thoſe, who ſaw that buſineſs was not yet ripe, and who alleged, that it was only wiſhed, not propoſed, and therefore that a ſharp reply was not merited, this gentle anſwer, againſt the minds of very many, was returned;

" That his Majeſty, with the advice of both Houſes of " Parliament, did approve of the affection of his ſubjects " of Scotland, in their deſire of having conformity of " Church-government between the two nations; and as " the Parliament had already taken into conſideration " the reformation of Church-government, ſo they would " proceed therein in due time, as ſhould beſt conduce to " the glory of God, the peace of the Church, and of " both kingdoms."

Which was conſented to by moſt, as a civil anſwer, ſignifying, or concluding nothing; by others, becauſe it admitted an interpretation of reducing the government of

the Church in Scotland to this of England, as much as the contrary. But it might have been well diſcerned, that thoſe men aſked nothing without a farther deſign than the words naturally imported, nor ever reſted ſatiſfied with a general formal anſwer, except they found, that they ſhould hereafter make uſe, and receive benefit by ſuch anſwer. So they now urged the matter of this anſwer, as a ſufficient title to demand the extirpation of prelacy in England, and demoliſhing the whole fabric of that glorious Church; urging his Majeſty's late practice, while he was in perſon in Scotland, in reſorting frequently to their exerciſes of public worſhip; and his royal actions, in eſtabliſhing the worſhip and government of that Kirk in Parliament. And therefore they deſired the Parliament "to begin their work of reformation at the uni-"formity of Kirk-government; for that there could be "no hope of unity in religion, of one confeſſion of faith, "one form of worſhip, and one catechiſm, till there "were firſt one form of Church-government; and that "the kingdom, and Kirk of Scotland, could have no "hope of a firm and durable peace, till prelacy, which "had been the main cauſe of their miſeries and troubles, "firſt and laſt, were plucked up root and branch, as a "plant which God had not planted, and from which no "better fruits could be expected, than ſuch four grapes, "as at that day ſet on edge the kingdom of England."

Which declaration the Lords of the Secret Council, finding, as they ſaid, "the reaſons therein expreſſed to "be very pregnant, and the particulars deſired, much to "conduce to the glory of God, the advancement of the "true Chriſtian faith, his Majeſty's honour, and the "peace and union of his dominions," well approved of; and concurred in their earneſt deſires to the two Houſes of Parliament, "to take to their ſerious conſiderations "thoſe

" thoſe particulars, and to give favourable hearing to ſuch " deſires and overtures, as ſhould be found moſt conduci- " ble to the promoting ſo great and ſo good a work."

This being ſent to the Parliament at the time they were forming their army, and when the King was preparing for his defence, they who, from the beginning, had principally intended this confuſion of the Church, inſinuated " how neceſſary it was, ſpeedily to return " a very affectionate and ſatisfactory reply to the king- " dom of Scotland; not only to preſerve the repu- " tation of unity and conſent between them, which, at " that time, was very uſeful to them, but to hinder the " operations of the diſaffected in that kingdom; who, " upon infuſions that the Parliament only aimed at tak- " ing his Majeſty's regal rights from him, to the preju- " dice of monarchique government, without any thought " of reforming religion, endeavoured to pervert the af- " fections of that people towards the Parliament. Where- " as, if they were once aſſured there was a purpoſe to re- " form religion, they ſhould be ſure to have their hearts; " and, if occaſion required, their hands too; which poſ- " ſibly might be ſeduced for the King, if that purpoſe " were not manifeſted. Therefore, for the preſent, they " ſhould do well to return their hearty thanks for, and " their brotherly acceptance and approbation of the de- " ſires and advice of that Chriſtian aſſembly, and of the " Lords of the Council; and that though, for the pre- " ſent, by reaſon of the King's diſtance from the Parlia- " ment, they could not ſettle any concluſion in that mat- " ter, yet for their parts they were reſolved to endeavour " it."

By this artifice and invention, they procured a declaration from the two Houſes of Parliament, of wonderful kindneſs, and confeſſion of many inconveniences and

miſchiefs the kingdom had ſuſtained by Biſhops; and therefore they declared, "that that hierarchical govern-"ment was evil, and juſtly offenſive, and burthenſome "to the kingdom; a great impediment to reformation, "and growth of religion; very prejudicial to the ſtate "and government of the kingdom; and that they were "reſolved, that the ſame ſhould be taken away; and "that their purpoſe was to conſult with godly and "learned Divines, that they might not only remove "that, but ſettle ſuch a government, as might be moſt "agreeable to God's holy word; moſt apt to procure "and conſerve the peace of the Church at home, and "happy union with the Church of Scotland, and other "Reformed Churches abroad; and to eſtabliſh the ſame "by a law, which they intended to frame for that pur-"poſe, to be preſented to his Majeſty for his royal aſ-"ſent; and in the mean time to beſeech him, that a "bill for the aſſembly might be paſſed in time conveni-"ent for their meeting;" the two Houſes having extra-judicially and extravagantly nominated their own Divines to that purpoſe, as is before remembered.

It was then believed by many, and the King was perſuaded to believe the ſame, that all thoſe importunities from Scotland concerning the government of the Church were uſed only to preſerve themſelves from being preſſed by the Parliament, to join with them againſt the King; imagining that this kingdom would never have conſented to ſuch an alteration; and they again pretending, that no other obligation could unite that people in their ſervice. But it is moſt certain, this laſt declaration was procured by perſuading men, "that it was for the preſent neceſ-"ſary, and that it was only an engagement to do their "beſt to perſuade his Majeſty, who they concluded "would be inexorable in the point," (which they ſeemed

not

not to be ſorry for), "and that a receding from ſuch a "concluſion would be a means to gratify his Majeſty "in a treaty." At worſt, they all knew, that there would be room enough, when any bill ſhould be brought in, to oppoſe what they had, for this reaſon of ſtate, ſeemed generally to conſent to. And ſo by theſe ſtratagems, thinking to be too hard for each other, they grew all ſo entangled, that they ſtill wound themſelves deeper into thoſe labyrinths, in which the major part meant not to be involved. And what effect that declaration of the two Houſes, after the battle of Edgehill, which is mentioned before, wrought, will very ſhortly appear.

The King found himſelf in good caſe at Oxford, where care was taken for providing for the ſick and wounded ſoldiers, and for the accommodation of the army, which was, in a ſhort time, recruited there in a good meaſure; and the ſeveral Colleges preſented his Majeſty with all the money they had in their treaſuries, which amounted to a good ſum, and was a very ſeaſonable ſupply, as they had formerly ſent him all their plate. It had been very happy, if the King had continued his reſolution of ſitting ſtill during the winter, without making farther attempts; for his reputation was now great, and his army believed to be much greater than it was, by the victory they had obtained, and the Parliament grew more divided into factions, and diſlike of what they had done, and the city appeared fuller of diſcontent, and leſs inclined to be impoſed upon, than they had been: ſo that on all hands nothing was preſſed, but that ſome addreſs might be made to the King for an accommodation; which temper and diſpoſition might have been cultivated, as many men thought, to great effects, if no farther approaches had been made to London, to ſhew them how little cauſe they had for their great fear. But the wea-

The King at Oxford recruits his army.

ther growing fair again, as it often is about Allhollantide, and a good party of horſe having been ſent out from Abingdon, where the head quarter of the horſe was, they advanced farther than they had order to do, and upon their approach to Reading, where Harry Martin was governor for the Parliament, there was a great terror ſeized upon them, inſomuch as governor and garriſon fled to London, and left the place to the party of horſe; which gave advertiſement to the King, "that all fled "before them; that the Earl of Eſſex remained ſtill at "Warwick, having no army to march; and that there "were ſo great diviſions in the Parliament, that, upon "his Majeſty's approach, they would all fly; and that "nothing could interrupt him from going to Whitehall. "However, Reading itſelf was ſo good a poſt, that if "the King ſhould find it neceſſary to make his own "reſidence in Oxford, it would be much the better by "having a garriſon at Reading."

The garriſon of the Parliament at Reading quitting it, the King marches thither.

Upon theſe and other motives, beſides the natural credulity in men, in believing all they wiſh to be true, the King was prevailed with to march with his army to Reading. This alarm quickly came to London, and was received with the deepeſt horror: they now unbelieved all which had been told them from their own army; that army, which, they were told, was well beaten and ſcattered, was now advanced within thirty miles of London; and the Earl of Eſſex, who pretended to the victory, and who they ſuppoſed was watching the King, that he might not eſcape from him, could not be heard of, and continued ſtill at Warwick. Whilſt the King was at Nottingham, and Shrewſbury, they gave orders magiſterially for the war: but now it was come to their own doors, they took not that delight in it.

Before they were reſolved what to ſay, they diſpatched a meſ-

a meſſenger, who found the King at Reading, only to deſire "a ſafe conduct from his Majeſty for a committee "of Lords and Commons, to attend his Majeſty with "an humble petition from his Parliament." The King preſently returned his anſwer, "that he had always been, "and was ſtill, ready to receive any petition from them; "that their committee ſhould be welcome, provided it "conſiſted of perſons, who had not been by name de-"clared traitors by his Majeſty, and excepted as ſuch in "his declarations, or proclamations." The cauſe of this limitation was as well the former rule his Majeſty had ſet down at Shrewſbury, (from whence he thought not fit now to recede, after a battle), as that he might prevent the Lord Say's being ſent to him, from whom he could expect no entire and upright dealing.

The next day another letter came from the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers to the Lord Falkland, one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries, to deſire "a ſafe conduct "for the Earls of Northumberland, and Pembroke, and "four Members of the Houſe of Commons, to attend "his Majeſty with their petition;" which ſafe conduct was immediately ſigned by his Majeſty, excepting only for Sir John Evelyn, who was by name excepted in his Majeſty's proclamation of pardon to the county of Wilts; which proclamation was then ſent to them with a ſignification, "that if they would ſend any other perſon in "his place, not ſubject to the ſame exception, he ſhould "be received as if his name were in the ſafe conduct." Though this was no more than they had cauſe to look for, yet it gave them opportunity for a time to lay aſide the thought of petitioning, as if his Majeſty had rejected all overtures of peace: "For he might every day proclaim "as many of their members traitors, and except them "from pardon, as he pleaſed; and therefore it was to no

"pur-

" purpoſe to prepare petitions, and appoint meſſengers " to preſent them, when it was poſſible thoſe meſſengers " might, the hour before, be proclaimed traitors: that " to ſubmit to ſuch a limitation of the King's was, upon " the matter, to conſent to and approve the higheſt " breach of privilege, that had been yet offered to them."

So that, for ſome days, all diſcourſe of peace was waved, and all poſſible preparations for defence and reſiſtance made; for which they had a ſtronger argument than either of the other, the advancing of their General, the Earl of Eſſex, who was now on his march towards London; and a great fame came before him of the ſtrength and courage of his army; though in truth it was not anſwerable to the report: however, it ſerved to encourage and inflame thoſe whoſe fear only inclined them to peace, and to awe the reſt. The King, who had every night an account of what was tranſacted in the Houſes all day, (what the cloſe committee did, who guided all private deſigns, was not ſo ſoon known), reſolved to quicken them; and advanced with his whole army to Colebrook. This indeed exalted their appetite to peace; for the clamour of the people was importunate, and ſomewhat humbled their ſtyle; for at Colebrook, the 11th of November, his Majeſty was met by the two Earls of Northumberland, and Pembroke, with thoſe three of the Houſe of Commons whoſe names were in the ſafe conduct; they ſatisfying themſelves, that the leaving Sir John Evelyn behind them, without bringing another in his room, was no ſubmiſſion to the King's exception: and this petition was by them preſented to him.

The King advances to Colebrook.

A petition preſented to the King from both Houſes.

" We your Majeſty's moſt loyal ſubjects, the Lords " and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, being affected " with a deep and piercing ſenſe of the miſeries of this " kingdom, and of the dangers to your Majeſty's perſon,

" as

" as the preſent affairs now ſtand; and much quickened " therein with the ſad conſideration of the great effuſion " of blood at the late battle, and of the loſs of ſo many " eminent perſons; and farther weighing the addition " of loſs, miſery, and danger to your Majeſty, and your " kingdom, which muſt enſue, if both armies ſhould " again join in another battle, as without God's eſpecial " bleſſing, and your Majeſty's concurrence with your " Houſes of Parliament, will not probably be avoided: " we cannot but believe that a ſuitable impreſſion of " tenderneſs and compaſſion is wrought in your Majeſ- " ty's royal heart, being yourſelf an eye-witneſs of the " bloody and ſorrowful deſtruction of ſo many of your " ſubjects; and that your Majeſty doth apprehend what " diminution of your own power and greatneſs will fol- " low, and that all your kingdoms will thereby be ſo " weakened as to become ſubject to the attempts of any " illaffected to this ſtate.

" In all which reſpects we aſſure ourſelves, that your " Majeſty will be inclined graciouſly to accept this our " humble petition; that the miſery and deſolation of " this kingdom may be ſpeedily removed, and prevented. " For the effecting whereof, we humbly beſeech your " Majeſty to appoint ſome convenient place, not far " from the city of London, where your Majeſty will be " pleaſed to reſide, until committees of both Houſes of " Parliament may attend your Majeſty with ſome pro- " poſitions for the removal of theſe bloody diſtempers " and diſtractions, and ſettling the ſtate of the kingdom " in ſuch a manner as may conduce to the preſervation " of God's true religion, your Majeſty's honour, ſafety, " and proſperity; and to the peace, comfort, and ſecu- " rity of all your people."

The King, within two or three hours after the receipt of

of this petition, delivered to the ſame meſſengers this enſuing anſwer, with which they returned the ſame night to London.

The King's anſwer.

" We take God to witneſs, how deeply we are affected " with the miſeries of this kingdom, which heretofore " we have ſtroven as much as in us lay to prevent; it " being ſufficiently known to all the world that, as we " were not the firſt that took up arms, ſo we have " ſhewed our readineſs of compoſing all things in a fair " way, by our ſeveral offers of treaty, and ſhall be glad " now at length to find any ſuch inclinations in others. " The ſame tenderneſs to avoid the deſtruction of our " ſubjects, (whom we know to be our greateſt ſtrength), " which would always make our greateſt victories bitter " to us, ſhall make us willingly hearken to ſuch propoſi- " tions, whereby theſe bloody diſtempers may be ſtopped, " and the great diſtractions of this kingdom ſettled to " God's glory, our honour, and the welfare and flouriſh- " ing of our people: and to that end ſhall reſide at our " own caſtle at Windſor, (if the forces there ſhall be " removed), till committees may have time to attend us " with the ſame, (which, to prevent the inconveniences " that will intervene, we wiſh be haſtened), and ſhall " be ready there, or, if that be refuſed us, at any place " where we ſhall be, to receive ſuch propoſitions as " aforeſaid, from both our Houſes of Parliament. Do " you your duty, we will not be wanting in ours. God " of his mercy give a bleſſing."

It was then believed by many, that if the King had, as ſoon as the meſſengers returned to London, retired with his army to Reading, and there expected the Parliament's anſwer, they would immediately have withdrawn their garriſon from Windſor, and delivered that caſtle to his Majeſty for his accommodation to have treated

treated in: and without doubt thoſe Lords who had been with the petition, and ſome others who thought themſelves as much overſhadowed by the greatneſs of the Earl of Eſſex, and the chief officers of the army, as they could be by the glory of any favourite, or power of any counſellors, were reſolved to merit as much as they could of the King, by advancing an honourable peace; and had it in their purpoſe to endeavour the giving up of Windſor to the King; but whether they would have been able to have prevailed that ſo conſiderable a ſtrength, in ſo conſiderable a place, ſhould have been quitted, whilſt there was only hope of a peace, I much doubt. But certainly the King's army carried great terror with it; and all thoſe reports, which publiſhed the weakneſs of it, grew to be peremptorily diſbelieved. For, beſides that every day's experience diſproved ſomewhat which was ſo confidently reported, and it was evident great induſtry was uſed to apply ſuch intelligence to the people as was moſt like to make impreſſion upon the paſſions and affections of the vulgar-ſpirited, it could not be believed that a handful of men could have given battle to their formidable army, and, after taking two or three of their garriſons, preſume to march within fifteen miles of London: ſo that, if from thence the King had drawn back again to Reading, relying upon a treaty for the reſt, it is probable his power would have been more valued, and conſequently his grace the more magnified. And ſure the King reſolved to have done ſo, or at leaſt to have ſtaid at Colebrook till he heard again from the Parliament. But Prince Rupert, exalted with the terror he heard his name gave to the enemy, truſting too much to the vulgar intelligence every man received from his friends at London, who, according to their own paſſions and the affections of thoſe with whom they

they correſponded, concluded that the King had ſo great a party in London, that, if his army drew near, no reſiſtance would be made, without any direction from the King, the very next morning after the committee returned to London, advanced with the horſe and dragoons to Hounſlow, and then ſent to the King to deſire him that the army might march after; which was, in that caſe, of abſolute neceſſity; for the Earl of Eſſex had a part of his army at Brentford, and the reſt at Acton, and Kingſton. So that if the King had not advanced with his body, thoſe who were before might very eaſily have been compaſſed in, and their retreat made very difficult.

The King marches towards Brentford.

So the King marched with his whole army towards Brentford, where were two regiments of their beſt foot, (for ſo they were accounted, being thoſe who had eminently behaved themſelves at Edgehill), having barricadoed the narrow avenues to the town, and caſt up ſome little breaſt-works at the moſt convenient places. Here a Welſh regiment of the King's, which had been faulty at Edgehill, recovered its honour, and aſſaulted the works, and forced the barricadoes well defended by the enemy. Then the King's forces entered the town after a very warm ſervice, the chief officers and many ſoldiers of the other ſide being killed; and they took there above five hundred priſoners, eleven colours, and fifteen pieces of cannon, and good ſtore of ammunition. But this victory (for conſidering the place it might well be called ſo) proved not at all fortunate to his Majeſty.

The two Houſes were ſo well ſatisfied with the anſwer their committee had brought from the King, and with the report they made of his Majeſty's clemency, and gracious reception of them, that they had ſent order to their forces, "that they ſhould not exerciſe any act "of hoſtility towards the King's forces;" and, at the ſame

ſame time, diſpatched a meſſenger, to acquaint his Majeſty therewith, and to deſire "that there might be the "like forbearance on his part." The meſſenger found both parties engaged at Brentford, and ſo returned without attending his Majeſty, who had no apprehenſion that they intended any ceſſation; ſince thoſe forces were advanced to Brentford, Acton, and Kingſton, after their committee was ſent to Colebrook. However they looked upon this entering of Brentford as a ſurpriſe contrary to faith, and the betraying their forces to a maſſacre, under the ſpecious pretence of a treaty for peace. The alarm came to London, with the ſame terror as if the army were entered their gates, and the King accuſed "of "treachery, perfidy, and blood; and that he had given "the ſpoil and wealth of the city as pillage to his army, "which advanced with no other purpoſe."

They who believed nothing of thoſe calumnies, were not yet willing the King ſhould enter the city with an army, which, they knew, would not be governed in ſo rich quarters; and therefore, with unſpeakable expedition, the army under the Earl of Eſſex was not only drawn together, but all the Trained Bands of London led out in their brighteſt equipage upon the heath next Brentford; where they had indeed a full army of horſe and foot, fit to have decided the title of a crown with an equal adverſary. The view and proſpect of this ſtrength, which nothing but that ſudden exigent could have brought together, extremely puffed them up; not only as it was an ample ſecurity againſt the preſent danger, but as it looked like a ſafe power to encounter any other. They had now before their eyes the King's little handful of men, and then begun to wonder and bluſh at their own fears; and all this might be without exceſs of courage; for without doubt their numbers then, without

The Earl of Eſſex's army, and the city Trained Bands, oppoſed againſt them.

the

the advantage of equipage, (which to ſoldiers is a great addition of mettle), were five times greater than the King's haraſſed, weather-beaten, and half-ſtarved troops.

I have heard many knowing men, and ſome who were then in the city regiments, ſay, "That if the King had "advanced, and charged that maſſive body, it had pre- "ſently given ground; and that the King had ſo great "a party in every regiment, that they would have made "no reſiſtance." But it had been madneſs, which no ſucceſs could have vindicated, to have made that attempt: and the King eaſily diſcerned that he had brought himſelf into ſtraits and difficulties, which would be hardly maſtered, and expoſed his victorious army to a view, at too near a diſtance off his two enemies, the Parliament and the city. Yet he ſtood all that day in battalia to receive them, who only played upon him with their cannon, to the loſs only of four or five horſes, and not one man. The conſtitution of their forces, where there were very many not at all affected to the company they were in, being a good argument to them not to charge the King, which had been an ill one to him to charge them.

The King's army drawn off to Kingſton.

When the evening drew on, and it appeared that great body ſtood only for the defence of the city, the King appointed his army to draw off to Kingſton, which the rebels had kindly quitted; which they did without the loſs of a man; and himſelf went to his own houſe at Hampton-Court; where he reſted the next day, as well to refreſh his army, even tired with watching and faſting, as to expect ſome propoſitions from the Houſes. For, upon his advance to Brentford, he had ſent a ſervant of his own, one Mr. White, with a meſſage to the Parliament, containing the reaſons of that motion, (there being no ceſſation offered on their part), and deſiring "the "pro-

" propoſitions might be diſpatched to him with all ſpeed." But his meſſenger, being carried to the Earl of Eſſex, was by him uſed very roughly, and by the Houſes committed to the Gate-houſe, not without the motion of ſome men, " that he might be executed as a ſpy."

After a day's ſtay at Hampton-Court, the King removed himſelf to his houſe at Oatlands, leaving the groſs of his army ſtill at Kingſton, and thereabouts; but being then informed of the high imputations they had laid upon him; " of breach of faith, by his march to " Brentford; and that the city was really inflamed with " an opinion, that he meant to have ſurpriſed them, and " to have ſacked the town; that they were ſo poſſeſſed " with that fear and apprehenſion, that their care and " preparation for their ſafety would at leaſt keep off all " propoſitions for peace, whilſt the army lay ſo near " London;" he gave direction for all his forces to retire to Reading; firſt diſcharging all the common ſoldiers, who had been taken priſoners at Brentford, (except ſuch who voluntarily offered to ſerve him), upon their oaths that they would no more bear arms againſt his Majeſty. Thence to Reading.

The King then ſent a meſſage to the Houſes, in which " he took notice of thoſe unjuſt and unreaſon- " able imputations raiſed on him; told them again of " the reaſons and circumſtances of his motion towards " Brentford; of the Earl of Eſſex's drawing out his " forces towards him, and poſſeſſing thoſe quarters " about him, and almoſt hemming him in, after the " time that the commiſſioners were ſent to him with the " petition; that he had never heard of the leaſt overture " of the forbearing all acts of hoſtility, but ſaw the " contrary practiſed by them by that advance; that he " had not the leaſt thought or intention of maſtering The King ſends a meſſage to the Houſes.

" the city by force, or carrying his army thither: that " he wondered to hear his ſoldiers charged with thirſting " after blood, when they took above five hundred pri- " ſoners in the very heat of the fight. He told them " ſuch were moſt apt and likely to maintain their power " by blood and rapine, who had only got it by oppreſſion " and injuſtice; that his was veſted in him by the law, " and by that only (if the deſtructive counſels of others " did not hinder ſuch a peace, in which that might once " again be the univerſal rule, and in which only religion " and juſtice could flouriſh) he deſired to maintain it: " that he intended to march to ſuch a diſtance from his " city of London, as might take away all pretence of " apprehenſion from his army, that might hinder them " from preparing their propoſitions, in all ſecurity, to " be preſented to him; and there he would be ready to " receive them, or, if that expedient pleaſed them not, " to end the preſſures and miſeries, which his ſubjects, " to his great grief, ſuffered through this war, by a " preſent battle."

But as the army's being ſo near London was an argument againſt a preſent treaty, ſo its remove to Reading was a greater with very many not to deſire any. The danger, which they had brought themſelves for ſome days together to look upon at their gates, was now to be contemned at the diſtance of thirty miles; and this retreat imputed only to the fear of their power, not to the inclinations to peace. And therefore they, who during the time that the major part did really deſire a good peace, and whilſt overtures were preparing to that purpoſe, had the ſkill to intermingle acts more deſtructive to it, than any propoſitions could be contributory, (as the inviting the Scots to their aſſiſtance by that declaration, which is before mentioned; and the publiſhing a decla-

declaration at the ſame time, which had lain long by them, in reply to one ſet forth by the King long before in anſwer to theirs of the 26th of May, in which they uſed both his perſon and his power with more irreverence than they had ever done before), now only inſiſted on the ſurpriſe, as they called it, of Brentford; and publiſhed, by the authority of both Houſes, a relation of the carriage of the King's ſoldiers in that town after their victory, (which they framed upon the diſcourſes of the country people, who poſſibly, as it could not be otherwiſe, had received damage by their licence then), to make the King and his army odious to the kingdom; "as affecting nothing but blood and rapine; and con- "cluding, that there could not be reaſonably expected "any good conditions of a tolerable peace from the "King, whilſt he was in ſuch company; and therefore "that all particular propoſitions were to be reſolved into "that one, of inviting his Majeſty to come to them:" and got a vote from the major part of both Houſes, "that no other meaſure for accommodation or treaty "ſhould be thought on."

Their truſty Lord Mayor of London, Iſaac Pennington, who was again choſen to ſerve another year, ſo beſtirred himſelf, having to aſſiſt him two Sheriffs, Langham and Andrews, as they could wiſh, that there was not only no more importunity or interpoſition from the city for peace; but, inſtead thereof, an overture and declaration from divers, under the ſtyle of well affected perſons, "that they would advance a conſiderable num- "ber of ſoldiers, for the ſupply and recruit of the Par- "liament forces; and would arm, maintain, and pay "them for ſeveral months, or during the times of dan- "ger and diſtractions; provided that they might have "the public faith of the kingdom for repayment of all

" ſuch ſums of money, which they ſhould ſo advance " by way of loan." This wonderful kind of propoſition was preſently declared " to be an acceptable ſervice to " the King, Parliament, and kingdom, and neceſſarily " tending to the preſervation of them;" and therefore an ordinance, as they call it, was framed and paſſed both Houſes:

An ordinance for raiſing money upon the public faith.

" That all ſuch as ſhould furniſh men, money, horſe, " or arms for that ſervice, ſhould have the ſame fully " repaid again, with intereſt for the forbearance thereof, " from the times diſburſed. And for the true payment " thereof, they did thereby engage to all, and every ſuch " perſon, and perſons, the public faith of the kingdom." And ordered the Lord Mayor, and Sheriffs of London, by themſelves, or ſuch ſub-committees as they ſhould appoint, to take ſubſcriptions, and to intend the advancement of that ſervice. Upon this voluntary, general propoſition, made by a few obſcure men, probably ſuch who were not able to ſupply much money, was this ordinance made; and from this ordinance the active Mayor, and Sheriffs, appointed a committee of ſuch perſons whoſe inclinations they well knew, to preſs all kind of people, eſpecially thoſe who were not forward, to new ſubſcriptions; and by degrees, from this unconſidered paſſage, grew the monthly tax of ſix thouſand pounds to be ſet upon the city for the payment of the army.

As they provided, with this notable circumſpection, to raiſe men and money; ſo they took not leſs care, nor uſed leſs art and induſtry, to raiſe their General; and leſt he might ſuppoſe himſelf fallen in their good grace, and confidence, by bringing an army back ſhattered, poor, and diſcomforted, which he had carried out in full numbers, and glorious equipage, they uſed him with greater

greater reverence and ſubmiſſion than ever. They had before appointed another diſtinct army to be raiſed under the command of the Earl of Warwick, and not ſubject to the power of the Earl of Eſſex; and of this, ſeveral regiments and troops were raiſed: theſe they ſent to the old army, and the Earl of Warwick gave up his commiſſion, upon reſolution, "that there ſhould be only "one General, and he, the Earl of Eſſex." Then the two Houſes paſſed, and preſented, with great ſolemnity, this declaration to his Excellency, the ſame day that their committee went to the King with their petition:

A declaration of both Houſes concerning their General's acceptable ſervice.

"That, as they had, upon mature deliberation, and "aſſured confidence in his wiſdom, courage, and fidelity, "choſen and appointed him their Captain-General; ſo "they did find, that the ſaid Earl had managed that "ſervice, of ſo high importance, with ſo much care, "valour, and dexterity, as well by the extremeſt hazard "of his life, in a bloody battle near Keinton in War-"wickſhire, as by all the actions of a moſt excellent and "expert commander, in the whole courſe of that em-"ployment, as did deſerve their beſt acknowledgment: "and they did therefore declare, and publiſh, to the "laſting honour of the ſaid Earl, the great and acceptable "ſervice, which he had therein done to the common-"wealth; and ſhould be willing and ready, upon all "occaſions, to expreſs the due ſenſe they had of his "merits, by aſſuring and protecting him, and all others "employed under his command in that ſervice, with "their lives and fortunes, to the uttermoſt of their "power: that teſtimony and declaration to remain upon "record, in both Houſes of Parliament, for a mark of "honour to his perſon, name, and family, and for a "monument of his ſingular virtue to poſterity."

When they had thus compoſed their army and their

General, they ſent this petition to the King to Reading, who ſtaid ſtill there in expectation of their propoſitions.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty:

The Houſes' petition to the King, Nov. 24.

"It is humbly deſired by both Houſes of Parliament, "that your Majeſty will be pleaſed to return to your "Parliament, with your royal, not your martial, atten- "dance; to the end that religion, laws, and liberties, "may be ſettled and ſecured by their advice; finding "by a ſad, and late accident, that your Majeſty is envi- "roned by ſome ſuch councils, as do rather perſuade a "deſperate diviſion, than a joining and a good agree- "ment with your Parliament and people: and we ſhall "be ready to give your Majeſty aſſurances of ſuch ſecu- "rity, as may be for your honour, and the ſafety of "your royal perſon."

As ſoon as the King received this ſtrange addreſs, he returned them by the ſame meſſenger a ſharp anſwer to this effect: He told them, "he hoped all his good ſub- "jects would look upon that meſſage with indignation, "as intended, by the contrivers thereof, as a ſcorn to "him; and thereby deſigned by that malignant party, "(of whom he had ſo often complained, whoſe ſafety "and ambition was built upon the diviſions and ruins "of the kingdom, and who had too great an influence "upon their actions), for a wall of ſeparation betwixt "his Majeſty and his people. He ſaid, he had often "told them the reaſons, why he departed from London; "how he was chaſed thence, and by whom; and as often "complained, that the greateſt part of his Peers, and of "the members of the Houſe of Commons, could not, "with ſafety to their honours and perſons, continue, "and vote freely among them; but, by violence, and "cunning practices, were debarred of thoſe privileges,

The ſubſtance of the King's anſwer.

"which

" which their birth-rights, and the truſt repoſed in them " by their countries, gave them: that the whole king- " dom knew that an army was raiſed, under pretence of " orders of both Houſes, (an uſurpation never before " heard of in any age), which army had purſued his " Majeſty in his own kingdom; given him battle at " Keinton; and now, thoſe rebels being recruited, and " poſſeſſed of the city of London, he was courteouſly " invited to return to his Parliament there, that is, to " the power of that army.

" That, he ſaid, could ſignify nothing but that, ſince " the traitorous endeavours of thoſe deſperate men could " not ſnatch the crown from his head, it being defended " by the providence of God, and the affections and " loyalty of his good ſubjects, he ſhould now tamely " come up, and give it them; and put himſelf, his life, " and the lives, liberties, and fortunes of all his good " ſubjects, into their merciful hands. He ſaid, he " thought not fit to give any other anſwer to that part " of their petition: but as he imputed not that affront " to both his Houſes of Parliament, nor to the major part " of thoſe who were then preſent there, but to that dan- " gerous party his Majeſty and the kingdom muſt ſtill " cry out upon; ſo he would not (for his good ſub- " jects' ſake, and out of his moſt tender ſenſe of their " miſeries, and the general calamities of the kingdom, " which muſt, if the war continued, ſpeedily overwhelm " the whole nation) take advantage of it: but if they " would really purſue the courſe they ſeemed, by their " petition at Colebrook, to be inclined to, he ſhould " make good all he then promiſed; whereby the hearts " of his diſtreſſed ſubjects might be raiſed with the hopes " of peace; without which, religion, the laws, and liber- " ties, could by no ways be ſettled and ſecured.

" For the late and ſad accident they mentioned, if " they intended that of Brentford, he deſired them once " again to deal ingenuouſly with the people, and to let " them ſee his laſt meſſage to them, and his declaration " concerning the ſame," (both which his Majeſty had ſent to his preſs at London, but were taken away from his meſſenger, and not ſuffered to be publiſhed), " and " then he doubted not, but they would be ſoon unde- " ceived, and eaſily find out thoſe counſels, which did " rather perſuade a deſperate diviſion, than a good agree- " ment betwixt his Majeſty, his two Houſes, and peo- " ple."

This anſwer being delivered, without any farther conſideration whether the ſame were reaſonable or not reaſonable, they declared " the King had no mind to peace;" and thereupon laid aſide all farther debates to that purpoſe; and ordered their General to march to Windſor with the army, to be ſo much nearer the King's forces; for the better recruiting whereof, two of their moſt eminent chaplains, Dr. Downing and Mr. Marſhal, publicly avowed, " that the ſoldiers lately taken priſoners at " Brentford, and diſcharged, and releaſed by the King " upon their oaths that they would never again bear " arms againſt him, were not obliged by that oath;" but, by their power, abſolved them thereof, and ſo engaged again thoſe miſerable wretches in a ſecond rebellion.

When the King diſcerned clearly that the enemies to peace had the better of him, and that there was now no farther thought of preparing propoſitions to be ſent to him; after he had ſeen a line drawn about Reading, which he reſolved to keep as a garriſon, and the works in a reaſonable forwardneſs, he left Sir Arthur Aſton, whom he had lately made Commiſſary-General of the horſe,

horſe, (Mr. Wilmot being at the ſame time conſtituted Lieutenant-General), Governor thereof, with a garriſon of above two thouſand foot, and a good regiment of horſe: and himſelf with the reſt of his army marched to Oxford, where he reſolved to reſt that winter, ſettling at the ſame time a good garriſon at Wallingford, a place of great importance within eight miles of Oxford; another at the Brill upon the edge of Buckinghamſhire; a third being before ſettled at Banbury; Abingdon being the head quarters for his horſe; and by this means he had all Oxfordſhire entire, all Berkſhire, but that barren diviſion about Windſor; and from the Brill, and Banbury, a good influence upon Buckinghamſhire, and Northamptonſhire.

The King having garriſoned Reading and Wallingford, and ſome other places, marches to Oxford.

The King was hardly ſettled in his quarters, when he heard that the Parliament was fixing a garriſon at Marlborough in Wiltſhire, a town the moſt notoriouſly diſaffected of all that county; otherwiſe, ſaving the obſtinacy and malice of the inhabitants, in the ſituation of it very unfit for a garriſon. Thither the Earl of Eſſex had ſent one Ramſey, (a Scotſman, as very many of their officers were of that nation), to be Governor; who, with the help of the factious people there, had quickly drawn together five or ſix hundred men. This place, the King ſaw, would ſoon prove an ill neighbour to him; not only as it was in the heart of a rich county, and ſo would ſtraiten, and even infeſt his quarters, (for it was within twenty miles of Oxford), but as it did cut off his line of communication with the weſt: and therefore, though it was December, a ſeaſon, when his tired and almoſt naked ſoldiers might expect reſt, he ſent a ſtrong party of horſe, foot, and dragoons, under the command of Mr. Wilmot, the Lieutenant-General of his horſe, to viſit that town; who, coming thither on a Saturday, found

Marlborough garriſoned by the Parliament.

found the place ſtrongly manned: for, beſides the garriſon, it being market-day, very many country people came thither to buy and ſell, and were all compelled to ſtay and take arms for the defence of the place; which, for the moſt part, they were willing to do, and the people peremptory to defend it. Though there was no line about it, yet there were ſome places of great advantage, upon which they had raiſed batteries, and planted cannon, and ſo barricadoed all the avenues, which were through deep narrow lanes, that the horſe could do little ſervice.

When the Lieutenant-General was, with his party, near the town, he apprehended a fellow, who confeſſed, upon examination, "that he was a ſpy, and ſent by the "Governor to bring intelligence of their ſtrength and "motion." When all men thought, and the poor fellow himſelf feared, he ſhould be executed, the Lieutenant-General cauſed his whole party to be ranged in order in the next convenient place, and bid the fellow look well upon them, and obſerve them, and then bid him return to the town, and tell thoſe that ſent him, what he had ſeen, and withal that he ſhould acquaint the magiſtrates of the town, "that they ſhould do well "to treat with the garriſon, to give them leave to ſub-"mit to the King; that if they did ſo, the town ſhould "not receive the leaſt prejudice; but if they compelled "him to make his way, and enter the town by force, it "would not be in his power to keep his ſoldiers from "taking that which they ſhould win with their blood:" and ſo diſmiſſed him. This generous act proved of ſome advantage; for the fellow, tranſported with having his life given him; and the numbers of the men he had ſeen, beſides his no experience in ſuch fights, being multiplied by his fear, made notable relations of the ſtrength, gallantry, and reſolution of the enemy, and of the

the impoſſibility of reſiſting them; which, though it prevailed not with thoſe in authority to yield, yet it ſtrangely abated the hopes and courage of the people. So that when the King's ſoldiers fell on, after a volley or two, in which much execution was done, they threw down their arms, and run into the town; ſo that the foot had time to make room for the horſe, who were now entered at both ends of the town, yet were not ſo near an end as they expected; for the ſtreets were in many places barricadoed, which were obſtinately defended by ſome ſoldiers and townſmen, who killed many men out of the windows of the houſes; ſo that, it may be, if they had truſted only to their own ſtrength, without compelling the country men to increaſe their number, and who being firſt frighted, and weary, diſheartened their companions, that place might have coſt more blood. Ramſey the governor was himſelf retired into the church with ſome officers, and from thence did ſome hurt; upon this, there being ſo many killed out of windows, fire was put to the next houſes, ſo that a good part of the town was burned, and then the ſoldiers entered doing leſs execution than could reaſonably be expected; but what they ſpared in blood, they took in pillage, the ſoldiers enquiring little who were friends or foes.

This was the firſt garriſon taken on either ſide; for Farnham Caſtle in Surrey, whither ſome gentlemen who were willing to appear for the King had repaired, and were taken with leſs reſiſtance than was fit, by Sir William Waller, ſome few days before, deſerved not the name of a garriſon. In this of Marlborough were taken, beſides the Governor, and other officers, who yielded upon quarter, above one thouſand priſoners; great ſtores of arms, four pieces of cannon, and a good quantity of ammunition, with all which the Lieutenant-General returned

Marlborough taken by the King's forces under Lieutenant-General Wilmot.

turned ſafe to Oxford: though this ſucceſs was a little ſhadowed, by the unfortunate loſs of a very good regiment of horſe within a few days after; for the Lord Grandiſon, by the miſcarriage of orders, was expoſed, at too great a diſtance from the army, with his ſingle regiment of horſe conſiſting of three hundred, and a regiment of two hundred dragoons, to the unequal encounter of a party of the enemy of five thouſand horſe and dragoons; and ſo was himſelf, after a retreat made to Wincheſter, there taken with all his party; which was the firſt loſs of that kind the King ſuſtained; but without the leaſt fault of the commander; and the misfortune was much leſſened by his making an eſcape himſelf with two or three of his principal officers, who were very welcome to Oxford.

The firſt thing the King applied himſelf to conſult upon, after he was ſettled in his winter quarters, and deſpaired of any honeſt overtures for a peace, was, how to apply ſome antidote to that poiſon, which was ſent into Scotland, in that declaration we mentioned before; the which he had not only ſeen, as an act communicated abroad and in many hands, but the Scottiſh Earl of Lindſey, who was then a Commiſſioner Lieger at London for Scotland, had preſented it to him. And there was every day ſome motion in the Houſe of Commons to preſs the Scots, to invade the kingdom for their aſſiſtance, upon the growth of the Earl of Newcaſtle's power in the north. And therefore, after full thoughts, the King writ to his Privy Council of Scotland, (who, by the laws enacted when he was laſt there, had the abſolute, indeed regal, power of that kingdom), and took notice of that declaration, which had been ſent to them, earneſtly inviting, and in a manner challenging an aſſiſtance from that his native kingdom of men and arms, for

mak-

making a war againſt him, and making claim to that aſſiſtance by virtue of the late Act of Pacification.

He told them, "that, as he was at his ſoul afflicted, that "it had been in the power of any factious, ambitious, "and malicious perſons, ſo far to poſſeſs the hearts of ma- "ny of his ſubjects of England, as to raiſe this miſerable "diſtemper and diſtraction in this kingdom againſt all "his real endeavours and actions to the contrary; ſo he "was glad, that that rage and fury had ſo far tranſported "them, that they applied themſelves, in ſo groſs a man- "ner, to his ſubjects of Scotland; whoſe experience of "his religion, juſtice, and love of his people, would not "ſuffer them to believe thoſe horrid ſcandals, laid upon "his Majeſty: and their affection, loyalty, and jealouſy "of his honour, would diſdain to be made inſtruments "to oppreſs their native Sovereign, by aſſiſting an odi- "ous rebellion." He remembered them, "that he had "from time to time acquainted his ſubjects of that "kingdom with the accidents and circumſtances which "had diſquieted this; how, after all the acts of juſtice, "grace, and favour, performed on his part, which were "or could be deſired to make a people completely hap- "py, he was driven, by the force and violence of rude "and tumultuous aſſemblies, from the city of London, "and his Houſes of Parliament; how attempts had been "made to impoſe laws upon his ſubjects, without his "conſent, and contrary to the foundation and conſtitu- "tion of the kingdom; how his forts, goods, and navy, "had been ſeized, and taken from him by force, and "employed againſt him; his revenue, and ordinary "ſubſiſtence, wreſted from him: how he had been pur- "ſued with ſcandalous and reproachful language; bold, "falſe, and ſeditious paſquils, and libels, publicly al- "lowed againſt him; and had been told that he might, with-

The ſubſtance of the King's meſſage to the Privy Council of Scotland, upon occaſion of the two Houſes' declaration to that kingdom.

" without want of modeſty and duty, be depoſed: that " after all this, before any force raiſed by him, an army " was raiſed, and a General appointed to lead that army " againſt his Majeſty, with a commiſſion to kill, ſlay, " and deſtroy all ſuch who ſhould be faithful to him: " that when he had been, by theſe means, compelled, " with the aſſiſtance of his good ſubjects, to raiſe an " army for his neceſſary defence, he had ſent divers gra- " cious meſſages, earneſtly deſiring that the calamities " and miſeries of a civil war might be prevented by a " treaty; and ſo he might know the grounds of that " miſunderſtanding: that he was abſolutely refuſed to " be treated with, and the army, (raiſed, as was pretended, " for the defence of his perſon), brought into the field " againſt him, gave him battle; and, though it pleaſed " God to give his Majeſty the victory, deſtroyed many " of his good ſubjects, with as eminent danger to his own " perſon, and his children, as the ſkill and malice of de- " ſperate rebels could contrive.

" Of all which, and the other indignities, which had " been offered to him, he doubted not the duty and af- " fection of his Scottiſh ſubjects would have ſo juſt a " reſentment, that they would expreſs to the world " the ſenſe they had of his ſufferings: and he hoped, " his good ſubjects of Scotland were not ſo great ſtran- " gers to the affairs of this kingdom, to believe that this " misfortune and diſtraction was begot and brought " upon him by his two Houſes of Parliament; though, " in truth, no unwarrantable action againſt the law " could be juſtified even by that authority; but that " they well knew how the members of both Houſes " had been driven thence, inſomuch that, of above five " hundred members of the Houſe of Commons, there " were not then there above fourſcore; and, of above one

" hun-

" hundred of the Houſe of Peers, not above fifteen or " ſixteen; all which were ſo awed by a multitude of " Anabaptiſts, Browniſts, and other perſons, deſperate, " and decayed in their fortunes, in and about the city of " London, that, in truth, their conſultations had not " the freedom and privilege which belong to Parlia- " ments.

" Concerning any commiſſions granted by his Majeſty " to Papiſts to raiſe forces, he referred them to a de- " claration, lately ſet forth by him upon the occaſion of " that ſcandal, which he likewiſe then ſent to them. " And for his own true and zealous affection to the " Proteſtant religion, he would give no other inſtance " than his own conſtant practice, on which malice itſelf " could lay no blemiſh; and thoſe many proteſtations " he had made in the ſight of Almighty God, to " whom he knew he ſhould be dearly accountable, if he " failed in the obſervation.

" For that ſcandalous imputation of his intention of " bringing in foreign forces, as the ſame was raiſed with- " out the leaſt ſhadow or colour of reaſon, and ſolemnly " diſavowed by his Majeſty, in many of his declarations; " ſo there could not be a clearer argument to his ſub- " jects of Scotland that he had no ſuch thought, than " that he had hitherto forborne to require the aſſiſtance " of that his native kingdom; from whoſe obedience, " duty, and affection, he ſhould confidently expect it, " if he thought his own ſtrength here too weak to pre- " ſerve him; and of whoſe courage and loyalty he ſhould " look to make uſe, before he ſhould think of any fo- " reign aid to ſuccour him. And he knew no reaſon- " able or underſtanding man could ſuppoſe that they " were obliged, or enabled, by the late act of Parlia- " ment in both kingdoms, to obey the invitation that

" was

" was made to them by that pretended declaration, when " it was ſo evidently provided for by that act, that as " the kingdom of England ſhould not war againſt the " kingdom of Scotland, without conſent of the Parlia- " ment of England, ſo the kingdom of Scotland ſhould " not make war againſt the kingdom of England with- " out the conſent of the Parliament of Scotland."

He told them, " if the grave counſel and advice, " which they had given, and derived to the Houſes of " Parliament here, by their act of the 22d of April laſt, " had been followed in a tender care of his royal perſon, " and of his princely greatneſs and authority, there " would not that face of confuſion have appeared, which " now threatened this kingdom: and therefore he re- " quired them to communicate what he then writ to all " his ſubjects of that kingdom, and to uſe their utmoſt " endeavours to inform them of the truth of his condi- " tion; and that they ſuffered not the ſcandals and im- " putations laid on his Majeſty by the malice and trea- " ſon of ſome men, to make any impreſſion in the minds " of his people, to the leſſening or corrupting their af- " fections and loyalty to him; but that they aſſured " them all, that the hardneſs he then underwent, and " the arms he had been compelled to take up, were for " the defence of his perſon and ſafety of his life; for " the maintenance of the true Proteſtant religion, for " the preſervation of the laws, liberties, and conſtitution " of this kingdom, and for the juſt privileges of Parlia- " ment; and that he looked no longer for a bleſſing " from heaven, than he endeavoured the defence and " advancement of all theſe: and, he could not doubt, a " dutiful concurrence in his ſubjects of Scotland, in the " care of his honour, and juſt rights, would draw down " a bleſſing upon that nation too."

Though

Though his Majeſty well knew all the perſons, to whom he directed this letter, to be thoſe who were only able and willing to do him all poſſible diſſervice, yet he was ſure by other inſtruments, if they neglected, which, for that reaſon, they were not like to do, to publiſh it to the people there; which he believed might ſo far operate upon them, as the others would not be able to procure them to invade England; and other fruit of their allegiance he expected not, than that they ſhould not rebel.

His Majeſty's next care was the procuring money for the payment of his army; that the narrow circuit which contained his quarters might not be ſo intolerably oppreſſed with that whole burthen. This was a very difficult matter; for the ſoldiery already grew very high, and would obey no orders or rules but of their own making; and Prince Rupert conſidered only the ſubſiſtence, and advance of the horſe, as his province, and indeed as if it had been a province apart from the army; and therefore would by no means endure that the great contributions, which the counties within command willingly ſubmitted to, ſhould be aſſigned to any other uſe than the ſupport of the horſe, and to be immediately collected, and received by the officers. So that the ſeveral garriſons, and all the body of foot, were to be conſtantly paid, and his Majeſty's weekly expence for his houſe borne, out of ſuch monies as could be borrowed. For, of all his own revenue, he had not yet the receiving a penny within his power; neither did he think fit to compel any one, even ſuch who were known to have contributed freely to the Parliament, to ſupply him: only by letters, and all other gentle ways, he invited thoſe who were able, to conſider how much their own ſecurity and proſperity was concerned, and depended upon the preſervation of his rights; and offered to ſell

What means the King then uſed to raiſe money.

any of his lands, or to give any perſonal ſecurity for whatſoever money would be lent to him at intereſt: for he had directed a grant to be prepared of ſeveral parks, and foreſts, and other crown-lands, to many perſons of honour and great fortune about him, whoſe eſtates and reputation were well known; who were ready to be perſonally bound for whatſoever ſums could be borrowed.

The affection of the Univerſity of Oxford was moſt eminent: for, as they had before, when the troubles firſt broke out, ſent the King above ten thouſand pounds out of the ſeveral ſtocks of the colleges, and the purſes of particular perſons, many whereof lent him all they had; ſo they now again made him a new preſent. By theſe means, and the loan of particular perſons, eſpecially from London, (for from thence, notwithſtanding all the ſtrict watch to the contrary, conſiderable ſums were drawn,) the King, even above his hopes, was able to pay his foot, albeit it amounted to above three thouſand pounds weekly, in ſuch manner, that during the whole winter there was not the leaſt diſorder for want of pay. And then he uſed all poſſible care to encourage and countenance new levies of horſe and foot, for the recruiting his army againſt the next ſpring.

The Parliament's army being now about London, the officers of it who were members of Parliament attended that council diligently, upon which that army alone depended; and, though they ſtill ſeemed very deſirous of peace, they very ſolemnly and ſeverely proſecuted all thoſe who really endeavoured it. Their partiality and injuſtice was ſo notorious, that there was no rule or meaſure of right in any matter depending before them, but conſideration only of the affections and opinions of the perſons contending; neither could any thing be more properly ſaid of them, than what Tacitus once

ſpoke

ſpoke of the Jews, *apud ipſos fides obſtinata, miſericordia in promptu, adverſus omnes alios hoſtile odium.* Volumes would not contain the inſtances. But they found the old arguments of popery, the militia, and delinquents, for the juſtification of the war, grew every day of leſs reverence with the people; and that as the King's own religion was above any ſcandal they could lay upon it, ſo the regal power ſeemed ſo aſſerted by law, and the King, upon all occaſions, cited particular ſtatutes for the vindication of his right, that whilſt they confeſſed the ſovereign power to be veſted in him, all legal miniſters had that dependence on him, that their authority would by degrees grow into contempt.

The King makes new Sheriffs.

And of this diſadvantage the ſeaſon of the year put them in mind: for the King now, according to courſe, pricked Sheriffs, and made ſuch choice in all counties, that they foreſaw the people were not like to be ſo implicitly at their diſpoſal. Therefore, as they had before craftily inſinuated the ſame in ſome particulars, they now barefaced avow, "that the ſovereign power was "wholly and entirely in them; and that the King him-"ſelf, ſevered from them, had no regal power in him." Their Clergy had hitherto been their champions, and wreſted the Scripture to their ſenſe; their Lawyers were now to vindicate their title, and they were not more modeſt in applying their profeſſion to their ſervice. As all places of Scripture, or in the Fathers, which were ſpoken of the Church of Chriſt, are by the Papiſts applied to the Church of Rome; ſo whatſoever is written in any of the books of the law, or mentioned in the records, of the authority and effects of the ſovereign power, and of the dignity and juriſdiction of Parliament, was, by theſe men, alleged and urged for the power of the two Houſes, and ſometimes for the ſingle authority

of the Houſe of Commons. Being ſupplied with the learning of theſe gentlemen, they declared, that "the "Sheriffs, then conſtituted by the King, were not legal "Sheriffs, nor ought to execute, or be ſubmitted to in "that office;" and ordered, "whomſoever the King "made Sheriff in any county, to be ſent for as delin-"quent:" and becauſe it ſeemed unreaſonable, that the counties ſhould be without that legal miniſter, to whom the law had entruſted its cuſtody, it was propoſed, "that they might make a new Great Seal, and by that "authority make Sheriffs, and ſuch other officers as "they ſhould find neceſſary;" but for the preſent that motion was laid aſide.

The King had appointed ſome of thoſe priſoners who were taken in the battle of Keinton-field, and others apprehended in the act of rebellion, to be indicted of high treaſon, upon the ſtatute of the 25th year of King Edward the Third, before the Lord Chief Juſtice, and other learned Judges of the law, by virtue of his Majeſty's commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*: the Parliament declared "all ſuch indictments, and all proceedings "thereupon, to be unjuſt, and illegal;" and inhibited the Judges to proceed farther therein; declaring, (which was a ſtronger argument), "that if any man were executed, "or ſuffered hurt, for any thing he had done by their "order, the like puniſhment ſhould be inflicted, by "death or otherwiſe, upon ſuch priſoners as were, or "ſhould be, taken by their forces:" and in none of their caſes ever aſked the Judges what the law was. By the determination of the ſtatute, and the King's refuſal, which hath been mentioned before, to paſs any new law to that purpoſe, there was no farther duty of tonnage and poundage due upon merchandize, and the ſtatute made this very Parliament involved all men in the

the guilt and penalty of a præmunire, who offered to receive it. The King publiſhed a proclamation upon that ſtatute, " and required all men to forbear paying " that duty, and forbid all to receive it." They again declared, " that no perſon, who received thoſe duties by " virtue of their orders, was within the danger of a præ- " munire, or any other penalty whatſoever; becauſe the " intent and meaning of that penal clauſe was only to " reſtrain the Crown from impoſing any duty or pay- " ment upon the ſubjects, without their conſent in Par- " liament; and was not intended to extend to any caſe " whereunto the Lords and Commons give their aſſent " in Parliament."

And that this ſovereignty might be farther taken notice of than within the limits of this kingdom, they ſent, with all formality, letters of credence, and inſtructions, and their agents, into foreign ſtates and kingdoms.

The ſubſtance of the declaration of the Lords and Commons to the States General of the United Provinces.

By their agent to the United Provinces, where the Queen was then reſiding, they had the courage, in plain terms, to accuſe the Prince of Orange " for ſupplying " the King with arms and ammunition; for licenſing di- " vers commanders, officers, and ſoldiers, to reſort into " this kingdom to his aid." They remembered them " of the great help that they had received from this " kingdom, when heretofore they lay under the heavy " oppreſſion of their Princes; and how conducible the " friendſhip of this nation had been to their preſent " greatneſs and power; and therefore they could not " think, that they would be forward to help to make " them ſlaves, who had been ſo uſeful, and aſſiſtant in " making them free men; or that they would forget, " that their troubles and dangers iſſued from the ſame " fountain with their own; and that thoſe who were ſet " awork to undermine religion and liberty in the king-

" dom, were the fame who by open force did ſeek to " bereave them of both." They told them, " it could " not be unknown to that wiſe State, that it was the je- " ſuitical faction in this kingdom, that had corrupted the " counſels of the King, the conſciences of a great part " of the Clergy; which ſought to deſtroy the Parlia- " ment, and had raiſed the rebellion in Ireland." They deſired them therefore, " not to ſuffer any more ord- " nance, armour, or any other warlike proviſion, to be " brought over to ſtrengthen thoſe, who, as ſoon as they " ſhould prevail againſt the Parliament, would uſe that " ſtrength to the ruin of thoſe from whom they had it."

They deſired them, " they would not ſend over any " of their countrymen to farther their deſtruction, who " were ſent to them for their preſervation; that they " would not anticipate the ſpilling of Engliſh blood, in " an unnatural civil war, which had been ſo cheerfully " and plentifully hazarded, and ſpent, in that juſt and " honourable war by which they had been ſo long pre- " ſerved, and to which the blood of thoſe perſons, and " many other ſubjects of this kingdom, was ſtill in a " manner dedicated; but rather that they would caſhier, " and diſcard from their employment, thoſe that would " preſume to come over for that purpoſe." They told them, " the queſtion between his Majeſty and the " Parliament was not whether he ſhould enjoy the " ſame prerogative and power, which had belonged to " their former Kings, his Majeſty's royal predeceſſors; " but whether that prerogative and power ſhould be " employed to their defence, or to their ruin: that it " could not be denied by thoſe, who look indifferently " on their proceedings and affairs, that it would be more " honour and wealth, ſafety and greatneſs to his Majeſty, " in concurring with this Parliament, than in the courſe

" in

" in which he now is: but ſo unhappy had his Majeſty " and the kingdom been, in thoſe who had the greateſt " influence upon his counſels, that they looked more " upon the prevailing of their own party, than upon any " thoſe great advantages, both to his crown and royal " perſon, which he might obtain by joining with his " people: and ſo cunning were thoſe factors for Popery, " in proſecution of their own aims, that they could put " on a counterfeit viſage of honour, peace, and greatneſs, " upon thoſe courſes and counſels, which had no truth " and reality, but of weakneſs, diſhonour, and miſeries " to his Majeſty, and the whole kingdom."

They ſaid, " they had lately expreſſed their earneſt " inclinations to that national love and amity with the " United Provinces, which had been nouriſhed and con- " firmed by ſo many civil reſpects, and mutual intereſts, " as made it ſo natural to them, that they had, this " Parliament, in their humble petition to his Majeſty, " deſired, that they might be joined with that State in a " more near and ſtrait league and union: and they could " not but expect ſome returns from them, of the like " expreſſions; and that they would be ſo far from blow- " ing the fire, which begun to kindle among them, that " they would rather endeavour to quench it, by ſtrength- " ening and encouraging them who had no other deſign " but not to be deſtroyed, and to preſerve their religion, " ſave themſelves, and the other Reformed Churches of " Chriſtendom, from the maſſacres and extirpations, " with which the principles of the Roman religion did " threaten them all; which were begun to be acted in " Ireland, and in the hopes, and endeavours, and inten- " tions of that party, had long ſince been executed upon " them, if the mercy, favour, and bleſſing of Almighty " God had not ſuperabounded, and prevented the ſub-

" tilty and malignity of cruel, wicked, and blood-thirſty " men."

With this ſpecious diſpatch, in which were many other particulars to render the King's cauſe ungracious, and their own very plauſible, their agent, one Strickland, an obſcure gentleman, was received by the States; and, notwithſtanding the Queen was then there, and the Prince of Orange viſibly inclined to aſſiſt the King with all his intereſts, and the interpoſition of the King's reſident, did not only hinder the States from giving the leaſt countenance to the King's cauſe, but really ſo corrupted the Engliſh in the army, and in that Court, that there was nothing deſigned to advance it by the Prince of Orange himſelf, (who with great generoſity ſupplied the King with arms and ammunition to a very conſiderable value), or by the private activity and dexterity of particular perſons, out of their own fortune, or by the ſale or pawning of jewels, but intelligence was given ſoon enough to the Parliament, either to get ſtops, and ſeizures upon it, by order of the State, or to intercept the ſupply by their navy at ſea. So that much more was in that manner, and by that means, taken and intercepted at ſea, than ever arrived at any port within his Majeſty's obedience: of which at that time he had only one, the harbour of Newcaſtle. With the ſame ſucceſs they ſent another agent to Bruſſels, who prevailed with Don Franciſco de Melos, then Governor of Flanders, to diſcountenance always, and ſometimes to prevent, the preparations which were there making by the King's miniſters. And in France they had another agent, one Aulgier, a man long before in the conſtant pay of the Crown; who, though he was not received, and avowed, (to put the better varniſh upon their profeſſions to the King), by that Crown, did them more ſervice than either of the other;

other; by how much more that people had an influence upon the diſtempers of the three kingdoms.

The inclinations of foreign Kings and States in this cauſe between the King and Parliament.

And as the Parliament made all theſe addreſſes to foreign States and Princes, which no Parliament had ever done before, ſo it will be fit here to take notice how other Princes appeared concerned on the King's behalf. The Spaniard was ſufficiently incenſed by the King's reception of the Ambaſſadors of Portugal, and, which was more, entering into terms of amity and league with that Crown, and had therefore contributed notable aſſiſtance to the rebellion in Ireland, and ſent both arms and money thither. And ſince the extravagances of this Parliament, the Ambaſſador of Spain had made great application to them.

The French, according to their nature, were much more active, and more intent upon blowing the fire. The former commotions in Scotland had been raiſed by the ſpecial encouragement, if not contrivance, of the Cardinal Richelieu; who had carefully kept up and enlarged the old franchiſes of the Scots under that Crown; which made a very ſpecious ſhew of wonderful grace and benefit, at a diſtance, to that nation, and was of little burthen to the French; and, in truth, of little advantage to thoſe who were in full poſſeſſion of all thoſe privileges. Yet, by this means, the French have always had a very great influence upon the affections of that people, and opportunities to work great prejudice to that Crown: as nothing was more viſible than that, by the Cardinal's activity, all thoſe late diſtempers in Scotland were carried on till his death, and, by his rules and principles, afterwards: the French miniſters always making their correſpondence with, and relation to thoſe who were taken notice to be of the Puritan party; which was underſtood to be in order only to the oppoſition of thoſe

thoſe counſels, which ſhould at any time be offered on the behalf of Spain.

Since the beginning of this Parliament, the French Ambaſſador, Monſieur la Ferté, diſſembled not to have notable familiarity with thoſe who governed moſt in the two Houſes; diſcovered to them whatſoever he knew, or could reaſonably deviſe to the prejudice of the King's counſels and reſolutions; and took all opportunities to leſſen and undervalue the King's regal power, by applying himſelf on public occaſions of ſtate, and in his maſter's name, and to improve his intereſt, to the two Houſes of Parliament, (which had in no age before been ever known), as in the buſineſs of tranſportation of men out of Ireland, before remembered; in which he cauſed, by the importunity of the two Houſes, his Majeſty's promiſe and engagement to the Spaniſh Ambaſſador to be rendered of no effect. And, after that, he formally exhibited, in writing, a complaint to the two Houſes againſt Sir Thomas Rowe, his Majeſty's extraordinary Ambaſſador to the Emperor, and Princes of Germany, upon the treaty of an accommodation on the behalf of the Prince Elector and reſtitution of the Palatinate, confidently avowing, "that Sir Thomas Rowe had offered, "on the King's part, to enter into a league offenſive and "defenſive with the Houſe of Auſtria, and to wed all "their intereſts;" and, in plain terms, aſked them, "whether they had given Sir Thomas inſtructions to "that purpoſe?" expreſſing a great value his maſter had of the affection of the Parliament of England; which drew them to a return of much and unuſual civility, and to aſſure the French King, "that Sir Thomas Rowe "had no ſuch inſtructions from them; and that they "would examine the truth of it; and would be careful "that nothing ſhould be done and perfected in that "treaty,

"treaty, which might reflect upon the good of the "French King." Whereas in truth there was not the leaſt ground or pretence for that ſuggeſtion; Sir Thomas Rowe having never made any ſuch offer, or any thing like it. And when, after his return out of Germany, he expoſtulated with the French Ambaſſador, for ſuch an injurious, cauſeleſs information, he anſwered, "that his maſter had received ſuch advertiſement, and "had given him order to do what he did." So that it eaſily appeared, it was only a fiction of ſtate, whereby they took occaſion to publiſh, that they would take any opportunity to reſort to the two Houſes, and thereby to flatter them in their uſurpation of any ſovereign authority.

There is not a ſadder conſideration than this paſſion, and injuſtice, in Chriſtian Princes, (and I pray God the almighty juſtice be not angry, on this account, with the government of Kings, Princes, and States), that they are ſeldom ſo ſolicitous that the laws be executed, juſtice adminiſtered, and order performed within their own kingdoms, as they are that all three may be diſturbed and confounded amongſt their neighbours. And there is no ſooner a ſpark of diſſenſion, a diſcompoſure in affections, a jealouſy in underſtandings, diſcerned to be in a neighbour province, or kingdom, to the hazarding the peace thereof, but they, though in league and amity, with their utmoſt art and induſtry, make it their buſineſs to kindle that ſpark into a flame, and to contract and ripen all unſettled humours, and jealous apprehenſions, into a peremptory diſcontent, and all diſcontent to ſedition, and all ſedition to open and profeſſed rebellion. And they have rarely ſo ample ſatisfaction in their own greatneſs, or ſo great a ſenſe and value of God's bleſſing upon them, as when they have been inſtruments of drawing ſome notori-

ous

ous calamity upon their neighbours. As if the religion of Princes were nothing but policy, and that they conſidered nothing more, than to make all other kingdoms but their own miſerable: and becauſe God hath reſerved them to be tried only within his own juriſdiction, and before his own tribunal, that he means to try them too by other laws, and rules, than he hath publiſhed to the world for his ſervants to walk by. Whereas they ought to conſider, that God hath placed them over his people as examples, and to give countenance to his laws by their own ſtrict obſervation of them; and that as their ſubjects are to be defended and protected by their Princes, ſo they themſelves are to be aſſiſted and ſupported by one another; the function of Kings being an order by itſelf: and as a contempt and breach of every law is, in the policy of ſtate, an offence againſt the perſon of the King, becauſe there is a kind of violation offered to his perſon in the tranſgreſſion of that rule without which he cannot govern; ſo the rebellion of ſubjects againſt their Prince ought to be looked upon, by all other Kings, as an aſſault of their own ſovereignty, and, in ſome degree, a deſign againſt monarchy itſelf; and conſequently to be ſuppreſſed, and extirpated, in what other kingdom ſoever it is, with the like concernment as if it were in their own bowels.

Beſides theſe indirect artifices, and activity before mentioned in the French Ambaſſador, very many of the Hugonots in France (with whom this Crown heretofore, it may be, kept too much correſpondence) were declared enemies to the King; and, in public, and in ſecret, gave all poſſible aſſiſtance to thoſe whoſe buſineſs was to deſtroy the Church. And as this animoſity proved of unſpeakable inconvenience and damage to the King, throughout all theſe troubles, and of equal benefit to his

his enemies; ſo the occaſion, from whence thoſe diſaffections grew, was very unſkilfully and imprudently adminiſtered by the ſtate here. Not to ſpeak of the buſineſs of Rochelle, which, though it ſtuck deep in all, yet moſt imputed the counſels of that time to men that were dead, and not to a fixed deſign of the Court; they had a greater quarrel, which made them believe, that their very religion was perſecuted by the Church of England.

When the Reformation of religion firſt begun in England, in the time of King Edward the Sixth, very many, out of Germany and France, left their countries, where the Reformation was ſeverely perſecuted, and tranſplanted themſelves, their families, and eſtates, into England, where they were received very hoſpitably; and that King, with great piety and policy, by ſeveral acts of ſtate, granted them many indemnities, and the free uſe of churches in London for the exerciſe of their religion: whereby the number of them increaſed; and the benefit to the kingdom, by ſuch an acceſs of trade, and improvement of manufactures, was very conſiderable. Which Queen Elizabeth finding, and well knowing that other notable uſes of them might be made, enlarged their privileges by new conceſſions; drawing, by all means, great numbers over, and ſuffering them to erect churches, and to enjoy the exerciſe of their religion after their own manner, and according to their own ceremonies, in all places, where, for the conveniency of their trade, they choſe to reſide. And ſo they had churches in Norwich, Canterbury, and other places of the kingdom, as well as in London; whereby the wealth of thoſe places marvellouſly increaſed. And, beſides the benefit from thence, the Queen made uſe of them in her great tranſactions of ſtate in France, and the Low Countries, and, by the mediation

diation and interpoſition of thoſe people, kept an uſeful intereſt in that party, in all the foreign dominions where they were tolerated. The ſame charters of liberty were continued and granted to them, during the peaceable reign of King James, and in the beginning of this King's reign, although, it may be, the politic conſiderations in thoſe conceſſions, and connivances, were neither made uſe of, nor underſtood.

Some few years before theſe troubles, when the power of churchmen grew more tranſcendent, and indeed the faculties and underſtandings of the lay-counſellors more dull, lazy, and unactive, (for, without the laſt, the firſt could have done no hurt), the Biſhops grew jealous that the countenancing another diſcipline of the Church here, by order of the State, (for thoſe foreign congregations were governed by a Preſbytery, according to the cuſtom and conſtitution of thoſe parts of which they had been natives: the French, Dutch, and Walloons had the free uſe of ſeveral churches according to their own diſcipline), would at leaſt diminiſh the reputation and dignity of the epiſcopal government, and give ſome countenance to the factious and ſchiſmatical party in England to hope for ſuch a toleration.

Then there wanted not ſome fiery, turbulent, and contentious perſons of the ſame congregations, who, upon private differences and conteſts, were ready to inform againſt their brethren, and to diſcover what, they thought, might prove of moſt prejudice to them; ſo that, upon pretence that they far exceeded the liberties which were granted to them, and that, under the notion of foreigners, many Engliſh ſeparated themſelves from the Church, and joined themſelves to thoſe congregations, (which poſſibly was in part true), the Council-board connived at, or interpoſed not, whilſt the Biſhops did ſome acts of re-

reſtraint, with which thoſe congregations grew generally diſcontented, and thought the liberty of their conſciences to be taken from them; which cauſed in London much complaining of this kind, but much more in the dioceſe of Norwich; where Dr. Wren, the Biſhop there, paſſionately and warmly proceeded againſt them: ſo that many left the kingdom, to the leſſening the wealthy manufacture there of kerſeys, and narrow cloths, and, which was worſe, tranſporting that myſtery into foreign parts.

And, that this might be ſure to look like more than what was neceſſary to the civil policy of the kingdom, whereas, in all former times, the Ambaſſadors, and all foreign Miniſters of ſtate, employed from England into any parts where the reformed religion was exerciſed, frequented their churches, gave all poſſible countenance to their profeſſion, and held correſpondence with the moſt active and powerful perſons of that relation, and particularly the Ambaſſador Lieger at Paris had diligently and conſtantly frequented the church at Charenton, and held a fair intercourſe with thoſe of that religion throughout the kingdom, by which they had ſtill received advantage, that people being induſtrious and active to get into the ſecrets of the State, and ſo deriving all neceſſary intelligence to thoſe whom they deſired to gratify: the contrary to this was now with great induſtry practiſed, and ſome advertiſements, if not inſtructions, given to the Ambaſſadors there, "to forbear any extraordinary "commerce with the men of that profeſſion." And the Lord Scudamore, who was the laſt ordinary Ambaſſador there, before the beginning of this Parliament, whether by the inclinations of his own nature, or by advice from others, not only declined going to Charenton, but furniſhed his own chapel, in his houſe, with ſuch ornaments,

ments, (as candles upon the communion-table, and the like), as gave great offence and umbrage to thoſe of the reformation there, who had not ſeen the like: beſides that he was careful to publiſh, upon all occaſions, by himſelf, and thoſe who had the neareſt relation to him, "that the Church of England looked not on the Hugonots as a part of their communion;" which was likewiſe too much, and too induſtriouſly diſcourſed at home.

They of the Church of England who committed the greateſt errors this way, had, undoubtedly, not the leaſt thoughts of making alterations in it towards the countenancing of Popery, as hath been uncharitably conceived: but (having too juſt cauſe given them to diſlike the paſſion, and licenſe, that was taken by ſome perſons in the Reformed Churches, under the notion of conſcience and religion, to the diſturbance of the peace of kingdoms) unſkilfully believed, that the total declining the intereſt of that party, where it exceeded the neceſſary bounds of reformation, would make this Church of England looked upon with more reverence; and that thereby the common adverſary, the Papiſt, would abate ſomewhat of his arrogance and ſupercilioufneſs; and that both parties, piouſly conſidering the charity which religion ſhould beget, might, if not unite, yet refrain from the bitterneſs and uncharitableneſs of contention in matters of opinion, and agree in the practical duties of Chriſtians and ſubjects. Thus, contracting their conſiderations in too narrow a compaſs, theſe men contented themſelves with their pious intentions, without duly weighing objections, or the circumſtances of policy. And ſome of our own communion, who differed with them in opinion in this point, though they were in the right, not giving, and, it may be, not knowing the right reaſons, rather confirmed than reformed them in their incli-

inclinations: neither of them diſcerning the true and ſubſtantial grounds of that policy, upon which that good correſpondence had been founded, which they were now about to change: and ſo the Church of England, not giving the ſame countenance to thoſe of the religion in foreign parts, which it had formerly done, no ſooner was diſcerned to be under a cloud at home, but thoſe of the religion abroad were glad of the occaſion to publiſh their malice againſt her, and to enter into the ſame conſpiracy againſt the Crown, without which they could have done little hurt to the Church.

Now, to return to the courſe of our hiſtory; after all diſcourſes and motions for peace were, for a time, laid aſide; and new thoughts of victory, and utterly ſubduing the King's party, again entertained; they found one trouble falling upon them, which they had leaſt ſuſpected, want of money; all their vaſt ſums collected, upon any former bills, paſſed by the King for the relief of Ireland, and payment of the debt to the Scots, and all their money upon ſubſcriptions of plate, and loans upon the public faith, which amounted to incredible proportions, were even quite waſted; and their conſtant expence was ſo great, that no ordinary ſupply would ſerve their turn; and they eaſily diſcerned, that their money only, and not their cauſe, procured them ſoldiers of all kinds; and that they could never ſupport their power, if their power was not able to ſupply them. All voluntary loans were at an end, and the public faith thought a ſecurity not to be relied on, and by how much greater the difficulty was, by ſo much the more fatal would the ſinking under it prove; and therefore it was with the more vigour to be reſiſted. In the end, they reſolved upon the thorough execution of their full ſovereign power, and to let the people ſee what they might truſt

to; in which it is neceſſary to obſerve the arts, and degrees of their motion.

New ways of raiſing money by the two Houſes.

They firſt ordered, "that committees ſhould be named "in all counties, to take care for proviſions of victuals "for the army, and alſo for the taking up of horſes for "ſervice in the field, dragooners and draught horſes, "and for borrowing of money and plate to ſupply the "army: and upon certificate from thoſe committees," (who had power to ſet what value or rates they pleaſed upon theſe proviſions of any kind), "the ſame ſhould "be entered with their treaſurer, who ſhould hereafter "repay the ſame. It was then alleged, that this would "only draw ſupplies from their friends, and the well af-"fected; and that others, who either liked not their "proceedings, or loved their money better than the "liberty of their country, would not contribute." Upon this it was ordered, "that in caſe the owners refuſed to "bring in money, proviſions, plate, and horſe, upon the "public faith, for the uſe of the army; for the better "preventing the ſpoil, and embezzling of ſuch provi-"ſions of money, plate, and horſes, by the diſorder of "the ſoldiers, and that they may not come into the "hands of the enemies, that the committees, or any two "of them, ſhould be authoriſed, and enabled to ſend "for ſuch proviſions, money, plate, and horſes; and to "take the ſame into their cuſtody, and to ſet indifferent "value and rate upon them; which value they ſhould "certify to the treaſurers, for the proportions to be re-"paid at ſuch time, and in ſuch manner, as ſhould be "ordered by both Houſes of Parliament."

This was done only to ſhew what they meant to do over all England, and as a ſtock of credit to them. For at preſent it would neither ſupply their wants; neither was it ſeaſonable for them, or indeed poſſible to endea-

endeavour the execution of it in many counties. London was the place from whence only their preſent help muſt come. To them therefore they declared, "that "the King's army had made divers aſſeſſments upon "ſeveral counties, and the ſubjects were compelled, by "the ſoldiers, to pay the ſame; which army, if it con-"tinued, would ſoon ruin and waſte the whole king-"dom; and overthrow religion, law, and liberty: that "there was no probable way, under God, for the ſup-"preſſing that army, and other ill-affected perſons, but "by the army raiſed by the authority of the Parlia-"ment; which army could not be maintained, without "great ſums of money; and for raiſing ſuch ſums, there "could be no act of Parliament paſſed with his Majeſ-"ty's aſſent, albeit there was great juſtice that ſuch "money ſhould be raiſed: that, hitherto, the army had "been, for the moſt part, maintained by the voluntary "contributions of well-affected people, who had freely "contributed according to their abilities: that there "were divers others within the cities of London and "Weſtminſter, and the ſuburbs, that had not contri-"buted at all towards the maintenance of that army, or "if they had, yet not anſwerable to their eſtates; who "notwithſtanding received benefit and protection by "the ſame army, as well as any others; and therefore "it was moſt juſt, that they ſhould, as well as others, "be charged to contribute to the maintenance thereof."

Upon theſe grounds and reaſons, it was ordained, "by the authority of Parliament, that Iſaac Penning-"ton, the then Lord Mayor of London, and ſome other "Aldermen, and citizens, or any four of them, ſhould "have power and authority to nominate, and appoint, "in every ward, within the city of London, ſix ſuch "perſons as they ſhould think fit, who ſhould have

" power to enquire of all who had not contributed upon " the propoſitions concerning the raiſing of money, " plate, &c. and of ſuch able men who had contributed, " yet not according to their eſtates and abilities; and " thoſe perſons ſo ſubſtituted, or any four of them, " within their ſeveral wards and limits, ſhould have " power to aſſeſs all perſons of ability who had not con- " tributed, and alſo thoſe who had contributed, yet not " according to their ability, to pay ſuch ſums of money, ac- " cording to their eſtates, as the aſſeſſors, or any four of " them, ſhould think reaſonable, ſo as the ſame exceeded " not the twentieth part of their eſtates; and to nominate " fit perſons for the receipt thereof. And if any perſon " ſo aſſeſſed ſhould refuſe to pay the money ſo aſſeſſed " upon him, it ſhould be lawful for the aſſeſſors and " collectors to levy that ſum by way of diſtreſs, and " ſale of the goods of perſons ſo refuſing. And if any " perſon diſtrained ſhould make reſiſtance, it ſhould " be lawful for the aſſeſſors and collectors to call to " their aſſiſtance any of the Trained Bands of London, " or any other of his Majeſty's ſubjects; who were re- " quired to be aiding and aſſiſting to them. The " burgeſſes of Weſtminſter and Southwark, and a com- " mittee appointed to that purpoſe, were to do the ſame " within thoſe limits, as the other in London."

And that there might be no ſtratagem to avoid this tax, (ſo ſtrange and unlooked for), by a ſecond ordinance in explanation of the former, they ordained, " that, if " no ſufficient diſtreſs could be found for the payment " of what ſhould be aſſeſſed, the collectors ſhould have " power to enquire of any ſum of money due to thoſe " perſons ſo aſſeſſed, from what perſons ſoever, for rents, " goods, or debts, or for any other thing or cauſe what- " ſoever. And the collectors had power to receive all " ſuch

" ſuch debts, until the full value of the ſums ſo aſſeſſed, " and the charges in levying or recovering the ſame, " ſhould be ſatisfied: and leſt the diſcovery of thoſe " debts might be difficult, the ſame collectors had " power to compound for any rents, goods, or debts, " due to ſuch perſons ſo aſſeſſed, with any perſon by " whom the ſame was due, and to give full diſcharges " for the money ſo compounded for, which ſhould be " good and effectual to all purpoſes. And if the money " aſſeſſed could not be levied by any of theſe ways, " then the perſons aſſeſſed ſhould be impriſoned in ſuch " places of the kingdom, and for ſo long time, as the " committee of the Houſe of Commons for examinations " ſhould appoint, and order; and the families of all " ſuch perſons ſo impriſoned ſhould no longer remain " within the cities of London or Weſtminſter, the " ſuburbs, or the counties adjacent. And all aſſeſſors " and collectors ſhould have the protection of both " Houſes of Parliament, for their indemnity in that " ſervice, and receive allowance for their pains, and " charges." Several additional and explanatory orders they made for the better execution of this grand one, by every of which ſome clauſe of ſeverity, and monſtrous irregularity, was added; and, for the complement of all, they ordered that themſelves, the members of either Houſe, ſhould not be aſſeſſed by any but themſelves.

The truth is, the King was not ſorry to ſee this ordinance, which he thought ſo prodigious, that he ſhould have been a greater gainer by it than they that made it; ſeeing it was ſo palpable and clear a demonſtration of the tyranny the people were to live under, that they would eaſily have diſcerned the change of their condition: yet he took ſo much pains, to awaken his ſubjects to a due apprehenſion of it, and to apply the thorough

conſideration of it to them, that he publiſhed a declaration upon that ordinance; the which, preſenting many things to them, which have ſince fallen out, may be, in this place, fit to be inſerted in the King's own words, which were theſe:

His Majeſty's declaration upon occaſion of the former ordinance

"It would not be believed, (at leaſt great pains have "been taken that it might not), that the pretended or- "dinance of the militia, (the firſt attempt that ever was, "to make a law by ordinance, without our conſent), or "the keeping us out of Hull, and taking our arms and "ammunition from us, could any way concern the in- "tereſt, property, or liberty of the ſubject: and it was "confeſſed, by that deſperate declaration itſelf of the "26th of May, that if they were found guilty of that "charge of deſtroying the title and intereſt of our ſub- "jects to their lands and goods, it were indeed a very "great crime. But it was a ſtrange fatal lethargy which "had ſeized our good people, and kept them from diſ- "cerning that the nobility, gentry, and commonalty "of England were not only ſtripped of their pre- "eminences and privileges, but of their liberties and "eſtates, when our juſt rights were denied us; and that "no ſubject could from thenceforth expect to dwell at "home, when we were driven from our houſes and our "towns. It was not poſſible, that a commiſſion could "be granted to the Earl of Eſſex, to raiſe an army "againſt us, and, for the ſafety of our perſon, and pre- "ſervation of the peace of the kingdom, to purſue, kill, "and ſlay us, and all who wiſh well to us, but that, "in a ſhort time, inferior commanders, by the ſame au- "thority, would require our good ſubjects, for the "maintenance of the property of the ſubject, to ſupply "them with ſuch ſums of money as they think fit, upon "the penalty of being plundered with all extremity of "war,

" war, (as the title of Sir Edward Bainton's warrant runs
" againſt our poor ſubjects in Wiltſhire), and by ſuch
" rules of unlimited arbitrary power as are inconſiſtent
" with the leaſt pretence or ſhadow of that property, it
" would ſeem to defend.

" If there could be yet any underſtanding ſo unſkilful
" and ſupine to believe, that theſe diſturbers of the pub-
" lic peace do intend any thing but a general confuſion,
" they have brought them a ſad argument to their own
" doors to convince them. After this ordinance and
" declaration, it is not in any ſober man's power to be-
" lieve himſelf to be worth any thing, or that there is
" ſuch a thing as law, liberty, or property, left in Eng-
" land, under the juriſdiction of theſe men. And the
" ſame power that robs them now of the twentieth part
" of their eſtates, hath, by that, but made a claim, and
" entitled itſelf to the other nineteen, when it ſhall be
" thought fit to haſten the general ruin. Sure, if the
" minds of all men be not ſtubbornly prepared for ſer-
" vitude, they will look on this ordinance, as the great-
" eſt prodigy of arbitrary power and tyranny, that any
" age hath brought forth in any kingdom. Other
" grievances (and the greateſt) have been conceived
" intolerable, rather by the logic and conſequence, than
" by the preſſure itſelf: this at once ſweeps away all
" that the wiſdom and juſtice of Parliaments have pro-
" vided for them. Is their property in their eſtates, (ſo
" carefully looked to by their anceſtors, and ſo amply
" eſtabliſhed by us, againſt any poſſibility of invaſion
" from the Crown), which makes the meaneſt ſubject as
" much a lord of his own as the greateſt Peer, to be
" valued, or conſidered? Here is a twentieth part of
" every man's eſtate, or ſo much as four men will pleaſe
" to call the twentieth part, taken away at once, and yet

" a power left to take a twentieth ſtill of that which re-
" mains; and this to be levied by ſuch circumſtances of
" ſeverity, as no act of Parliament ever conſented to.

" Is their liberty, which diſtinguiſhes ſubjects from
" ſlaves, and in which this free-born nation hath the ad-
" vantage of all Chriſtendom, dear to them? They ſhall
" not only be impriſoned in ſuch places of this king-
" dom, (a latitude of judgment no court can challenge
" to itſelf in any caſes), but for ſo long time as the
" committee of the Houſe of Commons for examination
" ſhall appoint and order: the Houſe of Commons itſelf
" having never aſſumed, or in the leaſt degree pretended
" to, a power of judicature; having no more authority
" to adminiſter an oath, the only way to diſcover and
" find out the truth of facts, than to cut off the heads
" of any of our ſubjects: and this committee being ſo
" far from being a part of the Parliament, that it is de-
" ſtructive to the whole, by uſurping to itſelf all the
" power of King, Lords, and Commons. All who
" know any thing of Parliaments know that a com-
" mittee of either Houſe ought not, by the law, to
" publiſh their own reſults; neither are their concluſions
" of any force, without the confirmation of the Houſe,
" which hath the ſame power of controlling them, as if
" the matter had never been debated. But that any
" committee ſhould be ſo contracted, (as this of exami-
" nation, a ſtyle no committee ever bore before this
" Parliament), as to exclude the members of the Houſe,
" who are equally truſted by their country, from being
" preſent at the counſels, is ſo monſtrous to the privi-
" leges of Parliament, that it is no more in the power of
" any man to give up that freedom, than of himſelf to
" order, that, from that time, the place for which he
" ſerves ſhall never more ſend a Knight or Burgeſs to the
" Parlia-

" Parliament; and in truth is no leſs than to alter the " whole frame of Government, to pull up Parliaments " by the roots, and to commit the lives, liberties, and " eſtates, of all the people of England to the arbitrary " power of a few unqualified perſons, who ſhall diſpoſe " thereof according to their diſcretion, without account " to any rule or authority whatſoever.

" Are their friends, their wives, and children, the great- " eſt bleſſings of peace, and comforts of life, precious " to them? Would their penury and impriſonment be " leſs grievous by thoſe cordials? They ſhall be di- " vorced from them, baniſhed, and ſhall no longer re- " main within the cities of London and Weſtminſter, " the ſuburbs and the counties adjacent; and how far " thoſe adjacent counties ſhall extend no man knows. " Is there now any thing left to enjoy but the liberty to " rebel, and deſtroy one another? Are the outward " bleſſings only of peace, property, and liberty, taken " and forced from our ſubjects? Are their conſciences " free and unaſſaulted by the violence of theſe firebrands? " Sure the liberty and freedom of conſcience cannot ſuf- " fer by theſe men. Alas! all theſe puniſhments are " impoſed upon them, becauſe they will not ſubmit to " actions contrary to their natural loyalty, to their oaths " of allegiance and ſupremacy, and to their late volun- " tary proteſtation, which obliges them to the care of " our perſon, and our juſt rights.

" How many perſons of honour, quality, and reputa- " tion, of the ſeveral counties of England, are now im- " priſoned, without any objections againſt them, but " ſuſpicion of their loyalty! How many of the graveſt " and moſt ſubſtantial citizens of London, by whom the " government and diſcipline of that city was preſerved, " are diſgraced, robbed, and impriſoned, without any

" pro-

" proceſs of law, or colour of accuſation, but of obedi-
" ence to the law and government of the kingdom!
" whilſt Anabaptiſts and Browniſts, with the aſſiſtance
" of vicious and debauched perſons of deſperate fortunes,
" take upon them to break up and rifle houſes, as pub-
" lic and avowed miniſters of a new-invented authority.
" How many godly, pious, and painful Divines, whoſe
" lives and learning have made them of reverend eſti-
" mation, are now ſlandered with inclination to Popery,
" diſcountenanced, and impriſoned, for diſcharging their
" conſciences, inſtructing the people in the Chriſtian
" duty of religion and obedience! whilſt ſchiſmatical,
" illiterate, and ſcandalous preachers fill the pulpits and
" churches with blaſphemy, irreverence, and treaſon;
" and incite their auditory to nothing but murder and
" rebellion.

" We paſs over the vulgar charm, by which they
" have captivated ſuch who have been contented to diſ-
" penſe with their conſciences for the preſervation of
" their eſtates, and by which they perſuade men cheer-
" fully to part with this twentieth part of their eſtates to
" the good work in hand. For whoſoever will give
" what he hath may eſcape robbing. They ſhall be
" repaid upon the public faith, as all other moneys lent
" upon the propoſitions of both Houſes. It may be ſo.
" But men muſt be condemned to a ſtrange unthrifti-
" neſs, who will lend upon ſuch ſecurity. The public
" faith indeed is as great an earneſt as the State can give,
" and engages the honour, reputation, and honeſty of
" the nation, and is the act of the kingdom: it is the ſe-
" curity of the King, the Lords, and Commons, which
" can never need an executor, can never die, never be
" bankrupt; and therefore we willingly conſented to it
" for the indemnity of our good ſubjects of Scotland,
" (who,

" (who, we hope, will not think the worſe of it for being " ſo often and ſo cheaply mentioned ſince.) But that " a vote of one, or both Houſes, ſhould be an engage- " ment upon the public faith, is as impoſſible as that " the committee of the Houſe of Commons for exami- " nation ſhould be the high court of Parliament.

" And what is or can be ſaid, with the leaſt ſhadow " of reaſon, to juſtify theſe extravagances? We have " not heard lately of the fundamental laws, which uſed " to warrant the innovations: theſe need a refuge even " below thoſe foundations. They will ſay, they cannot " manage their great undertakings without ſuch extra- " ordinary ways. We think ſo too. But that proves " only, they have undertaken ſomewhat they ought not " to undertake, not that it is lawful for them to do any " thing that is convenient for thoſe ends. We remem- " bered them long ago, and we cannot do it too often, " of that excellent ſpeech of Mr. Pym's. The law is " that which puts a difference betwixt good and evil, juſt " and unjuſt: if you take away the law, all things will " be in a confuſion, every man will become a law unto " himſelf; which, in the depraved condition of human " nature, muſt needs produce many great enormities. " Luſt will become a law, and envy will become a law, " covetouſneſs and ambition will become laws; and what " dictates, what deciſion, ſuch laws will produce, may " eaſily be diſcerned: it may indeed by ſad inſtances " over the whole kingdom.

" But will poſterity believe, that, in the ſame Parlia- " ment, this doctrine was avowed with that acclamation, " and theſe inſtances after produced? That, in the ſame " Parliament, ſuch care was taken that no man ſhould be " committed in what caſe ſoever, without the cauſe of his " impriſonment expreſſed; and that all men ſhould be im-

" mediately

" mediately bailed in all caſes bailable; and, during the " ſame Parliament, that Alderman Pennington, or indeed " any body elſe, but the ſworn miniſters of juſtice, ſhould " impriſon whom they would, and for what they would, " and for as long time as they would? That the King " ſhould be reproached with breach of privilege, for ac- " cuſing Sir John Hotham of high treaſon, when with " force of arms he kept him out of Hull, and deſpiſed " him to his face, becauſe in no caſe a member of either " Houſe might be committed, or accuſed without leave " of that Houſe of which he is a member; and yet that, " during the ſame Parliament, the ſame Alderman ſhall " commit the Earl of Middleſex, a Peer of the realm, " and the Lord Buckhurſt, a member of the Houſe of " Commons, to the Counter, without reprehenſion? " That to be a traitor (which is defined, and every man " underſtands) ſhould be no crime; and to be called " Malignant, which nobody knows the meaning of, " ſhould be ground enough for cloſe impriſonment? " That a law ſhould be made, that whoſoever ſhould " preſume to take tonnage and poundage without an act " of Parliament, ſhould incur the penalty of a præmu- " nire; and, in the ſame Parliament, that the ſame im- " poſition ſhould be laid upon our ſubjects, and taken " by order of both Houſes, without and againſt our " conſent? Laſtly, that, in the ſame Parliament, a law " ſhould be made to declare the proceedings and judg- " ment upon ſhip-money to be illegal, and void; and, " during that Parliament, that an order of both Houſes " ſhall, upon pretence of neceſſity, enable four men to " take away the twentieth part of their eſtates from all " their neighbours, according to their diſcretion.

" But our good ſubjects will no longer look upon " theſe and the like reſults, as upon the counſels and

" con-

" concluſions of both our Houſes of Parliament; (though " all the world knows, even that authority can never " juſtify things unwarrantable by the law.) They well " know how few of the perſons truſted by them are " truſted at their conſultations, of above five hundred " of the Commons not fourſcore; and of the Houſe of " Peers, not a fifth part: that they who are preſent en- " joy not the privilege and freedom of Parliament, but " are beſieged by an army, and awed by the ſame tu- " mults which drove us and their fellow members from " thence, to conſent to what ſome few ſeditious, ſchiſma- " tical perſons among them do propoſe. Theſe are the " men, who, joining with the Anabaptiſts and Brown- " iſts of London, firſt changed the government and diſ- " cipline of that city; and now, by the pride and power " of that city, would undo the kingdom: whilſt their " Lord Mayor, a perſon accuſed and known to be guilty " of high treaſon, by a new legiſlative power of his own, " ſuppreſſes and reviles the Book of Common Prayer, " robs and impriſons whom he thinks fit; and, with the " rabble of his faction, gives laws to both Houſes of Par- " liament, and tells them, *They will have no accommoda-* " *tion:* whilſt the members ſent, and entruſted by their " countries, are expelled the Houſe, or committed, for " refuſing to take the oath of aſſociation to live and die " with the Earl of Eſſex, as very lately Sir Sydney " Mountague. Theſe are the men who have preſumed " to ſend Ambaſſadors, and to enter into treaties with " foreign States in their own behalf, having at this time " an agent of their own with the States of Holland, to " negociate for them upon private inſtructions: theſe " are the men who, not thinking they have yet brought " miſchief enough unto this kingdom, at this time in- " vite and ſolicit our ſubjects of Scotland, to enter this " land

" land with an army againſt us: in a word, theſe are the " men who have made this laſt devouring ordinance to " take away all law, liberty, and property from our peo- " ple, and have by it really acted that upon our people, " which with infinite malice, and no colour or ground, " was laboured to be infuſed into them, to have been " our intention by the commiſſions of array.

" We have done: What power and authority theſe " men have, or will have, we know not: for ourſelf, " we challenge none ſuch. We look upon the preſſures " and inconveniences our good ſubjects bear, even by " us, and our army, (which the army firſt raiſed by " them enforced us to raiſe in our defence, and their " refuſal of all offers and deſires of treaty enforceth us to " keep), with very much ſadneſs of heart. We are ſo " far from requiring a twentieth part of their eſtates, " though for their own viſible preſervation, that, as we " have already ſold or pawned our own jewels, and coined " our own plate, ſo we are willing to ſell all our own lands " and houſes for their relief: yet we do not doubt but " our good ſubjects will ſeriouſly conſider our condition, " and their own duties, and think our readineſs to pro- " tect them with the utmoſt hazard of our life, deſerves " their readineſs to aſſiſt us with ſome part of their for- " tunes; and, whilſt other men give a twentieth part of " their eſtates to enable them to forfeit the other nine- " teen, that they will extend themſelves to us in a libe- " ral and free proportion, for the preſervation of the " reſt, and for the maintenance of God's true religion, " the laws of the land, the liberty of the ſubject, and the " ſafety and very being of Parliaments, and this king- " dom: for if all theſe ever were, or can be, in manifeſt " danger, it is now in this preſent rebellion againſt us.

" Laſtly, we will and require all our loving ſubjects, " of

" of what degree or quality ſoever, as they will anſwer " it to God, to us, and to poſterity, by their oaths of " allegiance and ſupremacy; as they would not be " looked upon now, and remembered hereafter, as be- " trayers of the laws and liberties they were born to; " that they in no degree ſubmit to this wild pretended " ordinance, and that they preſume not to give any en- " couragement or aſſiſtance to the army now in rebel- " lion againſt us; which if notwithſtanding they ſhall " do, they muſt expect from us the ſevereſt puniſhment " the law can inflict, and a perpetual infamy with all " good men."

Whatſoever every man could ſay to another againſt that ordinance, and whatſoever the King ſaid to them all againſt it, it did bring in a great ſupply of money, and gave them a ſtock of credit to borrow more; ſo that the army was again drawn out, though but to winter quarters, twenty miles from London, and the Earl of Eſſex fixed his head quarters at Windſor, to ſtraiten the King's new garriſon at Reading, and ſent ſtrong parties ſtill abroad, which got as much ground as, at that time of the year, could reaſonably be expected; that is, brought thoſe adjacent counties entirely under the obedience of the Parliament, which would at leaſt have kept themſelves neutral: and ſtill perſuaded the people, " that " their work was even at an end, and that the King's " forces would be ſwallowed up in a very ſhort time:" ſo that there was no day, in which they did not publiſh themſelves to have obtained ſome notable victory, or taken ſome town, when in truth each party wiſely abſtained from diſturbing the other: yet the bulk of their ſupply came only from the city of London. For though their ordinance extended over the whole kingdom, they had power to execute it only there; for it was not yet time

time to try the affections of all places within their own verge, with the ſevere exerciſe of that authority.

And therefore divers of the wealthieſt and moſt ſubſtantial citizens of London, obſerving liberty to be taken by all men to petition the Houſes, and the multitude of the petitioners to carry great authority with them, and from thoſe multitudes, and that authority, the brand to have been laid upon the city, "of being an enemy "to peace," met together, and prepared a very modeſt and moderate petition to the Houſes; in which they deſired "ſuch propoſitions and addreſſes might be made "by them to his Majeſty, as he might with his honour "comply with, and thereby a happy peace enſue;" which, being ſigned by many thouſand hands, was ready to be preſented, but was not received by the Houſe of Commons, for no other reaſon publicly given, but "that it was prepared by a multitude;" and objections were framed againſt the principal promoters of it, upon other pretences of delinquency; ſo that they were compelled to forſake the town, and that party were, for the preſent, diſcountenanced.

At the ſame time the inhabitants of Weſtminſter, St. Martin's, and Covent-Garden, who always underwent the imputation of being well affected to the King, prepared the like petition, and met with the ſame reproach, being ſtrictly inhibited to approach the Houſes with more than ſix in company. This unequal kind of proceeding added nothing to their reputation, and they eaſily diſcerned thoſe humours, thus obſtructed, would break out the more violently: therefore they again reſumed all profeſſions of a deſire of peace, and appointed a committee to prepare propoſitions to be ſent to the King to that purpoſe; and becauſe they found that would be a work of time, (for the reaſons which will

will be anon remembered), and that many arts were to be applied to the ſeveral affections, and to wipe out the imagination that the city deſired peace upon any other terms than they did, and the diſadvantage that accrued to them by ſuch imagination, and alſo to ſtay the appetite of thoſe who were importunate to have any advance made towards peace, having procured, by the activity of their agents and miniſters, to have ſuch a Common Council choſen for the city, as would undoubtedly comply with their deſires and deſigns, they underhand directed their own Mayor to engage that body in ſuch a petition to his Majeſty, as, carrying the ſenſe and reputation of the whole city, might yet ſignify nothing to the prejudice of the two Houſes; and ſo a petition was framed in theſe words:

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty;

The humble Petition of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London,

"Sheweth,

"That the petitioners, your Majeſty's moſt humble "and loyal ſubjects, being much pierced with the long "and great diviſions between your Majeſty and both "your Houſes of Parliament, and with the ſad and "bloody effects thereof, both here and in Ireland, are "yet more deeply wounded by the miſapprehenſion, "which your Majeſty ſeemeth to entertain of the love "and loyalty of this your city, as if there were ſome "cauſe of fear, or ſuſpicion of danger to your royal "perſon, if your Majeſty ſhould return hither; and "that this is made the unhappy bar to that bleſſed re-"conciliation with your great and moſt faithful council "for preventing that deſolation, and deſtruction, which A petition of the city to the King.

" is now moſt apparently imminent to your Majeſty,
" and all your kingdoms.

" For ſatisfaction therefore of your Majeſty, and
" clearing of the petitioners' innocency, they moſt hum-
" bly declare, as formerly they have done, that they
" are no way conſcious of any diſloyalty, but abhor all
" thoughts thereof; and that they are reſolved to make
" good their late ſolemn proteſtation, and ſacred vow,
" made to Almighty God; and, with the laſt drop of
" their deareſt bloods, to defend and maintain the true
" Reformed Proteſtant Religion, and, according to the
" duty of their allegiance, your Majeſty's royal perſon,
" honour, and eſtate, (whatſoever is maliciouſly and
" falſely ſuggeſted to your Majeſty to the contrary), as
" well as the power and privileges of Parliament, and
" the lawful rights and liberty of the ſubject: and do
" hereby engage themſelves, their eſtates, and all they
" have, to their utmoſt power, to defend and preſerve
" your Majeſty, and both Houſes of Parliament, from
" all tumults, affronts, and violence, with as much loy-
" alty, love, and duty, as ever citizens expreſſed towards
" your Majeſty, or any of your royal progenitors in
" their greateſt glory.

" The petitioners therefore, upon their bended
" knees, do moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, to re-
" turn to your Parliament, (accompanied with your
" royal, not martial attendance), to the end that religion,
" laws, and liberties, may be ſettled and ſecured, and
" whatſoever is amiſs in church and commonwealth
" reformed by their advice, according to the fundamen-
" tal conſtitutions of this kingdom: and that ſuch a
" peace may thereby be obtained, as ſhall be for the
" glory of God, the honour and happineſs of your
" Majeſty and poſterity, and welfare of all your loyal
" ſub-

" ſubjects; who, (the petitioners are fully aſſured), " whatſoever is given out to the contrary, do unani- " mouſly deſire the peace herein expreſſed."

Though this petition was in effect no other than to deſire the King to diſband his army, and to put himſelf into the abſolute diſpoſal of the Parliament, and therefore all wiſe men concluded that no great progreſs would be made by it towards peace; yet ſo ſotted and infatuated were the people, that, upon this very petition, they were prevailed with to ſubmit to another ſubſcription for money and plate, for the neceſſary proviſion of arms, ammunition, and pay of their army, until their diſbanding and return home to their ſeveral counties: that ſo they might not be occaſioned, through want of pay, to plunder, rob, or pillage by the way homewards, after their diſcharge and diſmiſſion. So that men were perſuaded that this was now the laſt tax they ſhould be invited to, though every one of thoſe ordinances and declarations loaded the King with ſome new calumnies and reproaches, that it was plain the authors of them meant not ſo ſoon to put themſelves under his ſubjection.

This petition was, about the tenth of January, 1642, preſented to the King at Oxford, by ſome Aldermen, and others of the Common Council, who were for the moſt part of moderate inclinations. The King conſidered ſadly what anſwer to return; for, albeit it appeared that the petition had been craftily framed by thoſe who had no thoughts of peace, and that there was no argument in it to hope any good from that people; yet there were, to vulgar underſtandings, very ſpecious and popular profeſſions of great piety, and zeal to his ſervice, and care of his ſecurity; and he was to be very tender in ſeeming to doubt the inclinations and affec-

tions of that city, by whoſe ſtrength chiefly the war was ſupported, and that ſtrength procured by corrupting thoſe affections: and therefore the King was not ſorry to have this opportunity of ſaying ſomewhat, and communicating himſelf freely to the city, being perſuaded, that the ill they did, proceeded rather from miſinformation, than any general or habitual malice in them. All his proclamations, meſſages, and declarations, had been with ſo much induſtry ſuppreſſed there, that they were not in truth generally informed of the matter of fact, and the juſtice of the King's cauſe; and therefore he was perſuaded that if he enlarged himſelf, in his anſwer to this petition, and expoſed thoſe few men who were moſt notoriouſly malignant againſt the government of the Church and State, and who were generally known to be ſo, to the knowledge of the people, that it would at leaſt leſſen their power and ability to do hurt: and ſo he reſolved to return an anſwer to them in theſe words:

The King's anſwer. "That his Majeſty doth not entertain any miſappre-
" henſion of the love and loyalty of his city of London;
" as he hath always expreſſed a ſingular regard and
" eſteem of the affections of that city, and is ſtill deſirous
" to make it his chief place of reſidence, and to continue,
" and renew many marks of his favour to it; ſo he be-
" lieves, much the better and greater part of that his
" city is full of love, duty, and loyalty to his Majeſty;
" and that the tumults which heretofore forced his
" Majeſty, for his ſafety, to leave that place, though
" they were contrived and encouraged by ſome principal
" members thereof, (who are ſince well known, though
" they are above the reach of juſtice), conſiſted more
" of deſperate perſons of the ſuburbs, and the neigh-
" bouring towns, (who were miſled too by the cunning
" and malice of their ſeducers), than of the inhabitants

" of

" of that city. He looks on his good ſubjects there as " perſons groaning under the ſame burthen which doth " oppreſs his Majeſty, and awed by the ſame perſons " who begot thoſe tumults, and the ſame army which " gave battle to his Majeſty: and therefore, as no good " ſubject can more deſire, from his ſoul, a compoſure " of the general diſtractions; ſo no good citizen can " more deſire the eſtabliſhment of the particular peace " and proſperity of that place, by his Majeſty's acceſs " thither, than his Majeſty himſelf doth.

" But his Majeſty deſires his good ſubjects of London ſeriouſly to conſider, what confidence his Majeſty can have of ſecurity there, whilſt the laws of the land are ſo notoriouſly deſpiſed, and trampled under foot, and the wholeſome government of that city, heretofore ſo famous over all the world, is now ſubmitted to the arbitrary power of a few deſperate perſons, of no reputation, but for malice and diſloyalty to him; whilſt arms are taken up, not only without, but againſt his conſent and expreſs command, and collections publicly made, and contributions avowed, for the maintenance of the army which hath given him battle, and therein uſed all poſſible means treaſon and malice could ſuggeſt to them, to have taken his life from him, and to have deſtroyed his royal iſſue; whilſt ſuch of his Majeſty's ſubjects, who, out of duty and affection to his Majeſty, and compaſſion of their bleeding country, have laboured for peace, are reviled, injured, and murdered, even by the magiſtrates of that city, or by their directions: laſtly, what hopes his Majeſty can have of ſafety there, whilſt Alderman Pennington, their pretended Lord Mayor, the principal author of thoſe calamities which ſo

" nearly threaten the ruin of that famous city, Ven,
" Foulke, and Manwairing, all perſons notoriouſly guilty
" of ſchiſm and high treaſon, commit ſuch outrages,
" in oppreſſing, robbing, and impriſoning, according to
" their diſcretion, all ſuch his Majeſty's loving ſubjects,
" whom they are pleaſed to ſuſpect for but wiſhing well
" to his Majeſty.

" And his Majeſty would know, whether the peti-
" tioners believe, that the reviling and ſuppreſſing the
" Book of Common-Prayer, eſtabliſhed in this Church
" ever ſince the Reformation, the diſcountenancing and
" impriſoning godly, learned, and painful preachers,
" and the cheriſhing and countenancing of Browniſts,
" Anabaptiſts, and all manner of ſectaries, be the way
" to defend and maintain the true Reformed Proteſtant
" Religion? That to comply with and aſſiſt perſons
" who have actually attempted to kill his Majeſty, and
" to allow and favour libels, paſquils, and ſeditious
" ſermons againſt his Majeſty, be to defend his royal
" perſon, and honour, according to the duty of their
" allegiance? Whether to impriſon men's perſons, and
" to plunder their houſes, becauſe they will not rebel
" againſt his Majeſty, nor aſſiſt thoſe that do; whether
" to deſtroy their property by taking away the twentieth
" part of their eſtates from them, and, by the ſame arbi-
" trary power, to refer to four ſtanders-by, of their own
" faction, to judge what that twentieth part is, be to
" defend the lawful rights and liberties of the ſubject?
" And if they think theſe actions to be inſtances of
" either; whether they do not know the perſons before
" named to be guilty of them all? or whether they
" think it poſſible, that Almighty God can bleſs that
" city, and preſerve it from deſtruction, whilſt perſons

" of

" of ſuch known guilt and wickedneſs are defended,
" and juſtified among them, againſt the power of that
" law, by which they can only ſubſiſt.

" His Majeſty is ſo far from ſuffering himſelf to be
" incenſed againſt the whole city, by the actions of
" theſe ill men, though they have hitherto been ſo pre-
" valent, as to make the affections of the reſt of little
" uſe to him; and is ſo willing to be with them, and to
" protect them, that the trade, wealth, and glory thereof,
" ſo decayed and eclipſed by theſe public diſtractions,
" may again be the envy of all foreign nations, that he
" doth once more graciouſly offer his free and general
" pardon to all the inhabitants of that his city of Lon-
" don, the ſuburbs and city of Weſtminſter, (except the
" perſons formerly excepted by his Majeſty), if they
" ſhall yet return to their duty, loyalty, and obedience.
" And if his good ſubjects of that his city of London
" ſhall firſt ſolemnly declare, that they will defend the
" known laws of the land, and will ſubmit to, and be
" governed by, no other rule; if they ſhall firſt manifeſt,
" by defending themſelves, and maintaining their own
" rights, liberties, and intereſts, and ſuppreſſing any
" force and violence unlawfully raiſed againſt thoſe and
" his Majeſty, their power to defend and preſerve him
" from all tumults, affronts, and violence: laſtly, if
" they ſhall apprehend, and commit to ſafe cuſtody,
" the perſons of thoſe four men who enrich themſelves
" by the ſpoil and oppreſſion of his loving ſubjects, and
" the ruin of the city, that his Majeſty may proceed
" againſt them by the courſe of law, as guilty of high
" treaſon; his Majeſty will ſpeedily return to them with
" his royal, and without his martial attendance, and will
" uſe his utmoſt endeavours, that they may hereafter
" enjoy all the bleſſings of peace and plenty; and will

" no longer expect obedience from them, than he ſhall, " with all the faculties of his ſoul, labour in the pre- " ſerving and advancing the true Reformed Proteſtant " Religion, the laws of the land, the liberty and property " of the ſubjects, and the juſt privileges of Parliament.

" If, notwithſtanding all this, the art and intereſt of " theſe men can prevail ſo far, that they involve more " men in their guilt, and draw that his city to ſacrifice " its preſent happineſs, and future hopes, to their pride, " fury, and malice, his Majeſty ſhall only give them " this warning: that whoſoever ſhall henceforward take " up arms, without his conſent, contribute any money " or plate, upon what pretence of authority ſoever, for " maintenance of the army under the command of the " Earl of Eſſex, or any other army in rebellion againſt " him, or ſhall pay tonnage and poundage, till the ſame " ſhall be ſettled by act of Parliament, every ſuch per- " ſon muſt expect the ſevereſt puniſhment the law can " inflict; and, in the mean time, his Majeſty ſhall ſeize " upon any part of his eſtate within his power, for the " relief and ſupport of him and his army, raiſed and " maintained for the defence of his perſon, the laws, and " this his kingdom: and ſince he denies to his Majeſty " the duty and benefit of his ſubjection, by giving aſſiſt- " ance to rebels, which, by the known laws of the land, " is high treaſon; his Majeſty ſhall likewiſe deny him " the benefit of his protection, and ſhall not only ſignify " to all his foreign miniſters, that ſuch perſon ſhall re- " ceive no advantage by being his ſubject, but ſhall, " by all other ways and means, proceed againſt him as " a public enemy to his Majeſty and this kingdom.

" Yet his Majeſty hopes, and doubts not, but his " good ſubjects of London will call to mind the acts of " their predeceſſors, the duty, affection, loyalty, and " merit

" merit towards their Princes, the renown they have had " with all poſterity for, and the bleſſing of Heaven which " always accompanied, thoſe virtues; and will conſider " the perpetual ſcorn and infamy which unavoidably " will follow them and their children, if infinitely the " meaner part in quality, and much the leſſer part in " number, ſhall be able to alter the government ſo " admirably eſtabliſhed, deſtroy the trade ſo excellently " ſettled, and to waſte the wealth ſo induſtriouſly gotten, " of that flouriſhing city: and they will eaſily gather " up the courage and reſolution to join with his Majeſty " in defence of that religion, law, and liberty, which " hitherto hath, and only can, make themſelves, his " Majeſty, and his kingdom, happy.

" For concurring with the advice of his two Houſes " of Parliament, which, with reference to the common- " wealth, may be as well at this diſtance, as by being at " Whitehall, his Majeſty doubts not, but his good ſub- " jects of London well know, how far, beyond the ex- " ample of his predeceſſors, his Majeſty hath concurred " with their advice, in paſſing of ſuch laws, by which " he willingly parted with many of his known rights, " for the benefit of his ſubjects; which the fundamental " conſtitutions of this kingdom did not oblige him to " conſent unto; and hath uſed all poſſible means to " beget a right underſtanding between them: and will " therefore apply themſelves to thoſe who, by making " juſt, peaceable, and honourable propoſitions to his " Majeſty, can only beget that concurrence."

This anſwer the King ſent by a ſervant of his own, ſuppoſing, that if he ſent by the meſſengers who brought the petition, it might either be ſuppreſſed, or not communicated in that manner as he deſired. Beſides, the meſſengers themſelves, after the King had cauſed it to be

be read to them, were very well contented that it ſhould be delivered by other hands than theirs. So they promiſed his Majeſty, that they would procure a common hall, (which is the moſt general aſſembly of the city, the meaneſt perſon being admitted), to be called as ſoon as they returned; where his meſſenger might deliver it: and having been graciouſly uſed by the King and the court, after two days ſtay, they returned from Oxford together with the gentleman ſent by his Majeſty. When they came to London, the contents of the anſwer were quickly known, though not delivered; and the two Houſes made an order, "that the Lord Mayor ſhould "not call a common hall, till he received farther direc-"tion from them." So that, though the gentleman ſent by the King often ſolicited the Lord Mayor, "that he would call a common hall, at which he was to "deliver a meſſage from the King," many days paſſed before any orders were iſſued to that purpoſe.

At laſt, a day was appointed; and, at the ſame time, a committee of the Lords and Commons were ſent to be preſent, to ſee that it might not have ſuch a reception, as might render their intereſt ſuſpected. As ſoon as the gentleman ſent by the King had read his Majeſty's anſwer, the Earl of Mancheſter told them, "of "the high value the Parliament had of the city; that "they had conſidered of thoſe wounding aſperſions, "which, in that anſwer, were caſt upon perſons of ſuch "eminent affection in their city, and upon others, of "great fidelity and truſt among them: that they owned "themſelves to be equally intereſted in all things that "concerned them, and would ſtand by them with their "lives, and fortunes, for the preſervation of the city in "general, and thoſe perſons in particular who had been "faithful, and deſerved well both of the Parliament

"and

" and kingdom. And they would purſue all means with " their lives and fortunes, that might be for the preſer- " vation of that city, and for the procuring of ſafety, " happineſs, and peace, to the whole kingdom."

As ſoon as his Lordſhip had finiſhed his oration, which was received with marvellous acclamations, Mr. Pym enlarged himſelf, in a ſpeech then printed, upon the ſeveral parts of the King's anſwer, (for it was ſo long before it was delivered, that the printed copies from Oxford, which were printed there after the meſſenger was gone ſo long that all men concluded it was delivered, were public and in all hands), and told them the ſenſe of the two Houſes of Parliament, upon every part of it. Among the reſt, " that the demanding the Lord " Mayor, and the other three citizens, was againſt the " privilege of Parliament, (two of them being members " of the Houſe of Commons), and moſt diſhonourable " to the city, that the Lord Mayor of London ſhould " be ſubjected to the violence of every baſe fellow; and " that they ſhould be commanded to deliver up their " chief magiſtrates, and ſuch eminent members of the " city, to the King's pleaſure, only becauſe they had " done their duty, in adhering to the Parliament, for " the defence of the kingdom."

He told them, " that, to the objection that the go- " vernment of the city had been managed by a few " deſperate perſons, and that they did exerciſe an arbi- " trary power, the two Houſes gave them this teſtimony, " that they had, in moſt of the great occaſions concern- " ing the government of the city, followed their direc- " tion; and that direction which the Parliament had " given, they had executed; and they muſt and would " maintain to be ſuch, as ſtood with their honour in " giving

" giving it, and the others truſt and fidelity in per-
" forming it."

To the objection, " that the property of the ſubject
" was deſtroyed, by taking away the twentieth part by
" an arbitrary power," he told them, " that that ordi-
" nance did not require a twentieth part, but did limit
" the aſſeſſors that they ſhould not go beyond a twen-
" tieth part, and that was done by a power derived from
" both Houſes of Parliament; the Lords, who had an
" hereditary intereſt in making of laws in this kingdom;
" and the Commons, who were elected and choſen to
" repreſent the whole body of the commonalty, and
" truſted, for the good of the people, whenever they
" ſee cauſe to charge the kingdom." He ſaid farther,
" that the ſame law which did enable the two Houſes of
" Parliament to raiſe forces to maintain and defend the
" ſafety of religion, and of the kingdom, did likewiſe
" enable them to require contributions whereby thoſe
" forces might be maintained; or elſe it were a vain
" power to raiſe forces, if they had not a power likewiſe
" to maintain them in that ſervice for which they were
" raiſed." He obſerved, " that it was reported, that
" the King declared he would ſend ſome meſſengers to
" obſerve their carriage in the city, and what was done
" among them: the Parliament had juſt cauſe to doubt,
" that thoſe would be meſſengers of ſedition and trou-
" ble, and therefore deſired them to obſerve and find
" them out, that they might know who they were."
He concluded with " commending unto their conſi-
" deration, the great danger that they were all in; and
" that the danger could not be kept off, in all likeli-
" hood, but by the army that was then on foot;" and
aſſured them, " that the Lords and Commons were ſo
" far

" far from being frighted by any thing in that anſwer, " that they had, for themſelves, and the members of " both Houſes, declared a farther contribution towards " the maintenance of that army; and could not but " hope, and deſire, that the city, which had ſhewed ſo " much good affection in the former neceſſities of the " State, would be ſenſible of their own, and of the con- " dition of the whole kingdom, and add to that which " they had already done, ſome farther contribution, " whereby that army might be maintained for all their " ſafeties."

Whether the ſolemnity for the reception of this meſſage after it was known what the contents were, and the bringing ſo great a guard of armed men to the place where it was to be delivered, frighted the well affected party of the city from coming thither, or frighted them, when they were there, from expreſſing thoſe affections, I know not. But it is certain, theſe ſpeeches and diſcourſes were received and entertained with all imaginable applauſe, and that meeting was concluded with a general acclamation, " that they would live and die with " the Houſes," and other expreſſions of that nature. So that all thoughts of farther addreſs, or compliance with his Majeſty from the city, were ſo entirely and abſolutely laid aſide, that the licenſe of ſeditious and treaſonable diſcourſes daily increaſed; inſomuch, that complaint being made to the then Lord Mayor, that a certain deſperate perſon had ſaid, " that he hoped ſhortly " to waſh his hands in the King's blood," that miniſter of juſtice refuſed to ſend any warrant, or to give any direction to any officer, for the apprehenſion of him. This was the ſucceſs of that petition and anſwer.

The Houſes now began to ſpeak themſelves of ſending propoſitions to the King for peace. For, how great

great ſoever the compliance ſeemed with them from the city, or the country, they well enough diſcerned that compliance was generally upon the hope and expectation that they would procure a ſpeedy peace. And they had now procured that to paſs both Houſes, which they only wanted, the bill for the extirpation of epiſcopacy: in the doing whereof, they uſed marvellous art and induſtry. They who every day did ſomewhat, how little ſoever then taken notice of, to make peace impoſſible, and reſolved, that no peace could be ſafe for them, but ſuch a one as would be unſafe for the King, well enough knew that they ſhould never be able to hold up, and carry on the war againſt the King in England, but by the help of an army out of Scotland; which they had no hope to procure but upon the ſtock of the alteration of the government of the Church; to which that nation was violently inclined. But to compaſs that was very difficult; very much the major part, even of thoſe members who ſtill continued with them, being cordially affected to the government eſtabliſhed, at leaſt not affected to any other. To thoſe therefore, who were ſo far engaged as to deſire to have it in their power to compel the King to conſent to ſuch a peace as they deſired, they repreſented "the conſequence of getting "the Scots to declare for them; which would more "terrify the King, and keep the northern parts in ſub-"jection more, than any forces they ſhould be able to "raiſe: that it was impoſſible to draw ſuch a declara-"tion from them, without firſt declaring themſelves "that they would alter the government by the Biſhops; "which that people pretended to believe the only juſti-"fiable ground to take up arms." To others, which was indeed their public, and avowed, and current argument in debates, they alleged, "that they could not

"expect

" expect that any peace would be effected by the King's " free concurrence to any meſſage they could ſend to " him, but that it muſt ariſe and reſult from a treaty " between them, upon ſuch propoſitions as either party " would make upon their own intereſt: that it could " not be expected that ſuch propoſitions would be made " on either ſide, as would be pertinaciouſly inſiſted on " by them who made them; it being the courſe, in all " affairs of this nature, to aſk more than was expected " to be conſented to; that it concerned them as much, " to make demands of great moment to the King, from " which they meant to recede, as others upon which " they muſt inſiſt: that all men knew the inclination " and affection the King had to the Church, and there- " fore if he ſaw that in danger, he would reſcue it at " any price, and very probably their departing from " their propoſition concerning the Church, might be " the moſt powerful argument to the King, to gratify " them with the militia."

Commiſſioners ſent to the King with propoſitions of peace about the end of January.

By theſe artifices, and eſpecially by concluding obſtinately, " that no propoſitions ſhould be ſent to the " King for peace, till the bill for extirpation of Biſhops " was paſſed the Lords' Houſe," (where it would never otherwiſe have been ſubmitted to), they had their deſire, and, about the end of January, they ſent the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Saliſbury, and Holland, with eight members of the Commons, to Oxford, with their petition and propoſitions. And here I cannot omit one ſtratagem, which, at that time, occaſioned ſome mirth. The common people of London were perſuaded, " that there was ſo great ſcarcity of victual and " proviſions at Oxford, and in all the King's quarters, " that they were not without danger of ſtarving; and " that, if all other ways failed, that alone would in a " ſhort

" ſhort time bring the King to them." To make good this report, proviſions of all kinds, even to bread, were ſent in waggons, and on horſes, from London to Oxford, for the ſupply of this committee: when, without doubt, they found as great plenty of all things where they came, as they had left behind them. The petition preſented to his Majeſty with the propoſitions were, in theſe words, at the preſentation, read by the Earl of Northumberland.

The humble Deſires and Propoſitions of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, tendered to his Majeſty.

" We your Majeſty's moſt humble and faithful ſub-
" jects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſem-
" bled, having in our thoughts the glory of God, your
" Majeſty's honour, and the proſperity of your people,
" and being moſt grievouſly afflicted with the preſſing
" miſeries, and calamities, which have overwhelmed
" your two kingdoms of England and Ireland, ſince
" your Majeſty hath, by the perſuaſion of evil counſel-
" lors, withdrawn yourſelf from the Parliament, raiſed
" an army againſt it, and, by force thereof, protected
" delinquents from the juſtice of it, conſtraining us to
" take arms for the defence of our religion, laws, liber-
" ties, privileges of Parliament, and for the ſitting of
" the Parliament in ſafety; which fears and dangers are
" continued, and increaſed, by the raiſing, drawing
" together, and arming of great numbers of Papiſts,
" under the command of the Earl of Newcaſtle; like-
" wiſe by making the Lord Herbert of Ragland, and
" other known Papiſts, commanders of great forces,
" whereby many grievous oppreſſions, rapines, and cru-
" elties have been and are daily exerciſed upon the
" perſons and eſtates of your people, much innocent
" blood

" blood hath been ſpilt, and the Papiſts have attained " means of attempting, with hopes of effecting, their " miſchievous deſigns of rooting out the Reformed Re- " ligion, and deſtroying the profeſſors thereof: in the " tender ſenſe and compaſſion of theſe evils, under " which your people and kingdom lie, (according to " the duty, which we owe to God, your Majeſty, and " the kingdom, for which we are truſted), do moſt ear- " neſtly deſire, that an end may be put to theſe great " diſtempers and diſtractions, for the preventing of that " deſolation which doth threaten all your Majeſty's " dominions. And as we have rendered, and ſtill are " ready to render to your Majeſty, that ſubjection, " obedience, and ſervice, which we owe unto you; ſo " we moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, to remove " the cauſes of this war, and to vouchſafe us that peace " and protection, which we and our anceſtors have " formerly enjoyed under your Majeſty, and your royal " predeceſſors, and graciouſly to accept and grant theſe " our moſt humble deſires and propoſitions:

1. " That your Majeſty will be pleaſed to diſband " your armies, as we likewiſe ſhall be ready to diſband " all thoſe forces which we have raiſed; and that you " will be pleaſed to return to your Parliament.

2. " That you will leave delinquents to a legal trial, " and judgment of Parliament.

3. " That the Papiſts may not only be diſbanded, " but diſarmed according to law.

4. " That your Majeſty will be pleaſed to give your " royal aſſent unto the bill for taking away the ſuper- " ſtitious innovations; to the bill for the utter aboliſh- " ing and taking away of all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, " their Chancellors, and Commiſſaries, Deans, Sub- " Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Canons,

" and Prebendaries, and all Chanters, Chancellors, " Treaſurers, Sub-Treaſurers, Succentors, and Sacriſts, " and all Vicars Choral, Choriſters, old Vicars, and new " Vicars of any cathedral or collegiate church, and all " other their under-officers, out of the Church of Eng- " land: to the bill againſt ſcandalous miniſters: to the " bill againſt pluralities; and to the bill for conſultation " to be had with godly, religious, and learned Divines. " That your Majeſty will be pleaſed to promiſe to paſs " ſuch other good bills for ſettling of church-govern- " ment, as, upon conſultation with the aſſembly of the " ſaid Divines, ſhall be reſolved on by both Houſes of " Parliament, and by them preſented to your Majeſty.

5. " That your Majeſty having expreſſed, in your " anſwer to the nineteen propoſitions of both Houſes of " Parliament, an hearty affection and intention for the " rooting out of Popery out of this kingdom; and that, " if both the Houſes of Parliament can yet find a more " effectual courſe to diſable Jeſuits, Prieſts, and Popiſh " Recuſants, from diſturbing the ſtate, or eluding the " laws, that you would willingly give your conſent unto " it; that you would be graciouſly pleaſed, for the bet- " ter diſcovery and ſpeedier conviction of Recuſants, " that an oath may be eſtabliſhed by act of Parliament, " to be adminiſtered in ſuch manner as by both Houſes " ſhall be agreed on; wherein they ſhall abjure and re- " nounce the Pope's ſupremacy, the doctrine of tranſub- " ſtantiation, purgatory, worſhipping of the conſecrated " hoſt, crucifixes, and images: and the refuſing the ſaid " oath, being tendered in ſuch manner as ſhall be ap- " pointed by act of Parliament, ſhall be a ſufficient con- " viction in law of recuſancy. And that your Majeſty " will be graciouſly pleaſed to give your royal aſſent " unto a bill, for the education of the children of Pa-

" piſts

" piſts by Proteſtants in the Proteſtant Religion. That, " for the more effectual execution of the laws againſt " Popiſh Recuſants, your Majeſty will be pleaſed to con- " ſent to a bill, for the true levying of the penalties " againſt them; and that the ſame penalties may be " levied, and diſpoſed of in ſuch manner as both Houſes " of Parliament ſhall agree on, ſo as your Majeſty be " at no loſs; and likewiſe to a bill, whereby the prac- " tice of Papiſts againſt the ſtate may be prevented, " and the law againſt them duly executed.

6. " That the Earl of Briſtol may be removed from " your Majeſty's councils; and that both he, and the Lord " Herbert, eldeſt ſon to the Earl of Worceſter, may " likewiſe be reſtrained from coming within the verge " of the Court; and that they may not bear any office, " or have any employments concerning ſtate or com- " monwealth.

7. " That your Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed, " by act of Parliament, to ſettle the militia both by ſea " and land, and for the forts and ports of the kingdom, " in ſuch a manner as ſhall be agreed on by both " Houſes.

8. " That your Majeſty will be pleaſed, by your " letters patents, to make Sir John Brampſton, Chief " Juſtice of the Court of King's Bench; William Lent- " hall Eſquire, the now Speaker of the Commons' " Houſe, Maſter of the Rolls; and to continue the " Lord Chief Juſtice Banks, Chief Juſtice of the Court " of Common Pleas; and likewiſe to make Mr. Ser- " jeant Wild, Chief Baron of your Court of Exche- " quer; and that Mr. Juſtice Bacon may be continued; " and Mr. Serjeant Rolls, and Mr. Serjeant Atkins, " made Juſtices of the King's Bench: that Mr. Juſtice " Reeves, and Mr. Juſtice Foſter, may be continued;

" and Mr. Serjeant Pheaſant, made one of the Juſtices " of your Court of Common Pleas; that Mr. Serjeant " Creſwell, Mr. Samuel Brown, and Mr. John Puleſton, " may be Barons of the Exchequer; and that all theſe, " and all the Judges of the ſame Courts, for the time to " come, may hold their places by letters patents under " the Great Seal, *Quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint:* and that " the ſeveral perſons not before named, that do hold " any of theſe places before mentioned, may be re- " moved.

9. " That all ſuch perſons, as have been put out of " the commiſſions of peace, or *Oyer* and *Terminer*, or " from being *Cuſtodes Rotulorum*, ſince the firſt day of " April, 1642, (other than ſuch as were put out by de- " fire of both or either of the Houſes of Parliament), may " again be put into thoſe commiſſions and offices; and " that ſuch perſons may be put out of thoſe commiſ- " ſions and offices, as ſhall be excepted againſt by both " Houſes of Parliament.

10. " That your Majeſty will be pleaſed to paſs the " bill now preſented to your Majeſty, to vindicate and " ſecure the privileges of Parliament, from the ill con- " ſequence of the late precedent in the charge and pro- " ceeding againſt the Lord Kimbolton, now Earl of " Mancheſter, and the five members of the Houſe of " Commons.

11. " That your royal aſſent may be given unto ſuch " acts as ſhall be adviſed by both Houſes of Parliament, " for the ſatisfying and paying the debts and damages, " wherein the two Houſes of Parliament have engaged " the public faith of the kingdom.

12. " That your Majeſty will be pleaſed, according " to a gracious anſwer heretofore received from you, to " enter into a more ſtrict alliance with the States of " the

" the United Provinces, and other neighbour Princes " and States of the Proteſtant Religion, for the defence " and maintenance thereof againſt all deſigns and at- " tempts of the Popiſh and Jeſuitical faction, to ſubvert " and ſuppreſs it; whereby your ſubjects may hope to " be free from the miſchiefs which this kingdom hath " endured, through the power which ſome of that party " have had in your counſels; and will be much encou- " raged, in a parliamentary way, for your aid and aſſiſt- " ance in reſtoring your royal ſiſter, and the Prince " Elector, to thoſe dignities and dominions which be- " long unto them; and relieving the other Proteſtant " Princes who have ſuffered in the ſame cauſe.

13. " That in the general pardon, which your Ma- " jeſty hath been pleaſed to offer to your ſubjects, all " offences and miſdemeanors committed before the 10th " of January, 1641, which have been or ſhall be queſ- " tioned, or proceeded againſt in Parliament, upon com- " plaint in the Houſe of Commons, before the 10th of " January, 1643, ſhall be excepted: which offences " and miſdemeanors ſhall nevertheleſs be taken, and ad- " judged to be fully diſcharged againſt all other inferior " Courts. That likewiſe there ſhall be an exception of " all offences committed by any perſon or perſons, " which hath, or have had, any hand or practice in the " rebellion of Ireland; which hath, or have given, any " counſel, aſſiſtance, or encouragement to the rebels " there, for the maintenance of that rebellion; as like- " wiſe an exception of William Earl of Newcaſtle, and " George Lord Digby.

14. " That your Majeſty will be pleaſed to reſtore ſuch " members of either Houſe of Parliament to their ſeveral " places of ſervices, and employment, out of which they " have been put ſince the beginning of this Parliament;

" that they may receive ſatisfaction, and reparation for " thoſe places, and for the profits which they have loſt " by ſuch removals, upon the petition of both Houſes " of Parliament: and that all others may be reſtored to " their offices and employments, who have been put " out of the ſame upon any diſpleaſure conceived " againſt them, for any aſſiſtance given to both Houſes " of Parliament, or obeying their commands, or forbear- " ing to leave their attendance upon the Parliament " without licenſe; or for any other occaſion, ariſing " from theſe unhappy differences betwixt your Majeſty " and both Houſes of Parliament, upon the like petition " of both Houſes.

" Theſe things being granted, and performed, as it " hath always been our hearty prayer, ſo ſhall we be " enabled to make it our hopeful endeavour, that your " Majeſty, and your people, may enjoy the bleſſings of " peace, truth, and juſtice; the royalty and greatneſs " of your throne may be ſupported by the loyal and " bountiful affections of your people; their liberties " and privileges maintained by your Majeſty's protec- " tion and juſtice; and this public honour, and happi- " neſs of your Majeſty, and all your dominions, com- " municated to other Churches and States of your alli- " ance, and derived to your royal poſterity, and the " future generations of this kingdom for ever."

They who brought this petition and propoſitions, ſpake to their friends at Oxford with all freedom of the perſons from whom they came; inveighed againſt " their " tyranny and unreaſonableneſs," and eſpecially againſt the propoſitions themſelves had brought; but poſitively declared, " that if the King would vouchſafe ſo gracious " an anſwer (which they confeſſed they had no reaſon " to expect) as might engage the two Houſes in a " treaty,

" treaty, it would not be then in the power of the vio-
" lent party to deny whatſoever his Majeſty could rea-
" ſonably deſire." However (though the King expected little from thoſe private undertakings, well knowing that they who wiſhed beſt were of leaſt power, and that the greateſt among them, as ſoon as they were but ſuſpected to incline to peace, immediately loſt their reputation) his Majeſty, within two days, graciouſly diſmiſſed thoſe meſſengers with this anſwer:

" If his Majeſty had not given up all the faculties of
" his ſoul to an earneſt endeavour of peace and recon-
" ciliation with his people; or if he would ſuffer him-
" ſelf, by any provocation, to be drawn to a ſharpneſs
" of language, at a time when there ſeems ſomewhat
" like an overture of accommodation, he could not but
" reſent the heavy charges upon him in the preamble of
" theſe propoſitions; would not ſuffer himſelf to be
" reproached, with protecting of delinquents, by force,
" from juſtice, (his Majeſty's deſire having always been,
" that all men ſhould be tried by the known law, and
" having been refuſed it), with raiſing an army againſt
" his Parliament, and to be told that arms have been
" taken up againſt him for the defence of religion, laws,
" liberties, and privileges of Parliament, and for the
" ſitting of the Parliament in ſafety, with many other
" particulars in that preamble ſo often and ſo fully an-
" ſwered by his Majeſty, without remembering the
" world of the time and circumſtances of raiſing thoſe
" arms againſt him; when his Majeſty was ſo far from
" being in a condition to invade other men's rights, that
" he was not able to maintain and defend his own from
" violence; and without telling his good ſubjects, that
" their religion, (the true Proteſtant Religion, in which
" his Majeſty was born, hath faithfully lived, and to

" which he will die a willing ſacrifice), their laws, liber-
" ties, privileges, and ſafety of Parliament, were ſo amply
" ſettled, and eſtabliſhed, or offered to be ſo by his
" Majeſty, before any army was raiſed againſt him, and
" long before any raiſed by him for his defence, that if
" nothing had been deſired but that peace and protec-
" tion which his ſubjects, and their anceſtors, had in the
" beſt times enjoyed, under his Majeſty, or his royal
" predeceſſors, this miſunderſtanding and diſtance be-
" tween his Majeſty and his people, and this general
" miſery and diſtraction upon the face of the whole
" kingdom, had not been now the diſcourſe of all Chriſ-
" tendom.

" But his Majeſty will forbear any expreſſions of bit-
" terneſs, or of a ſenſe of his own ſufferings, that, if it
" be poſſible, the memory thereof may be loſt to the
" world. And therefore, though many of the propoſi-
" tions, preſented to his Majeſty by both Houſes, appear
" to him very derogatory from, and deſtructive to, his
" juſt power and prerogative, and no way beneficial to
" his ſubjects, few of them being already due to them
" by the laws eſtabliſhed, (and how unparliamentary it
" is by arms to require new laws, all the world may
" judge), yet (becauſe theſe may be waved, or mollified,
" and many things, that are now dark and doubtful in
" them, cleared, and explained upon debate) his Ma-
" jeſty is pleaſed, ſuch is his ſenſe of the miſeries this
" kingdom ſuffers by this unnatural war, and his earneſt
" deſire to remove them by an happy peace, that a
" ſpeedy time and place be agreed upon, for the meet-
" ing of ſuch perſons as his Majeſty and both Houſes
" ſhall appoint to diſcuſs theſe propoſitions, and ſuch
" others here following as his Majeſty doth propoſe to
" them.

1. " That

1. "That his Majeſty's own revenue, magazine, "towns, forts, and ſhips, which have been taken or "kept from him by force, be forthwith reſtored unto "him.

2. "That whatſoever hath been done, or publiſhed, "contrary to the known laws of the land, or derogatory "to his Majeſty's legal and known power and rights, "be renounced, and recalled, that no ſeed may remain "for the like to ſpring out of for the future.

3. "That whatſoever illegal power hath been claimed "and exerciſed by or over his ſubjects, as impriſoning "their perſons without law, ſtopping their *Habeas Cor-* "*pus's*, and impoſing upon their eſtates without act of "Parliament, &c. either by both, or either Houſe, or "any committee of both, or either, or by any perſons "appointed by any of them, be diſclaimed; and all "ſuch perſons ſo committed forthwith diſcharged.

4. "That as his Majeſty will readily conſent (hav- "ing done ſo heretofore) to the execution of all laws "already made, and to any good acts to be made for "the ſuppreſſing of Popery, and for the firm ſettling "of the Proteſtant Religion now eſtabliſhed by law; ſo "he deſires, that a good bill may be framed, for the "better preſerving the Book of Common Prayer from "the ſcorn and violence of Browniſts, Anabaptiſts, and "other ſectaries, with ſuch clauſes for the eaſe of tender "conſciences, as his Majeſty hath formerly offered.

5. "That all ſuch perſons, as, upon the treaty, ſhall "be excepted out of the general pardon, ſhall be tried "*per pares*, according to the uſual courſe, and known "law of the land; and that it be left to that, either to "acquit or condemn them.

6. "And, to the intent this treaty may not ſuffer "interruption by any intervening accidents, that a ceſ- "ſation

" ſation of arms, and free trade for all his Majeſty's " ſubjects, may be firſt agreed upon.

" This offer and deſire of his Majeſty, he hopes, will " be ſo cheerfully entertained, that a ſpeedy and bleſſed " peace may be accompliſhed. If it ſhall be rejected, " or, by inſiſting upon unreaſonable circumſtances, be " made impoſſible, (which, he hopes, God in his mercy " to this nation will not ſuffer), the guilt of the blood " which will be ſhed, and the deſolation which muſt " follow, will lie upon the heads of the refuſers. How- " ever, his Majeſty is reſolved, through what accidents " ſoever he ſhall be compelled to recover his rights, and " with what proſperous ſucceſs ſoever it ſhall pleaſe God " to bleſs him, that by his earneſt, conſtant endeavours " to propagate and promote the true Proteſtant Reli- " gion, and by his governing according to the known " laws of the land, and upholding the juſt privileges of " Parliament, according to his frequent proteſtations " made before Almighty God, (which he will always " inviolably obſerve), the world ſhall ſee, that he hath " undergone all theſe difficulties and hazards, for the " defence and maintenance of thoſe, the zealous preſer- " vation of which, his Majeſty well knows, is the only " foundation and means for the true happineſs of him " and his people."

Whilſt theſe overtures and diſcourſes were made of peace, the kingdom, in all parts, felt the ſad effects of war; neither the King nor the Parliament being ſlack in purſuing the buſineſs by the ſword; and the perſons of honour and quality in moſt counties more vigorouſly declaring themſelves than they had done. Among the reſt, upon the King's retreat from Brentford, whilſt he yet ſtaid about Reading, ſome of the well-affected gentry of Suſſex, upon the confidence of their intereſts in thoſe

parts,

parts, offered the King to raiſe forces there; and preſumed they ſhould be able to ſeize ſome place of ſecurity and importance for their retreat, if the enemy ſhould attempt upon them; which, at that time of the year, was not conceived could be with any notable ſucceſs. And being armed with ſuch authority and commiſſions, as they deſired, and ſeconded with a good number of conſiderable officers, their firſt ſucceſs was anſwerable to their own hopes, and they poſſeſſed themſelves, partly by force, and partly by ſtratagem, of the city of Chicheſter; which, being encompaſſed with a very good old wall, was very eaſy to be ſo fortified, that, with the winter, they might well think themſelves ſecure againſt any forcible attempt could be made upon them. And no doubt they had been ſo, if the common people of the county (out of which the ſoldiers were to riſe) had been ſo well affected as was believed.

Chicheſter poſſeſſed by the King's forces:

But, before they could draw in men or proviſions into the city, the Earl of Eſſex ſent Sir William Waller with horſe, foot, and cannon, to infeſt them; who, with the aſſiſtance of the country, quickly ſhut them up within their walls. They within the town were eaſily reduced to ſtraits they could not contend with: for, beſides the enemy without, againſt which the walls and the weather ſeemed of equal power, and the ſmall ſtock of proviſions, which, in ſo ſhort time, they were able to draw thither, they had cauſe to apprehend their friends would be weary before their enemies; and that the citizens would not prove a truſty part of the garriſon; and their number of common men was ſo ſmall, that the conſtant duty was performed by the officers, and gentlemen of quality, who were abſolutely tired out. So that, after a week or ten days ſiege, they were compelled, upon no better articles than quarter, to deliver that city, which could hardly

But ſurrendered to Sir W. Waller.

hardly have been taken from them; by which (with the loſs of fifty or threeſcore gentlemen of quality, and officers of name, whoſe very good reputation made the loſs appear a matter of abſolute and unavoidable neceſſity) the King found that he was not to venture to plant garriſons ſo far from his own quarters, where he could not, in reaſonable time, adminiſter ſuccour or ſupply.

This triumph of the enemy was ſhortly after abated, and the loſs on the King's part repaired, by the winning of Cirenceſter, a good town in Gloceſterſhire, which the rebels were fortifying, and had in it a very ſtrong garriſon; and, being upon the edge of Wiltſhire, Berkſhire, and Oxfordſhire, ſhrewdly ſtraitened the King's quarters. The Marquis of Hertford bringing with him, out of Wales, near two thouſand foot, and one regiment of horſe, intended, with the aſſiſtance of Prince Rupert, who appointed to join with him with ſome regiments from Oxford, to take in that town; but by the extreme foulneſs of the ways, the great fall of rain at that time, (being about Chriſtmas), and ſome miſtake in orders between the two Generals, that deſign was diſappointed; and the alarm gave the enemy ſo much the more courage and diligence to provide for an aſſault.

Cirenceſter won by the King's forces under Prince Rupert.

In the beginning of February, Prince Rupert went upon the ſame deſign with better ſucceſs; and at one and the ſame time, ſtorming the town in ſeveral places, their works being not yet finiſhed, though pertinaciouſly enough defended, entered their line with ſome loſs of men, and many hurt, but with a far greater of the enemy; for there were not ſo few as two hundred killed upon the place, and above one thouſand taken priſoners, whereof Warneford and Fettyplace, (two gentlemen of good quality and fortune near that town, and very active in the ſervice), Mr. George, a member of Parliament who

who ſerved for that borough, and two or three Scottiſh officers of the field, whereof Carr the governor was one, were the chief. The town yielded much plunder, from which the undiſtinguiſhing ſoldier could not be kept, but was equally injurious to friend and foe; ſo that many honeſt men, who were impriſoned by the rebels for not concurring with them, found themſelves at liberty and undone together: amongſt whom John Plot, a lawyer of very good reputation, was one; who being freed from the hard and barbarous impriſonment in which he had been kept, when he returned to his own houſe, found it full of ſoldiers, and twelve hundred pounds in money taken from thence, which could never be recovered. The Prince left a ſtrong garriſon there, that brought almoſt all that whole county into contribution, and was a great enlargement to the King's quarters, which now, without interruption, extended from Oxford to Worceſter; that important city, with the other of Hereford, and thoſe counties, having, ſome time before, been quitted by the rebels; the Earl of Stamford, who was left in thoſe parts by the Earl of Eſſex, being called from thence, by the growth of the King's party in Cornwall, to the ſecuring the weſt.

We remembered before, when the Marquis of Hertford tranſported himſelf and his few foot into Wales from Minhead, that Sir Ralph Hopton, and the other gentlemen, mentioned before, with their ſmall force, conſiſting of about one hundred horſe, and fifty dragoons, retired into Cornwall, neglected by the Earl of Bedford, as fit and eaſy to be ſuppreſſed by the committees. And, in truth, the committees were entirely poſſeſſed of Devonſhire, and thought themſelves equally ſure of Cornwall, ſave that the caſtle of Pendennis was in the cuſtody of one they had no hope of. They were welcomed into

Sir Ralph Hopton and Sir Bevil Greenvil's progreſs in Cornwall together with other gentlemen there.

into Cornwall by Sir Bevil Greenvil, who marched with them towards the weſt of the county, as being beſt affected, where they might have leiſure to refreſh their wearied and almoſt tired horſe and men, and to call the well diſpoſed gentry together; for which they choſe Truro as the fitteſt place, the eaſt part of the county being poſſeſſed by Sir Alexander Carew, and Sir Richard Buller, two members of the Houſe of Commons, and active men for the ſettling of the militia. There was in this county, as throughout the whole kingdom, a wonderful and ſuperſtitious reverence towards the name of a Parliament, and a prejudice to the power of the Court; yet a full ſubmiſſion, and love of the eſtabliſhed Government of Church and State, eſpecially to that part of the Church as concerned the Liturgy, or Book of Common Prayer, which was a moſt general object of veneration with the people. And the jealouſy, and apprehenſion that the other party intended to alter it, was a principal advancement of the King's ſervice, though the major and moſt conſiderable part of the gentry, and men of eſtates, were heartily for the King, many of them being of the Houſe of Commons, and ſo having ſeen and obſerved by what ſpirit the diſtemper was begot, and carried on; yet there were others of name, fortune, and reputation with the people, very ſolicitous for the Parliament, and more active than the other. There was a third ſort (for a party they cannot be called) greater than either of the other, both of fortune and number, who, though they were ſatisfied in their conſciences of the juſtice of the King's cauſe, had yet ſo great a dread of the power of the Parliament, that they ſat ſtill as neuters, aſſiſting neither. So that they who did boldly appear, and declare for the King, were compelled to proceed with all warineſs and circumſpection; by the known

known and well underſtood rules of the law and juſtice; and durſt not oppoſe the moſt extravagant act of the other ſide but with all the formality that was uſed in full peace: which muſt be an anſwer to all thoſe overſights and omiſſions, which poſterity will be apt to impute to the King, in the morning of theſe diſtractions.

The committee of the Parliament, who were entirely poſſeſſed of Devonſhire, and believed themſelves maſters of Cornwall, drew their forces of the country to Launceſton, to be ſure that Sir Ralph Hopton and his adherents (whoſe power they thought contemptible) might not eſcape out of their hands. This was before the battle of Edgehill, when the King was at loweſt, and when the authority of Parliament found little oppoſition in any place. The quarter ſeſſions came, where they cauſed a preſentment to be drawn, in form of law, "againſt divers men unknown, who were lately come "armed into that county *contra pacem*, &c." Though none were named, all underſtood who were meant; and therefore Sir Ralph Hopton, who very well underſtood thoſe proceedings, voluntarily appeared; took notice of the preſentment, and produced the commiſſion granted by the King, under the Great Seal of England, to the Marquis of Hertford, by which he was conſtituted General of the weſt; and a commiſſion, from his Lordſhip, to Sir Ralph Hopton, of Lieutenant-General of the horſe; and told them, "he was ſent to aſſiſt them, in "the defence of their liberties, againſt all illegal taxes "and impoſitions." Hereupon, after a full and ſolemn debate, the jury, which conſiſted of gentlemen of good quality, and fortunes in the county, not only acquitted Sir Ralph Hopton, and all the other gentlemen his companions, of any diſturbance of the peace; but declared, "that it was a great favour and juſtice of his Majeſty,

"to

" to ſend down aid to them who were already marked " out to deſtruction; and that they thought it the duty " of every good ſubject, as well in loyalty to the King, " as in gratitude to thoſe gentlemen, to join with them " with any hazard of life and fortune."

As this full vindication was thus gotten on the King's part, ſo an indictment was preferred againſt Sir Alexander Carew, Sir Richard Buller, and the reſt of the committee, " for a rout and unlawful aſſembly at Laun- " ceſton; and for riots and miſdemeanors committed " againſt many of the King's good ſubjects, in tak- " ing their liberties from them;" (for they had intercepted and apprehended divers meſſengers, and others of the King's party, and employed by them). This indictment and information was found by the grand jury, and thereupon, according to a ſtatute in that caſe provided, an order of ſeſſions was granted to the High Sheriff, a perſon well affected to the King's ſervice, " to " raiſe the *poſſe comitatus*, for the diſperſing that un- " lawful aſſembly at Launceſton, and for the apprehen- " ſion of the rioters." This was the riſe and foundation of all the great ſervice that was after performed in Cornwall, by which the whole weſt was reduced to the King. For, by this means, there were immediately drawn together a body of three thouſand foot, well armed; which by no other means could have been done: with which Sir Ralph Hopton, whom they all willingly obeyed, advanced towards Launceſton, where the committee had fortified, and from thence had ſent meſſages of great contempt upon the proceedings of the ſeſſions; for, beſides their confidence in their own Corniſh ſtrength, they had a good body of horſe to ſecond them upon all occaſions, in the confines of Devon.

Sir George Chudleigh, a gentleman of good fortune and

and reputation in that county, and very active for the militia, being then at Taviſtock, with five or ſix full troops of horſe, raiſed in that county to go to their army, but detained till Cornwall could be ſettled; upon the news of Sir Ralph Hopton's advancing, theſe drew to Litton, a village in Devonſhire, but within three miles of Launceſton. Sir Ralph Hopton marched within two miles of the town, where he refreſhed his men, intending, the next morning early, to fall on the town: but Sir Richard Buller, and his confederates, not daring to abide the ſtorm, in great diſorder quitted the town that night, and drew into Devonſhire, and ſo towards Plymouth; ſo that in the morning Sir Ralph Hopton found the gates of Launceſton open, and entered without reſiſtance. As the ſubmiſſion to, and reverence of, the known practiſed laws had, by the Sheriff's authority, raiſed this army within very few days, ſo the extreme ſuperſtition to it as ſoon diſſolved it. For when all the perſons of honour and quality, who well knew the deſperate formed deſigns of the other party, earneſtly preſſed the purſuing the diſheartened and diſmayed rebels into Devon, by which they ſhould quickly increaſe their numbers, by joining with the well-affected in that large and populous county, who were yet awed into ſilence; it was powerfully objected, "that the "Sheriff, by whoſe legal authority only that force was "drawn together, might not lawfully march out of his "own county; and that it was the principal privilege "of the Trained Bands, that they might not be compelled to march farther than the limits of their Sheriff."

How grievous and inconvenient ſoever this doctrine was diſcerned to be, yet no man durſt preſume ſo far upon the temper of that people, as to object policy or neceſſity to the notions of law. And therefore, con-

ceaſing, as much as was poſſible, the true reaſons, they pretended their not following the enemy proceeded from apprehenſion of their ſtrength, by their joining with Sir George Chudleigh, and of want of ammunition, (either of which were not unreaſonable), and ſo marched to Saltaſh, a town in Cornwall upon an arm of the ſea; which only divided it from Plymouth and Devon, where was a garriſon of two hundred Scots; who, upon the approach of Sir Ralph Hopton, as kindly quit Saltaſh, as the others had Launceſton before. So that being now entirely maſters of Cornwall, they fairly diſmiſſed thoſe who could not be kept long together, and retired with their own handful of horſe and dragoons, till a new provocation from the enemy ſhould put freſh vigour into that county.

In the mean time, conſidering the caſualty of thoſe Trained Bands, and that ſtrength, which on a ſudden could be raiſed by the *poſſe comitatus*, which, though it made a gallant ſhew in Cornwall, they eaſily ſaw would be of no uſe towards the quenching the general rebellion over England, they entered upon thoughts of raiſing voluntary regiments of foot; which could be only done by the gentlemen of that country among their neighbours, and tenants, who depended on them. Sir Bevil Greenvil, (the generally moſt beloved man of that country), Sir Nicholas Slanning, the gallant Governor of Pendennis Caſtle, John Arundel, and John Trevannion, two young men of excellent hopes, and heirs to great fortunes in that country, (all four of them members of the Houſe of Commons, and ſo better informed, and acquainted with the deſperate humours of the adverſe party), undertook the raiſing regiments of volunteers; many young gentlemen, of the moſt conſiderable families of the county, aſſiſting them as inferior officers. So that,

that, within a ſhorter time than could be expected, from one ſingle county, there was a body of foot, of near fifteen hundred, raiſed, armed, and well diſciplined for action. But there was then an accident, that might have diſcompoſed a people which had not been very well prepared to perform their duties.

The Lord Mohun (who had departed from York from the King with all profeſſions of zeal and activity in his ſervice) had, from the time of the firſt motion in Cornwall, forborne to join himſelf to the King's party; ſtaying at home at his own houſe, and imparting himſelf equally to all men of ſeveral conſtitutions, as if he had not been yet ſufficiently informed which party to adhere to. But after all the adverſe party was driven out of Cornwall, and the fame of the King's marching in the head of an army, and having fought the battle at Edgehill, (the effect whereof was variouſly reported), without acquainting any body with his intention, he took a journey towards London, at the time when the King marched that way, and preſented himſelf to his Majeſty at Brentford, as ſent from Sir Ralph Hopton and the reſt of thoſe gentlemen engaged in Cornwall; though many men believed that his purpoſe was, in truth, for London, if he had not then found the King's condition better than it was generally believed. Upon his Lordſhip's information of the ſtate of thoſe weſtern parts, and upon a ſuppoſition that he ſpake the ſenſe and deſires of thoſe from whom he pretended to come, the King granted a commiſſion jointly to his Lordſhip, Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir John Berkley, and Colonel Aſhburnham, to govern thoſe forces, in the abſence of the Lord Marquis of Hertford; with which he returned into Cornwall, and immediately raiſed a regiment of foot; behaving himſelf as actively, and being every way as forward in the ad-

vancing the great buſineſs, as any man; ſo that men imputed his former reſervedneſs, only to his not being ſatisfied in a condition of command.

On the other ſide, they who were concerned in that alteration were not at all well contented. For before, theſe gentlemen of Cornwall, upon whoſe intereſt and activity the work depended, had, with great readineſs, complied with the other, both out of great value of their perſons, with whom they had good familiarity and friendſhip, and in reſpect of their authority and commiſſions, with which they came qualified in that county: for, as was remembered before, Sir Ralph Hopton had a commiſſion from the Marquis of Hertford, to be Lieutenant General of the horſe; Sir John Berkley, to be Commiſſary General; and Colonel Aſhburnham, to be Major General of the foot; ſo that there was no diſpute of commands. But now, the Lord Mohun's coming into an equal command with any, and ſuperior to thoſe who thought their reputation and intereſt to be ſuperior to his, (for he had not the good fortune to be very gracious in his own country), and this by his own ſolicitation and interpoſition, gave them ſome indignation. However their public-heartedneſs, and joint concernment in the good cauſe, ſo totally ſuppreſſed all animoſities, and indeed indiſpoſitions, that a greater concurrence could not be deſired in whatſoever could contribute to the work in hand; ſo that they not only preſerved Cornwall entire, but made bold incurſions into Devon, even to the walls of Plymouth and Exeter; though the ſeaſon of the year, being the deep winter, and the want of ammunition, ſoon forced them to retire into Cornwall.

The reputation of their being maſters of that one county, and the apprehenſion of what they might be ſhortly able to do, made the Parliament think it time to take

take more care for their ſuppreſſion. And therefore they ſent their whole forces out of Dorſet and Somerſet, to join with thoſe of Devon, to make an entire conqueſt of Cornwall. With theſe, Ruthen (a Scotchman, the Governor of Plymouth) advanced into Cornwall, by a bridge over the Tamar, ſix miles above Saltaſh, (where he had before endeavoured to force his paſſage by water, but had been beaten off with loſs), having maſtered the guard there; the Earl of Stamford following him, two or three days march behind, with a new ſupply of horſe and foot; albeit thoſe the Scotchman had with him were much ſuperior to thoſe of the King's; which, upon this ſudden invaſion, were forced to retire with their whole ſtrength to Bodmin; whither, foreſeeing this ſtorm ſome few days before it came, they had again ſummoned the *poſſe comitatus*, which appeared in conſiderable numbers.

They had ſcarce refreſhed themſelves there, and put their men in order, when Ruthen, with his horſe, foot, and cannon, was advanced to Liſkard, within ſeven miles of Bodmin; from whence they moved towards the enemy with all alacrity, knowing how neceſſary it was for them to fight before the Earl of Stamford, who was at that time come to Launceſton with a ſtrong party of horſe and foot, ſhould be able to join with the rebels. And as this conſideration was of importance to haſten the one, ſo it prevailed with the other party too; for Ruthen, apprehending that his victory, of which he made no queſtion, would be clouded by the preſence of the Earl of Stamford, who had the chief command, reſolved to diſpatch the buſineſs before he came. And ſo Sir Ralph Hopton (to whom the other Commiſſioners, who had a joint authority with him, willingly devolved the ſole command for that day, leſt confuſion

of orders might beget diſtraction) was no ſooner known to be drawing towards him, (to whom a preſent battle was ſo neceſſary, that it was reſolved, upon all diſadvantages, to have fallen on the enemy in the town rather than not fight), but Ruthen likewiſe drew out his forces, and, chooſing his ground upon the eaſt ſide of Bradock-Down near Liſkard, ſtood in battalia to expect the enemy: Sir Ralph Hopton, having likewiſe put his men in order, cauſed public prayers to be ſaid, in the head of every ſquadron, (which the rebels obſerving, told their fellows, "they were at maſs," to ſtir up their courages in the cauſe of religion), and having winged his foot with his horſe and dragoons, he advanced within muſket-ſhot of the enemy, who ſtood without any motion. Then perceiving that their cannon were not yet come up from the town, he cauſed two ſmall iron minion drakes (all the artillery they had) to be drawn, under the cover of little parties of horſe, to a convenient diſtance from the body of the enemies; and after two ſhots of thoſe drakes, (which being not diſcerned, and doing ſome execution, ſtruck a greater terror into them), advanced with his body upon them; and, with very eaſy contention, beat them off their ground; they having lined the hedges behind them with their reſerve, by which they thought ſecurely to make their retreat into the town.

Sir Ralph Hopton beats the Parliament's forces at Bradock-Down under Ruthen.

But the Corniſh ſo briſkly beſtirred themſelves, and preſſed them ſo hard on every ſide, being indeed excellent at hedge-work, and that kind of fight, that they quickly won that ground too, and put their whole army in a rout, and had the full execution of them as far as they would purſue. But, after that advantage, they were always more ſparing than is uſually known in civil wars, ſhedding very little blood after reſiſtance was given over, and having a very noble and Chriſtian ſenſe of the lives

of

of their brethren: inſomuch as the common men, when they have been preſſed by ſome fiercer officer, to follow the execution, have anſwered, "they could not find in "their hearts to hurt men who had nothing in their "hands."

In this battle, without the loſs of an officer of name, and very few common men, they took twelve hundred and fifty priſoners, moſt of their colours, all their cannon, being four braſs guns, (whereof two were twelve pounders), and one iron ſaker, all their ammunition, and moſt of their arms. Ruthen himſelf, and thoſe who could keep pace with him, fled to Saltaſh; which he thought to fortify, and by the neighbourhood of Plymouth, and aſſiſtance of the ſhipping, to defend; and thereby ſtill to have an influence upon a good part of Cornwall. The Earl of Stamford, receiving quick advertiſement of this defeat, in great diſorder retired to Taviſtock, to preſerve the utmoſt parts of Devon from incurſions. Hereupon, after a ſolemn thankſgiving to God for this great victory, (which was about the middle of January), and a little refreſhing their men at Liſkard, the King's forces divided themſelves; Sir John Berkley, and Colonel Aſhburnham, with Sir Bevil Greenvil, Sir Nicholas Slanning's and Colonel Trevannion's voluntary regiments, and ſuch a party of horſe and dragoons as could be ſpared, advanced to Taviſtock to viſit the Earl of Stamford; the Lord Mohun, and Sir Ralph Hopton, with the Lord Mohun's and Colonel Godolphin's voluntary regiments, and ſome of the Trained Bands, marched towards Saltaſh, to diſlodge Ruthen; who within three days (for there was no more between his defeat at Bradock-Down, and his viſitation at Saltaſh) had caſt up ſuch works, and planted ſuch ſtore of cannon upon the narrow avenues, that he thought himſelf able, with the help of

a goodly ſhip of four hundred tons, in which were fixteen pieces of cannon, which he had brought up the river to the very ſide of the town, to defend that place againſt any ſtrength was like to be brought againſt him. But he quickly found that the ſame ſpirit poſſeſſed his enemies that drove him from Liſkard, and the ſame that poſſeſſed his own men when they fled from thence; for as ſoon as the Corniſh came up, they fell upon his works, and in a ſhort time beat him out of them; and then out of the town, with a good execution upon them; many being killed in the fight, and more drowned: Ruthen himſelf hardly getting into a boat, by which he got into Plymouth, leaving all his ordnance behind him, which, together with the ſhip, and ſeven ſcore priſoners, and all their colours, which had been ſaved at Liſkard, were taken by the conquerors, who were now again entire maſters of Cornwall.

Saltaſh taken by the King's forces.

The Earl of Stamford had not the ſame patience to abide the other party at Taviſtock, but, before their approach, quitted the town; ſome of his forces making haſte into Plymouth, and the reſt retiring into Exeter. And ſo, though the old ſuperſtition, of not going out of the county, again diſbanded the Trained Bands, the Corniſh, with all their voluntary forces, drew into Devon, and fixed quarters within leſs than a mile of Plymouth, and kept guards even within muſket-ſhot of their line. Sir John Berkley in the mean time with a good party volant, of horſe and dragoons, with great diligence and gallantry, viſiting all places in Devon, where their people were gathered together, and diſſolving them, took many priſoners of name; and ſo kept Chudleigh, the Major General of the Parliament forces, from raiſing a body there; which he induſtriouſly intended.

In thoſe neceſſary and briſk expeditions in falling upon

upon Chagford (a little town in the ſouth of Devon) before day, the King loſt Sidney Godolphin, a young gentleman of incomparable parts; who, being of a conſtitution and education more delicate, and unacquainted with contentions, upon his obſervation of the wickedneſs of thoſe men in the Houſe of Commons, of which he was a member, out of the pure indignation of his ſoul againſt them, and conſcience to his country, had, with the firſt, engaged himſelf with that party in the weſt: and though he thought not fit to take command in a profeſſion he had not willingly choſen, yet as his advice was of great authority with all the commanders, being always one in the council of war, and whoſe notable abilities they had ſtill uſe of in their civil tranſactions, ſo he expoſed his perſon to all action, travel, and hazard; and by too forward engaging himſelf in this laſt, received a mortal ſhot by a muſket, a little above the knee, of which he died in the inſtant; leaving the misfortune of his death upon a place, which could never otherwiſe have had a mention to the world. Mr. Sidney Godolphin ſlain.

After this, which happened about the end of January, in reſpect of the ſeaſon of the year, and the want of ammunition, finding that they could make no impreſſion upon the ſtrong holds of the enemy, they retired, with their whole forces, to Taviſtock; where they refreſhed and reſted themſelves many days, being willing to eaſe their faſt friends of Cornwall, as much as was poſſible, from the trouble and charge of their little army. The difficulties they were entangled with were very prodigious; of which one was, that the other parts of the weſt were ſo entirely poſſeſſed by the enemy, that they could have no correſpondence, or receive any intelligence from the King, not one meſſenger in ten arriving at his journey's end. Then though the juſtice and piety of the cauſe The King's Cornish forces come to Taviſtock.

added

added much power to particular perſons in raiſing an army; yet the money, that was raiſed for the maintenance and payment of that army, was entirely upon the reputation, credit, and intereſt of particular men: and how long that ſpring would ſupply thoſe ſtreams, the moſt ſanguine among them could not preſume; but the want of ammunition troubled them moſt of all: they had yet had none but what had been taken out of the low ſtore of Pendennis Caſtle, and what they had won from the enemy; the firſt wanted a ſupply for its own proviſion, but which way to procure that ſupply they could not imagine; and the fear and apprehenſion of ſuch ſtraits, againſt which no probable hopes occur, is more grievous and inſupportable than any preſent want.

Captain Carteret ſupplies them with ammunition.

In this inſtant, as if ſent by Providence, they met with an opportunity they had ſcarce courage to hope for: Captain Carteret, the Controller of the King's navy, having in the beginning of the troubles, after he had refuſed to have command in their fleets, without noiſe withdrawn himſelf and his family out of England to Jerſey, and being there impatient of being quiet, whilſt his Maſter was in the field, tranſported himſelf into Cornwall with a purpoſe to raiſe a troop of horſe, and to engage in that ſervice: when he came thither, he was unanimouſly importuned by the commanders, after they had acquainted him with their hopeleſs and deſperate want of powder, to aſſiſt them in that manner, that the many good ports in their power might be made of ſome uſe to them in the ſupply of powder: whereupon he ſhortly returned into France; and firſt upon his own credit, and then upon return of ſuch commodities out of Cornwall as they could well ſpare, he ſupplied them with ſuch great proportions of all kinds of ammunitions, that they never found want after.

In

In the mean time, when they were clouded with that want at Taviſtock, ſome gentlemen of Cornwall who adhered to the rebels, and were thereby diſpoſſeſſed of their county, made ſome overtures, "that a treaty might "be entered into, whereby the peace of thoſe two "counties of Cornwall and Devon might be ſettled, "and the war be removed into other parts." They who had moſt experience of the humours and diſpoſitions of the factious party, eaſily concluded the little hope of peace by ſuch a treaty; yet the propoſition was ſo ſpecious and popular, that there was no rejecting it; and therefore they agreed to a meeting between perſons choſen of either ſide; and the Earl of Stamford himſelf ſeemed ſo ingenuous, that, at the very firſt meeting, to ſhew their clear intentions, it was mutually agreed, that every perſon employed and truſted in the treaty ſhould firſt make a proteſtation in theſe words: "I do ſolemnly "vow and proteſt, in the preſence of Almighty God, "that I do not only come a commiſſioner to this treaty, "with an hearty and fervent deſire of concluding an ho- "nourable and firm peace between the two counties of "Cornwall and Devon; but alſo will, to the utmoſt of "my power, proſecute and really endeavour to accom- "pliſh and effect the ſame, by all lawful ways and "means I poſſibly can; firſt by maintaining the Pro- "teſtant Religion eſtabliſhed by law in the Church of "England, the juſt rights and prerogative of our ſo- "vereign Lord the King, the juſt privileges and free- "dom of Parliaments; together with the juſt rights "and liberty of the ſubjects; and that I am without "any intention (by fomenting this unnatural war) to "gain, or hope to advantage myſelf with the real or "perſonal eſtate of any perſon whatſoever, or obtaining "any office, command, title of honour, benefit, or re- "ward

A treaty between the two parties in Devon and Cornwall.

This proteſtation being firſt taken by both.

"ward, either from the King's Majeſty, or either or "both Houſes of Parliament now aſſembled. And this "I take, in the preſence of Almighty God, and as I "ſhall anſwer the ſame at his tribunal, according to "the literal ſenſe and meaning of the foregoing words, "without any equivocation, mental reſervation, or other "evaſion whatſoever. So help me God."

The taking this proteſtation with that ſolemnity, and the bleſſed Sacrament thereupon, made even thoſe, who before expected little fruit from the treaty, believe, that men, being ſo engaged, would not be liable to thoſe paſſions and affections, which uſually tranſported that party; and ſo to hope that ſome good might proceed from it: and therefore the King's party were eaſily induced to retire with their forces into Cornwall; and thereupon a truce and ceſſation was agreed upon, that a treaty might proceed without interruption. In which treaty, the ſame continuing beyond the expiration of the preſent year 1642, we ſhall for the preſent leave them; that we may take a ſhort ſurvey of the northern parts, and remember by what degrees they came to feel the calamities, and to bear their burden in the civil war.

A truce and ceſſation thereupon.

When the King left Yorkſhire, he appointed Sir Thomas Glemham, at the deſire of the gentlemen of that county, as was before remembered, to ſtay in York, to order and command thoſe forces, which they ſhould find neceſſary to raiſe, to defend themſelves from the excurſions of Hull, whence young Hotham infeſted the country more than his father; who was willing enough to ſit ſtill in his garriſon, where he believed he could make advantage upon the ſucceſs of either party: and they who were moſt inclined to the Parliament (whereof the Lord Fairfax and his ſon were the chief; from whom the King was ſo far from expecting any notable miſchief,

An account of the northern parts diſpoſition at that time.

chief, that he left them all at their own houſes, when he went from thence; and might, if he had thought it requiſite, have carried them away priſoners with him) were rather deſirous to look on, than engage themſelves in the war; preſuming that one battle would determine all diſputes, and the party which prevailed in that would find a general ſubmiſſion throughout the kingdom. And truly, I believe, there was ſcarce one concluſion, that hath contributed more to the continuance and length of the war, than that generally received opinion in the beginning, that it would be quickly at an end. Hereupon, there being but one viſible difference like to beget diſtractions in the country, which was about the militia, the King appointing it to be governed and diſpoſed by the commiſſion of array, and the Parliament by their ordinance; for the compoſing whereof, the gentlemen of the ſeveral opinions propoſed, between themſelves, "that neither the "one nor the other ſhould be meddled with; but that all "ſhould be contented to ſit ſtill, without engagement "to either party." This ſeemed very reaſonable to the Parliament party there, who were rather carried away with an implicit reverence to the very name of a Parliament (the fatal diſeaſe of the whole kingdom at that time) than really tranſported with the paſſion and deſign of the furious part of it; and who plainly diſcerned, that by much the greateſt part of the perſons of honour, quality, and intereſt in the county would cordially oppoſe their proceedings: for, beſides the Lord Fairfax, there were in truth few of good reputation and fortune, who run that way. On the other hand, the King's party thought their work done by it; for they having already ſent two good regiments of foot, the one under Colonel John Bellaſis, younger ſon to the Lord Viſcount Falconbridge, and the other under Sir William

liam Pennyman; and two regiments of dragoons, the one under Colonel Duncomb; the other, Colonel Gowre; beſides three or four good troops of horſe; and the King being at that diſtance, that they could not ſend him farther ſupply; they thought they had nothing to do, but to keep the country in ſuch a peace, that it might do the King no harm by ſending men to the Earl of Eſſex, or adhering to the garriſon of Hull; and concluding, as the other did, that the deciſion between the King and Parliament would be at the firſt encounter. Upon theſe deliberations, articles were ſolemnly drawn up, conſented to and ſubſcribed by the Lord Fairfax, and Harry Bellaſis, the heir apparent of the Lord Falconbridge, who were the two knights who ſerved in Parliament for Yorkſhire, nearly allied together, and of great kindneſs till their ſeveral opinions and affections had divided them in this quarrel: the former adhering to the Parliament; the latter, with great courage and ſobriety, to the King.

Articles of neutrality agreed in Yorkſhire between both parties.

With them, the principal perſons of either party ſubſcribed the articles, and gave their mutual faiths to each other, that they would obſerve them; being indeed no other than an engagement of neutrality, and to aſſiſt neither party. Of all the gentry of Yorkſhire, there were only two Diſſenters on the Parliament ſide; young Hotham, and Sir Edward Rhodes; who, though of the better quality, was not ſo much known, or conſidered, as the other. But they quickly found ſeconds enough; for the Parliament no ſooner was informed of this tranſaction, than they expreſſed their deteſtation of it, and gently in words (though ſcornfully in matter) reprehending the Lord Fairfax, and his party, "for being co-"zened and over-reached by the other;" they declared, "that none of the parties to that agreement had "any authority to bind that country to any ſuch neu-"trality,

"trality, as was mentioned in that agreement; it being "a peculiar and proper power and privilege of Parlia- "ment, where the whole body of the kingdom is repre- "ſented, to bind all, or any part thereof: that it was "very prejudicial and dangerous to the whole kingdom, "that one county ſhould withdraw themſelves from the "aſſiſtance of the reſt, to which they were bound by "law, and by ſeveral orders and declarations of Parlia- "ment: that it was very derogatory to the power and "authority of Parliament, that any private men ſhould "take upon them to ſuſpend the execution of the ordi- "nance of the militia, declared by both Houſes to be "according to law, and very neceſſary, at that time, for "the preſervation of the peace and ſafety of the king- "dom. And therefore, they ſaid, they thought them- "ſelves bound in conſcience, to hinder all farther pro- "ceedings upon that agreement; and ordered, that "no ſuch neutrality ſhould be obſerved in that county. "For if they ſhould ſuffer particular counties to divide "themſelves from the reſt of the kingdom, it would be "a means of bringing all to ruin and deſtruction." And therefore they farther declared, that "neither the Lord "Fairfax, nor the gentlemen of Yorkſhire, who were "parties to thoſe articles, nor any other inhabitants of "that county, were bound by any ſuch agreement; but "required them to purſue their former reſolutions, of "maintaining and aſſiſting the Parliament, in defence "of the common cauſe, according to the general pro- "teſtation wherein they were bound with the reſt of "the kingdom, and againſt the particular proteſtation "by themſelves lately made; and according to ſuch "orders and commiſſions as they ſhould receive from "both Houſes of Parliament, from the committee of "the Lords and Commons appointed for the ſafety of "the

But diſowned by the Parliament, upon which they entered into acts of hoſtility there.

" the kingdom, or from the Earl of Eſſex, Lord Gene-
" ral." And, leſt this their declaration ſhould not be of power enough to diſſolve this agreement, they publiſhed their reſolution, and directed that " Mr. Hotham and " Sir Edward Rhodes ſhould proceed upon their former " inſtructions; and that they ſhould have power to ſeize " and apprehend all Delinquents that were ſo voted by " the Parliament, and all ſuch others, as Delinquents, as " had, or did ſhew themſelves oppoſite and diſobedient " to the orders and proceedings of Parliament."

Upon this declaration, and vote, not only young Hotham fell to the practice of acts of hoſtility, with all licenſe, out of the garriſon at Hull; but the Lord Fairfax himſelf, and all the gentlemen of that party, who had, with that proteſtation, ſigned the articles, inſtead of reſenting the reproach to themſelves, tamely ſubmitted to thoſe unreaſonable concluſions; and, contrary to their ſolemn promiſe and engagement, prepared themſelves to bear a part in the war, and made all haſte to levy men.

Upon ſo great a diſadvantage were the King's party in all places; who were ſo preciſe in promiſes, and their perſonal undertakings, that they believed they could not ſerve the King, and his cauſe, if their reputation and integrity were once blemiſhed, though ſome particular contract proved to his diſadvantage: whilſt the others expoſed their honours for any preſent temporary conveniencies, and thought themſelves abſolved by any new reſolution of the Houſes, to whoſe cuſtody their honour and ingenuity was committed. The preſent diſadvantage of this rupture was greater to the King's party there, than to the other. For (beſides that many, who concurred with them very frankly and ſolicitouſly in the neutrality, ſeparated themſelves from them now there was a neceſſity of action) they had neither money to raiſe

raiſe men, nor arms to arm them; ſo that the ſtrength conſiſted in the gentlemen themſelves, and their retinue; who, by the good affections of the inhabitants of York, were ſtrong enough to ſecure one another within the walls of that city. Then the Earl of Cumberland, in whom the chief power of command was to raiſe men and money in a caſe of neceſſity, though he was a perſon of entire devotion to the King, was in his nature unactive, and utterly unexperienced in affairs and exigents of that nature.

On the other hand, the oppoſite party was ſtrengthened and enabled by the ſtrong garriſon of Hull, whence young Hotham, on all occaſions, was ready to ſecond them with his troop of horſe, and to take up any well affected perſon who was ſuſpected to be loyal; which drove all reſolved men from their houſes into York, where they only could be ſafe. The other could have what men more they deſired from London, and both ready money from thence to Hull, and ordinances to raiſe what they would in the county to pay them. Leeds, Halifax, and Bradford, three very populous and rich towns, (which depending wholly upon clothiers too much maligned the gentry), were wholly at their diſpoſition. Their neighbours in Lincolnſhire were in a body to ſecond them, and Sir John Gell was on the ſame behalf poſſeſſed of Derby, and all that county, there being none that had the hardineſs yet, to declare there for the King. So that, if Sir John Hotham's warineſs had not kept him from being active, and his pride, and contempt of the Lord Fairfax, upon whom the country chiefly depended, hindered him from ſeconding and aſſiſting his Lordſhip; or if any man had had the entire command of thoſe parts and forces, to have united them, the Parliament had, with very little reſiſtance, been abſolute

maſters of all Yorkſhire; and, as eaſily, of the city itſelf. But their want of union in particulars, though they agreed too well in the main, gave the King's party time to breathe, and to look about for their preſervation. Thereupon they ſent to the Earl of Newcaſtle for aſſiſtance; offering, "if he would march into Yorkſhire, "they would join with him, and be entirely com-"manded by him;" the Earl of Cumberland willingly offering to wave any title to command.

It was before remembered, that, when the King left York, he had ſent the Earl of Newcaſtle, as a perſon of great honour and intereſt in thoſe parts, to be Governor of Newcaſtle; and ſo to ſecure that port, that the Parliament might neither ſeize it, nor the Scots be bribed by it to come to the aſſiſtance of their brethren. Which commiſſion from the King his Lordſhip no ſooner executed, without the leaſt hoſtility, (for that town received him with all poſſible acknowledgments of the King's goodneſs in ſending him,) but he was impeached by the Houſe of Commons of high treaſon. From his going thither, (which was in Auguſt,) till toward the end of November, the Earl ſpent his time in diſpoſing the people of Northumberland, and the biſhopric of Durham, to the King's ſervice, and to a right underſtanding of the matters in difference; in the fortifying Newcaſtle, and the river; whereby that harbour might only be in the King's obedience; in raiſing a garriſon for that place, and providing arms for a farther advance of the King's ſervice. Then he provided for the aſſiſtance of his friends in Yorkſhire, whoſe condition grew every day more deſperate. For the Parliament, finding the inconveniencies of having no commander in chief in thoſe parts, had cauſed their Generaliſſimo, the Earl of Eſſex, to ſend a commiſſion to the Lord Fairfax, "to "com-

"command all the forces of Yorkſhire, and the adjacent "counties, in chief;" by which, in leſs time than could be reaſonably imagined, he was able to draw together an army of five or ſix thouſand horſe and foot; ſo that York muſt preſently have been ſwallowed up.

The Lord Fairfax made General of Yorkſhire for the Parliament.

But, in the beginning of December, the Earl of Newcaſtle marched to their relief; and having left a good garriſon in Newcaſtle, and fixed ſuch ſmall garriſons in his way, as might ſecure his communication with that port, to which all his ammunition was to be brought; with a body of near three thouſand foot, and ſix or ſeven hundred horſe and dragoons, without any encounter with the enemy, (though they had threatened loud,) he entered York; having leſſened the enemy's ſtrength, without blood, both in territories and men. For, as ſoon as he entered Yorkſhire, two regiments raiſed in Richmondſhire and Cleveland diſſolved of themſelves; having it yet in their choice to dwell at home, or to leave their houſes to new comers. The Earl being now maſter of the north as far as York, thought rather of forming an army, and providing money to pay it, than of making any farther progreſs in the winter; and therefore ſuffered the Lord Fairfax to enjoy the ſouthern part of that large rich county, till the ſpring, and the improvement of his condition, ſhould enable him to advance: yet few days paſſed without blows, in which the Parliament forces had uſually the worſt.

The Earl of Newcaſtle comes from Newcaſtle into York.

Shortly after the Earl's coming to York, General King repaired to him, whom he made Lieutenant General of his army; who, notwithſtanding the unavoidable prejudice, in that conjuncture, of his being a Scotchman, ordered the foot with great wiſdom and dexterity: the charge of the horſe being at the ſame time committed

to General Goring; who, by the Queen's favour, notwithſtanding all former failings, was recommended to that province, and quickly applied himſelf to action: ſo that, though the Lord Fairfax kept Selby and Cawood, both within a ſmall diſtance from York, the Earl was abſolute maſter of the field. And now the north yielded ſecure footing for thoſe who had been unreaſonably perſecuted for their obedience to the King, the Queen herſelf thought of returning into England.

Her Majeſty had, from her firſt going into Holland, dexterouſly endeavoured to advance the King's intereſt, and ſent very great quantities of arms and ammunition to Newcaſtle, (though, by the vigilance of the Parliament agents in thoſe parts, and the power of their ſhips, too much of it was intercepted), with ſome conſiderable ſums of money, and good ſtore of officers; who, by the connivance of the Prince of Orange, came over to ſerve their own King. And from this extraordinary care of her Majeſty's, and her known grace and favour to the perſon of the Earl of Newcaſtle, who ſhe well knew had contracted many enemies by the eminency of his devotion to the King, that army was by the Parliament ſtyled the *Queen's army*, and the *Catholic army*, thereby to expoſe her Majeſty the more to the rude malice of the people, and the army to their prejudice; perſuading them, "that it conſiſted of none but profeſſed Papiſts, who "intended nothing but the extirpation of the Proteſtants, "and eſtabliſhing their own profeſſion."

About the middle of February, the Queen took ſhipping from Holland, in a States man of war, aſſigned by the Prince of Orange with others for her convoy, and arrived ſafely in Burlington Bay, upon the coaſt of Yorkſhire; where ſhe had the patience to ſtay on ſhipboard at anchor, the ſpace of two days, till the Earl had notice,

The Queen arrives at Burlington from Holland.

notice, " to draw ſuch a part of his forces that way, as " might ſecure her landing, and wait on her to York;" which he no ſooner did, (and he did it with all imaginable expedition,) but her Majeſty came on ſhore; and, for the preſent, was pleaſed to refreſh herſelf in a convenient houſe upon the very key, where all accommodations were made for her reception; there being many things of moment to be unſhipped before ſhe could reaſonably enter upon her journey towards York.

The ſecond day after the Queen's landing, Batten, Vice-Admiral to the Earl of Warwick, (who had waited to intercept her paſſage,) with four of the King's ſhips, arrived in Burlington Road; and, finding that her Majeſty was landed, and that ſhe lodged upon the key, bringing his ſhips to the neareſt diſtance, being very early in the morning, diſcharged above a hundred cannon (whereof many were laden with croſs-bar-ſhot) for the ſpace of two hours upon the houſe where her Majeſty was lodged: whereupon ſhe was forced out of her bed, ſome of the ſhot making way through her own chamber; and to ſhelter herſelf under a bank in the open fields; which barbarous and treaſonable act was ſo much the more odious, in that the Parliament never ſo far took notice of it, as to diſavow it. So that many believed it was very pleaſing to, if not commanded by them; and that, if the ſhips had encountered at ſea, they would have left no hazard unrun to have deſtroyed her Majeſty.

The Queen ſhortly after removed to York, and the King's affairs proſpered to that degree, that, as the Earl of Newcaſtle had before fixed a garriſon at Newark in Nottinghamſhire, which kept the forces of Lincoln from joining entirely with the Lord Fairfax, and had with great courage beaten off a formed body of the rebels

The Earl of Newcaſtle fixed a garriſon at Newark.

who attempted it; ſo he now ſent Charles Cavendiſh, the younger brother of the Earl of Devonſhire, with a party volant of horſe and dragoons, into Lincolnſhire: where, about the middle of March, he aſſaulted Grantham, a new garriſon of the rebels; which he took, and in it above three hundred priſoners, with all their officers, arms, and ammunition: and, about the ſame time, Sir Hugh Cholmondley, who had done very notable ſervice to the Parliament, and oftener defeated the Earl of Newcaſtle's troops (though he had been in truth hurried to that party, rather by the engagement of Sir John Hotham, with whom he had long friendſhip, than by his own inclination) than any officer of thoſe parts, very frankly revolted to his allegiance; and waiting on her Majeſty for her aſſurance of his pardon, delivered up the caſtle of Scarborough (a place of importance) to the King; the command and government whereof was again by the Earl committed to him; which he diſcharged with courage and ſingular fidelity. By this means, and thoſe ſucceſſes, the Lord Fairfax quitted Selby, Cawood, and Tadcaſter, and retired to Pomfret and Halifax; whereby the Earl was, upon the matter, poſſeſſed of that whole large county, and ſo able to help his neighbours. This was the ſtate of that part of the north which was under the Earl of Newcaſtle's conſiſion: for Lancaſhire, Cheſhire, and Shropſhire, were in a worſe condition; of which, and the neighbour counties, it will be neceſſary in the next place to ſay ſomewhat; and of thoſe firſt which lie fartheſt off.

Sir Hugh Cholmondley delivered up Scarborough caſtle to the Queen.

The condition at that time of Lancaſhire, Cheſhire, and Shropſhire.

We have ſaid before, that when the King left Shrewſbury, and marched to meet the Earl of Eſſex, (which he did at Edgehill), all his deſigns being to come to a battle; and the opinion of moſt, that a battle would determine all; he was to apply all the ſtrength and forces

forces he could poſſibly raiſe, to the increaſing his army; ſo that he left no garriſon behind him, but relied upon the intereſt and authority of the Lord Strange, (who was, by the death of his father, now Earl of Derby), to ſuppreſs all commotions and inſurrections, which might happen in the counties of Lancaſhire and Cheſhire; which his Lordſhip was confident he ſhould be able to do, and was then generally believed to have a greater influence upon thoſe two counties, and a more abſolute command over the people in them, than any ſubject in England had, in any other quarter of the kingdom. The town of Shrewſbury, and that good county, where the King had been ſo proſperous, (and by which the people were more engaged), he entruſted only to that good ſpirit that then poſſeſſed it, and to the legal authority of the Sheriffs and Juſtices of the peace. And it fared in thoſe counties as in all other parts of the kingdom, that the number of thoſe who deſired to ſit ſtill was greater than of thoſe who deſired to engage in either party; ſo that they were generally inclined to articles of neutrality. And in Cheſhire, the active people of both ſides came to thoſe capitulations, with as much ſolemnity as had been in Yorkſhire, and by the ſame declaration of the Parliament (ſo much the ſame, that there was no other difference but alterations of names and places) were abſolved from the obſervation of them. And then Sir William Bruerton, a gentleman of a competent fortune in that county, and Knight for that ſhire in Parliament, but moſt notorious for a known averſion to the government of the Church, bringing with him from London a troop of horſe, and a regiment of dragoons, marched thither to protect thoſe who were of that party, and, under ſuch a ſhelter, to encourage them to appear.

The city of Chefter was firm to the King, by the virtue of the inhabitants, and intereſt of the Biſhop, and cathedral men; but eſpecially by the reputation and dexterity of Mr. O. Bridgman, ſon to the Biſhop, and a lawyer of very good eſtimation; who not only informed them of their duty, and encouraged them in it, but upon his credit and eſtate, both which were very good, ſupplied them with whatſoever was neceſſary for their defence; ſo that they were not put to be honeſt and expenſive together. But as they had no garriſon of ſoldiers, ſo they had no officer of ſkill and experience to manage and direct that courage which, at leaſt, was willing to defend their own walls; which they were now like to be put to. Therefore the King ſent thither Sir Nicholas Byron, a ſoldier of very good command, with a commiſſion to be "Colonel General of Cheſhire and "Shropſhire; and to be Governor of Cheſter;" who being a perſon of great affability and dexterity, as well as martial knowledge, gave great life to the deſigns of the well-affected there; and, with the encouragement of ſome gentlemen of North Wales, in a ſhort time raiſed ſuch a power of horſe and foot, as made often ſkirmiſhes with the enemy; ſometimes with notable advantage, never with any ſignal loſs. Sir William Bruerton fortified Nantwich, as the King's party did Chefter; from which garriſons, containing both their forces, they contended which ſhould moſt prevail upon, that is moſt ſubdue, the affections of the county, to declare for and join with them. But the fair expectation of Cheſhire was clouded by the ſtorms that aroſe in Lancaſhire, where men of no name, and contemned intereſt, by the mere credit of the Parliament, and frenzy of the people, on a ſudden ſnatched that large and populous county from their devotion to the Earl of Derby.

The

The town of Mancheſter had, from the beginning, (out of that factious humour which poſſeſſed moſt corporations, and the pride of their wealth), oppoſed the King, and declared magiſterially for the Parliament. But as a great part of the county conſiſted of Papiſts, of whoſe inſurrections they had made ſuch uſe in the beginning of the Parliament, when they had a mind to alarm the people with dangers; ſo it was confidently believed, that there was not one man of ten throughout that county, who meant not to be dutiful and loyal to the King: yet the reſtleſs ſpirit of the ſeditious party was ſo ſedulous and induſtrious, and every one of the party ſo ready to be engaged, and punctually to obey; and, on the other hand, the Earl of Derby ſo unactive, and ſo uncomplying with thoſe who were fuller of alacrity, and would have proceeded more vigorouſly againſt the enemy; or, through want of experience, ſo irreſolute, that, inſtead of countenancing the King's party in Cheſhire, which was expected from him, the Earl, inſenſibly, found Lancaſhire to be almoſt poſſeſſed againſt him; the rebels every day gaining and fortifying all the ſtrong towns, and ſurpriſing his troops, without any conſiderable encounter. And yet, ſo hard was the King's condition, that, though he knew thoſe great misfortunes proceeded from want of conduct, and of a vigorous and expert commander, he thought it not ſafe to make any alteration, leſt that Earl might be provoked, out of diſdain to have any ſuperior in Lancaſhire, to manifeſt how much he could do againſt him, though it appeared he could do little for him. Yet it was eaſily diſcerned, that his ancient power there depended more upon the fear than love of the people; there being very many, now in this time of liberty, engaging themſelves againſt the

the King, that they might not be ſubject to that lord's commands.

However, the King committing Lancaſhire ſtill to his Lordſhip's care, (whoſe fidelity, without doubt, was blameleſs, whatever his ſkill was), he ſent the Lord Capel to Shrewſbury, with a commiſſion of "Lieu-"tenant General of Shropſhire, Cheſhire, and North "Wales;" who, being a perſon of great fortune and honour, quickly engaged thoſe parts in a cheerful aſſociation; and raiſed a body of horſe and foot, that gave Sir William Bruerton ſo much trouble at Nantwich, that the garriſon at Cheſter had breath to enlarge its quarters, and to provide for its own ſecurity; though the enemy omitted no opportunity of infeſting them, and gave them as much trouble as was poſſible. It cannot be denied but Sir William Bruerton, and the other gentlemen of that party, albeit their educations and courſe of life had been very different from their preſent engagements, and for the moſt part were very unpromiſing in matters of war, and therefore were too much contemned enemies, executed their commands with notable ſobriety, and indefatigable induſtry, (virtues not ſo well practiſed in the King's quarters), inſomuch as the beſt ſoldiers who encountered with them had no cauſe to deſpiſe them. It is true, they had no other ſtraits and difficulties to ſtruggle with, than what proceeded from their enemy; being always ſupplied with money to pay their ſoldiers, and with arms to arm them; whereby it was in their power not to grieve and oppreſs the people. And thereby (beſides the ſpirit of faction that much governed) the common people were more devoted to them, and gave them all intelligence of what might concern them; whereas they who were entruſted

to

to govern the King's affairs had intolerable difficulties to paſs through; being to raiſe men without money, to arm them without weapons, (that is, they had no magazine to ſupply them), and to keep them together without pay; ſo that the country was both to feed and clothe the ſoldiers; which quickly inclined them to remember only the burden, and forget the quarrel.

The difference in the temper of the common people of both ſides was ſo great, that they who inclined to the Parliament left nothing unperformed that might advance the cauſe; and were incredibly vigilant and induſtrious to croſs and hinder whatſoever might promote the King's: whereas they who wiſhed well to him thought they had performed their duty in doing ſo, and that they had done enough for him, in that they had done nothing againſt him.

Though, by this ſending the Lord Capel, thoſe counties of Shropſhire and Cheſhire, with the aſſiſtance of North Wales, kept thoſe parts ſo near their obedience, that their diſobedience was not yet pernicious to the King, in ſending aſſiſtance to the Earl of Eſſex againſt his Majeſty, or to the Lord Fairfax againſt the Earl of Newcaſtle; yet thoſe counties which lay in the line between Oxford and York were, upon the matter, entirely poſſeſſed by the enemy. The garriſon of Northampton kept that whole county in obedience to the Parliament, ſave that from Banbury the adjacent parts were forced to bring ſome contribution thither. In Warwickſhire the King had no footing; the caſtle of Warwick, the city of Coventry, and his own caſtle of Killingworth, being fortified againſt him. The Lord Grey, ſon to the Earl of Stamford, had the command of Leiceſterſhire, and had put a garriſon into Leiceſter. Derbyſhire, without any viſible party in it for the King, was under

The condition at that time of the counties between Oxford and York.

under the power of Sir John Gell, who had fortified Derby. And all theſe counties, with Staffordſhire, were united in an aſſociation againſt the King under the command of the Lord Brook; who was, by the Earl of Eſſex, made General of that aſſociation; a man cordially diſaffected to the government of the Church, and upon whom that party had a great dependence. This aſſociation received no other interruption from, or for the King, than what Colonel Haſtings gave; who, being a younger ſon to the Earl of Huntingdon, had appeared eminently for the King from the beginning; having raiſed a good troop of horſe with the firſt, and, in the head thereof, charged at Edgehill.

After the King was ſettled at Oxford, Colonel Haſtings, with his own troop of horſe only, and ſome officers which he eaſily gathered together, went with a commiſſion into Leiceſterſhire, of "Colonel General of that "county," and fixed himſelf at Aſhby de la Zouch, the houſe of the Earl of Huntingdon, his father, who was then living; which he preſently fortified; and, in a very ſhort time, by his intereſt there, raiſed ſo good a party of horſe and foot, that he maintained many ſkirmiſhes with the Lord Grey: the King's ſervice being the more advanced there, by the notable animoſities between the two families of Huntingdon and Stamford; between whom the county was divided paſſionately enough, without any other quarrel. And now the ſons fought the public quarrel, with their private ſpirit and indignation. But the King had the advantage in his champion, the Lord Grey being a young man of no eminent parts, and only backed with the credit and authority of the Parliament: whereas Colonel Haſtings, though a younger brother, by his perſonal reputation, had ſupported his family; and, by the intereſt of it, and the

the affection that people bore to him, brought, no doubt, an addition of power to the very cauſe. Inſomuch as he not only defended himſelf againſt the forces of the Parliament in Leiceſterſhire, but diſquieted Sir John Gell in Derbyſhire, and fixed ſome convenient garriſons in Staffordſhire.

About the ſame time, ſome gentlemen of that county, rather well affected than experienced, before they were well enough provided to go through their work, ſeized on the Cloſe in Lichfield for the King; a place naturally ſtrong, and defended with a moat, and a very high and thick wall: which in the infancy of the war was thought a good fortification. To ſuppreſs this growing force, within the limits of his aſſociation, the Lord Brook advanced with a formed body of horſe, foot, and cannon; part drawn from the Earl of Eſſex's army, and the reſt out of the garriſons of Coventry and Warwick; and, without any reſiſtance, entered the city of Lichfield; which, being unfortified, was open to all comers. The number in the Cloſe was not great, nor their proviſions ſuch as ſhould have been, and very well might have been, made; ſo that he made no doubt of being ſpeedily maſter of it; Sir John Gell having brought up a good addition of ſtrength to him from Derby. He was ſo far from apprehending any danger from the beſieged, that himſelf lodged in a houſe within muſket-ſhot of the Cloſe; where, the very day he meant to aſſault it, ſitting in his chamber, and the window open, he was, from the wall of the Cloſe, by a common ſoldier, ſhot with a muſket in the eye; of which he inſtantly died without ſpeaking a word.

The Lord Brook loſes his life in beſieging the caſtle and cloſe of Lichfield, which were ſoon after taken by Sir John Gell.

There were many diſcourſes and obſervations upon his death, that it ſhould be upon St. Chad's day, (being the ſecond day of March), by whoſe name, he being a biſhop

biſhop ſhortly after the planting of Chriſtianity in this iſland, that church had been anciently called. And it was reported, that in his prayer, that very morning, (for he uſed to pray publicly, though his chaplain were in the preſence), he wiſhed, "that, if the cauſe he were in were "not right and juſt, he might be preſently cut off." They who were acquainted with him believed him to be well natured and juſt; and rather ſeduced and corrupted in his underſtanding, than perverſe and malicious. Whether his paſſions or conſcience ſwayed him, he was undoubtedly one of thoſe who could have been with moſt difficulty reconciled to the government of Church or State: and therefore his death was looked upon as no ill omen to peace, and was exceedingly lamented by his party: which had ſcarce a more abſolute confidence in any man than in him. However, it brought not that relief to the beſieged in the Cloſe as was believed it would; for the ſame forces, under Sir John Gell, proceeded ſo vigorouſly in the work, and they within ſo faintly and unſkilfully, that without any of that diſtreſs which men thought it might bear, and which it did, within a ſhort time after, bear againſt the King, the place was yielded without other conditions than of quarter; by which many perſons became priſoners, of too good quality to have their names remembered.

By this prize, the ſpirits of that party were much exalted, and the King's party in thoſe parts as much caſt down. Yet ſome gentlemen betook themſelves to the town of Stafford, and having too much declared for the King, when they thought Lichfield would have been of ſtrength to ſecure them, to hope to live unhurt at their houſes, reſolved to defend that place; againſt which Sir John Gell drew his late fleſhed troops. But the Earl of Northampton (who intended the relief of Lichfield, if they

Stafford garriſoned by ſome gentlemen for the King.

they had had any patience to expect it) with a ſtrong party of horſe and dragoons, from his garriſon of Banbury, came ſeaſonably to their ſuccour, and put himſelf into the town; and, the ſame night, beat up a quarter of the enemy's, in which he killed and took above an hundred of their horſe. Sir John Gell retired ſo far as to meet with Sir William Bruerton, who, from Nantwich, was coming to join with him for the ſubduing of Stafford; and, having done that, reſolved to march in a body for the clearing the other counties. When they were joined, being near three thouſand foot and horſe, with a good train of artillery, they moved back towards Stafford, imagining the Earl of Northampton would meet them without the walls: and it ſo fell out: for the Earl no ſooner heard that the rebels were drawing towards the town, but he drew out his party to encounter them; imagining it could be only Gell, whoſe numbers he underſtood, and whoſe courage he much undervalued.

It was on a Sunday, about the middle of March, when, in the afternoon, he marched out of Stafford; his party conſiſting of horſe, and dragoons, and ſome few foot, the whole number being under one thouſand, and found the enemy, in very good order, expecting them upon a place called Hopton-Heath, ſome two miles from Stafford. Though the number was more than double to the Earl's, yet the heath ſeeming very fair, the breadth of it being more than muſket-ſhot from encloſure on each ſide, and the number of his horſe being at leaſt equal to the other, he reſolved to charge them; and accordingly did, with ſo good ſucceſs, that he totally routed that part of their horſe; and, rallying again his men, he charged the other part of their horſe, which ſtood more in ſhelter of their foot; and ſo totally routed and diſperſed them, that the enemy had ſcarce a

horſe

horſe left upon the field; and took likewiſe from them eight pieces of cannon.

In this ſecond charge, the Earl of Northampton, being engaged on the execution, very near or among their foot, had his horſe killed under him. So that his own horſe (according to their unhappy practice) with too much fury purſuing the chaſe, he was left encompaſſed by his enemies. What his behaviour was afterwards, and their carriage towards him, can be known only by the teſtimony of the rebels; who confeſſed, that, after he was on his feet, he killed with his own hand the Colonel of foot who made firſt haſte to him; and that, after his head-piece was ſtricken off with the butt-end of a muſket, they offered him quarter; which, they ſay, he refuſed; anſwering, "that he ſcorned to take quarter from ſuch baſe rogues and rebels, as they were." After which, he was ſlain by a blow with a halbert on the hinder part of his head, receiving, at the ſame time, another deep wound in his face.

The Earl of Northampton ſlain on Hopton-Heath near Stafford, having firſt vanquiſhed the enemy's horſe that oppoſed him.

All this time the enemy's foot ſtood, which (after their horſe were diſperſed) Sir Thomas Byron, who commanded the Prince of Wales's regiment, a gentleman of great courage, and of very good conduct, charged with good execution. But the night came on apace, and the field, which they thought ſo fair, was found full of coal-pits and holes dangerous for their horſe; ſo that they thought fit to forbear farther action, till they might have the morning's light; and ſtood all that night in the field. When the morning appeared, there was no enemy to be ſeen. For as ſoon as the fight ended, and the night drew on, that they were unperceived, they had left the field, in hope that their ſcattered horſe would find them in quarters more remote from the danger. The victorious party was ſo haraſſed with duty, and tired

tired with the fight, ſo caſt down with the loſs of their General, and ſo deſtitute of officers to direct and command what was next to be done, (for the Lord Compton, the Earl's eldeſt ſon, had received a ſhot in the leg; Sir Thomas Byron a ſhot in the thigh, whereby they were not able to keep the field; and many other officers hurt), that they retired to refreſh themſelves at Stafford, after they had taken the ſpoil of the field, and buried their dead.

In this fight, which was ſharp and ſhort, there were killed, and taken priſoners, of the Parliament party, above two hundred, and more than that number wounded. For, the horſe charging among their foot, more were hurt than killed. Eight pieces of their cannon, and moſt of their ammunition was likewiſe taken. Of the Earl's party were ſlain four and twenty, whereof there were two captains, ſome inferior officers, and of reſt common men: but there were as many hurt, and thoſe of the chief officers. They who had all the ſpoil of victory, but their General, thought themſelves undone; whilſt the other ſide, who had eſcaped in the night, and made a hard ſhift to carry his dead body with them, hardly believed they were loſers:

Et, velut æquali bellatum ſorte ſaiſſet,
Componit cum claſſe virum ———

The truth is, a greater victory had been an unequal recompenſe for ſuch a loſs. He was a perſon of great courage, honour, and fidelity, and not well known till his evening; having, in the eaſe, and plenty, and luxury of that too happy time, indulged to himſelf, with that licenſe which was then thought neceſſary to great fortunes: but from the beginning of theſe diſtractions, as if he had been awakened out of a lethargy, he never

proceeded with a lukewarm temper. Before the ſtandard was ſet up, he appeared in Warwickſhire againſt the Lord Brook, and as much upon his own reputation as the juſtice of the cauſe (which was not ſo well then underſtood) diſcountenanced, and drove him out of that county. Afterwards he took the ordnance from Banbury Caſtle, and brought them to the King. As ſoon as an army was to be raiſed, he levied, with the firſt, upon his own charge, a troop of horſe, and a regiment of foot, and (not like ſome other men, who warily diſtributed their family to both ſides, one ſon to ſerve the King, whilſt his father, or another ſon, engaged as far for the Parliament) entirely dedicated all his children to the quarrel; having four ſons officers under him, whereof three charged that day in the field: and, from the time he ſubmitted himſelf to the profeſſion of a ſoldier, no man more punctual upon command, no man more diligent and vigilant in duty. All diſtreſſes he bore like a common man, and all wants and hardneſſes, as if he had never known plenty or eaſe; moſt prodigal of his perſon to danger; and would often ſay, "that if he out-"lived theſe wars, he was certain never to have ſo noble "a death." So that it is not to be wondered, if, upon ſuch a ſtroke, the body that felt it, thought it had loſt more than a limb.

As ſoon as it was known where the enemy reſted after their retreat, the young Earl of Northampton ſent a trumpet to Sir John Gell, to deſire the body of his father, that he might give it ſuch decent burial as became him. Gell and Bruerton jointly, by letter, demanded, "in "exchange for the dead body, all their ammunition, "priſoners, and cannon, they had loſt at the battle;" which demands being ſo unreaſonable, and againſt the law of arms, the Earl ſent again to them, to deſire, "that

"if

" if they would not return the corpſe, that his chirurgeon " might have leave to embalm it, whereby it might be " preſerved to receive thoſe rites, when they ſhould be " willing to gratify him, which, he preſumed, upon more " diſpaſſionate thoughts, they would be." Their anſwer to this was as unreaſonable as the other; " that they " would neither ſend the body, nor permit his chi- " rurgeons to come to embalm it;" preſuming, it is probable, that the piety of the ſon would have prevailed to have their unheard-of propoſitions complied with.

The ſtate of the prince's power in Wales at that time.

And ſo we ſhall, for the preſent, leave theſe parts, and viſit the principality of Wales; of which, hitherto, very little hath been ſaid; and from the affection whereof, the King had, from the beginning, a very great benefit; it having ſupplied him with three or four good regiments of foot, in which many of their gentry were engaged, before the battle of Edgehill.

It hath been before remembered, that the Marquis of Hertford drew with him out of Wales, and brought to Oxford, about Chriſtmas, near two thouſand men; leaving Wales guarded only with the courage and fidelity of the gentry and inhabitants. After that, North Wales lying moſt convenient to back Cheſter and Shrewſbury, which places, whilſt the enemy was maſter of the field, received their chief ſupplies of men and proviſions from thence; the King always put it under the government of thoſe to whom he committed thoſe parts. South Wales, which is much the larger and richer part of that dominion, he committed to the charge of the Lord Herbert, eldeſt ſon to the Marquis of Worceſter; whom he made his Lieutenant General, adding Monmouthſhire to his commiſſion.

The Lord Herbert, ſon of the earl of Worceſter, made General of South Wales.

There were, in the opinion of many, great objections againſt committing that employment to that noble Lord,

whoſe perſon many men loved, and very few hated. Firſt, he had no knowledge or experience in the martial profeſſion; then his religion, being of that ſort of Catholics the people rendered odious, by accuſing it to be moſt jeſuited, men apprehended would not only produce a greater brand upon the King, of favouring Papiſts and Popery, than he had been yet reproached with; (for, though he had ſome Papiſts entertained in his armies, yet all men truſted by him in ſuperior commands were men of unblemiſhed integrity in the Proteſtant religion; and in all his armies he had but one general officer of the contrary religion, Sir Arthur Aſton, whom the Papiſts notwithſtanding would not acknowledge for a Papiſt); this gave opportunity and excuſe to many perſons of quality, and great intereſt in thoſe counties, (between whom and that lord's family there had been perpetual feuds and animoſities), to leſſen their zeal to the King's cauſe, out of jealouſy of the other's religion; and thoſe conteſtations had been lately improved with ſome ſharpneſs, by the Lord Herbert's carriage towards the Lord Marquis of Hertford, during the time of his reſidence there; when, out of vanity to magnify his own power, he had not ſhewed that due regard to that of the other, which he ſhould have had. And no doubt, if he had been of that mind, it would much more have advanced the King's ſervice, if he would have contributed his full aſſiſtance to another, who more popularly might have borne the title of ſuch a command.

But, on the other ſide, the neceſſity of diſpoſing thoſe parts, divided from the reſt of the kingdom, under the command of ſome perſon of honour and intereſt, was very viſible; and the expedition in doing it was as neceſſary; the Parliament being poſſeſſed of Glouceſter and Briſtol, and ſo having ſuch an influence upon the

trade

trade and livelihood of that people, by their abſolute command of the Severn, that, except there were extraordinary care of keeping them, they would be quickly loſt. Beſides that, at the ſame time, there was diſcourſe, in the Houſes, "of ſending the Earl of Pembroke thi-"ther," whoſe eſtate was very great in thoſe parts, and his reputation equal. The Parliament had already ſuch footing in Pembrokeſhire, that many of the principal gentlemen had declared for them; and the harbour of Milford-Haven gave their fleet opportunity to give them all ſupplies and relief. This being the ſtate of thoſe parts, the Lord Herbert not only offered, but deſired to receive that command; and engaged himſelf, "not only "to ſecure it from the oppoſition and malignity of the "other party, but, before the Spring, to raiſe ſuch a "ſtrength of horſe and foot, and to provide ſuch an "equipage to march with, that might reduce Glouceſter, "and be then added to the King's army, when he ſhould "be ready to take the field; and all this ſo much at his "own charge," (for his father, who was well able, would furniſh money, as was pretended, upon the King's promiſe to repay him, when he ſhould be reſtored to his own), "that he would receive no part of the King's re-"venue, or of ſuch money as his Majeſty could be able "to draw for the ſupply of his own more immediate "occaſions."

This was a very great offer, and ſuch as no man elſe could ſo reaſonably make. For the Marquis of Worceſter was generally reputed the greateſt monied man of the kingdom; and, probably, might not think it an unthrifty thing, rather to diſburſe it for the King, who might be able to repay it, than to have it taken from him by the other party; which would be hardly queſtionable if they prevailed. The Lord Herbert himſelf

ſelf was a man of more than ordinary affection and reverence to the perſon of the King, and one, who, he was ſure, would neither deceive nor betray him. For his religion, it might work upon himſelf, but could not diſquiet other men. For though he were a Papiſt, he was never like to make others ſo; and his reputation and intereſt was very great with many gentlemen of thoſe counties, who were not at all friends to his religion. It was not poſſible to employ any perſon of intereſt and power in thoſe parts, (and there were many objections, from the nature and manners of that people, againſt a mere ſtranger), againſt whom there would not be ſome faction and animoſity; for the emulations, and diſſenſion between families was general, and notorious; and therefore it would be beſt to chooſe ſuch a one, who was like to have a greater faction for him, than againſt him. And it was to be hoped that the old grudges and prejudices, which had been rather againſt the houſe of Worceſter, and the Popiſh religion profeſſed there, than againſt the perſon of this lord, would have been compoſed and declined by his fair and gentle carriage towards all men, (as in truth he was of a civil and obliging nature), and by the public-heartedneſs of thoſe, who, for the cauſe, and conſcience ſake, would, it was hoped, ſacrifice all trivial and private contentions to a union that muſt vindicate the religion, honour, and juſtice of the kingdom.

Upon theſe reaſons, and theſe preſumptions, the King granted ſuch a commiſſion, as is before mentioned, to the Lord Herbert; who, with more expedition than was expected by many, or by others believed poſſible, raiſed a body of above fifteen hundred foot, and near five hundred horſe, very well and ſufficiently armed; which increaſed the merit of the ſervice.

The Lord Herbert raiſes a little army.

The

The horſe he put under the command of his brother, the Lord John Somerſet, a maiden ſoldier too; and the foot under Colonel Lawly, whom he made his Major General, a bold and a ſprightly officer. About the middle of February he marched towards Glouceſter, with an ill omen at his ſetting out; for a rabble of the country people being got together, without order, or officer of name, barricadoed a little village in the foreſt of Deane, called Cover, (through which he was to paſs), and refuſed to give him entrance; and out of a window killed Colonel Lawly, and two officers more, without hurting a common ſoldier; whereby that body was deſtitute of any perſon of experience to command them. However the Lord Herbert, who was himſelf ſeldom with his forces, ſhortly after placed Colonel Brett in that command; who, without any ſkirmiſh of importance, marched through the foreſt of Deane, and fixed a quarter, which contained his whole body, at the Vineyard, the Biſhop of Glouceſter's palace, within leſs than half a mile of Glouceſter. And by that means, there being only a long bridge over the Severn, by which men could come out or go in to Glouceſter, he fully blocked up the town on that ſide, expecting that Prince Maurice from Cirenceſter ſhould take equal care to diſtreſs it on the other; which he did to a good degree.

But Sir William Waller, with a light party of horſe, and dragoons, near two thouſand, from the Earl of Eſſex's army, had made a quick march through Wiltſhire, (after his taking of Chicheſter), and taking, with little loſs and trouble, a ſmall garriſon of the King's, conſiſting of about ſix or ſeven ſcore, at Malmſbury, before it was fortified, or provided, made a face of looking towards Cirenceſter; where when he found he was expected, by a ſudden night march, in which he was very

dexterous and ſucceſsful, he poſted to the river of Severn, ſix miles weſt of Glouceſter, from whence he had appointed many flat boats to meet him; and in them, in the light day, the guard of the river being either treacherouſly or ſottiſhly neglected by the Lord Herbert's forces, tranſported his whole body, which, upon the advantage of that paſs, might have been reſiſted by a few men. Hereupon the conſternation was ſo great among the new Welſh ſoldiers, very few of their officers having ever ſeen an enemy, that though their works were too good to be entered by horſe and dragoons; though the avenues were but narrow, in all which they had cannon planted, and their numbers very near, if not fully, equal to the enemy; upon the advance of Sir William Waller upon them, without giving or receiving blow, they fairly ſent out to treat; and as kindly delivered up themſelves, and their arms, upon the ſingle grant of quarter: a ſubmiſſion ſo like a ſtratagem, that the enemy could hardly truſt it. Yet, in the end, they made a ſhift to put near thirteen hundred foot, and three troops of horſe, priſoners into Glouceſter, the Lord Herbert himſelf being at that time at Oxford, and the Lord John Somerſet with three or four troops at a ſafe diſtance from the reſt.

Is ſurprized by Sir William Waller, and routed

This was the end of that muſhroom-army, which grew up and periſhed ſo ſoon, that the loſs of it was ſcarce apprehended at Oxford, becauſe the ſtrength, or rather the number, was not underſtood. But if the money, which was laid out in raiſing, arming, and paying that body of men, which never advanced the King's ſervice in the leaſt degree, had been brought into the King's receipt at Oxford, to have been employed to the moſt advantage, I am perſuaded the war might have been ended the next Summer. For I have heard the Lord Herbert ſay, "that thoſe preparations, and the other,

"which

"which by that defeat were rendered uſeleſs, coſt above "threeſcore thouſand pounds;" whereof, though much came from the Marquis's coffers, yet, no doubt, the general contributions from the Catholics made a good part: and very conſiderable ſums were received by him of the King's revenue upon wardſhips, and other ways: for it was a common practice in thoſe times, for men to get into employments upon promiſes, that they would not do this or that, without which nobody elſe would undertake that ſervice; and being, upon thoſe terms, received into it, they immediately did the other, becauſe no other man would do the ſervice without it.

The fame of this prodigious victory ſo ſubdued all thoſe parts, that Sir William Waller, with the ſame ſpirit of celerity, and attended with the ſame ſucceſs, flew to Hereford; and, though a walled town, and repleniſhed with a garriſon, had that likewiſe delivered to him upon the ſame terms as the other was; and from thence (being with more confidence refuſed to be admitted into Worceſter, than he thought reaſonable to require it) paſſed to Tewkeſbury; which he likewiſe ſurpriſed, being newly garriſoned; his motion being ſo quick, that though Prince Maurice attended him with all poſſible diligence, he could never farther engage him than in light ſkirmiſhes; and, having taken this progreſs, returned ſafe to Glouceſter; and from thence to the Earl of Eſſex's army; having made no other uſe of his conqueſts, than the diſhonouring ſo many places, which had ſo quietly yielded to him; into which (for he fixed no one garriſon) the King's forces immediately entered again. So that his Majeſty's quarters continued the ſame they were, haraſſed only, and diſcountenanced, nothing ſtraitened by this incurſion; and the Lord Herbert again intended new levies.

Sir Will. Waller takes Hereford and Tewkeſbury; both which he prudently left.

Having

The ſtate of Ireland at that time with reference to the difference between the King and the two Houſes here.

Having now, with as much clearneſs as I could, remembered the true ſtate of the King's affairs, and the condition of the kingdom, at the end of this year 1642, with which I intend to conclude this ſixth Book; I ſhall, before I return to Oxford, to conclude the year, briefly call to remembrance the diſconſolate ſtate of Ireland; of which, advantage was always taken againſt the King, to render him odious to the people, as if he countenanced, at leaſt not ſufficiently abhorred, that wicked and unnatural rebellion. And this imputation was with ſo great art inſinuated, that it got credit with many; inſomuch as I have heard ſome, who could make no other excuſe for adhering to the Parliament, ſay, "they were perſuaded that the King favoured thoſe rebels;" which, they ſaid, "could not be without ſome deſign upon the "religion, liberty, and proſperity of England." Whereas I can aver truly, upon as good grounds as ever any man ſpoke the heart of another, that the King always looked upon it, as the moſt groundleſs, bloody, and wicked rebellion, that ever poſſeſſed the ſpirits of that people; and was not more grieved at any one circumſtance of the domeſtic diſtractions, than as it hindered him from chaſtiſing and taking vengeance upon the other: which from his ſoul he deſired.

But in this diſcourſe of Ireland, it cannot be expected, that I ſhould, neither do I intend to mention all the memorable actions, (in which were great inſtances of God's own deteſtation of thoſe inhuman rebels, by the ſignal victories he gave againſt them), or the other tranſactions within that kingdom; but ſhall remember no more of that buſineſs, than had immediate reference to, and dependence on, the difference between the King and the two Houſes of Parliament.

It is ſaid before, that when the firſt viſible rupture was declared

declared between them, which was in the buſineſs of Hull, (which the King underſtood to be a direct levying of war againſt him), in the proteſtation made by his Majeſty, "that he would no farther treat or concur with "them in any acts propoſed by them, till he firſt re- "ceived reparation or ſatisfaction in that particular;" he always excepted what ſhould any way concern Ireland: in which he offered to conſent to whatſoever might reaſonably conduce to the reducing thoſe rebels; and did, after that, concur in ſome propoſitions of that nature. Yet it is certain that, from that time, the two Houſes were ſo buſy in preparing the war for England, that they did very little prepare for the war of Ireland; ſave only by ſome ſmall ſupplies of money and proviſions. The King objected to them, "the employing the moneys, "raiſed, by act of Parliament, for the preſervation and "reduction of Ireland, with a ſpecial clauſe that the ſame "ſhould not be diverted to any other uſe whatſoever, in "the ſupporting the unnatural war and rebellion againſt "his Majeſty; particularly one hundred thouſand pounds "at one time; and that many ſoldiers, raiſed under pre- "tence of being ſent into Ireland, were, contrary to their "expectation and engagement, forced to ſerve under the "Earl of Eſſex againſt the King;" of which he named Sir Faithful Forteſcue's regiment of horſe, and the Lord Wharton's and the Lord Kerry's regiment of foot.

To this they anſwered, "that albeit they had, upon "the urgent occaſions of this kingdom, ſometimes made "uſe of moneys raiſed and collected for Ireland; yet "that they had in due time repaid it, and that the other "affairs had never ſuffered by the loan: and for the "men, that it proceeded from his Majeſty's own default; "for after they had raiſed them, with a ſerious intention "to ſend them into Ireland, under the command of the

"Lord

" Lord Wharton, the King refuſed to grant a commiſſion " to him to tranſport them, and ſo they had been com- " pelled to uſe them in their own ſervice here."

The King replied, " that it appeared, they had di- " verted that money to other uſes than thoſe for which " it was provided; which was manifeſtly unlawful; and " that it did not appear they had again reimburſed it, " becauſe very little ſupply was ſent thither, and very " much wanted: and for the ſoldiers, that they firſt levied " them, without his Majeſty's leave; which they had " always before aſked, for their other levies; and being " levied, they deſired a commiſſion for the Lord Whar- " ton to command them abſolutely, without any depen- " dence upon the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; which " had been never heard of, and which his Majeſty re- " fuſed; but offered ſuch a commiſſion as was granted " to other men."

On the other hand, they objected to the King, " the " ſeizing ſome cart-horſes at Cheſter, provided for the " train of artillery for Ireland; that his forces had taken " many clothes and proviſions on the road, which were " going to Cheſter to be tranſported thither for the re- " lief of the ſoldiers; and that he entertained and coun- " tenanced men in his court, which were favourers or " actors in that rebellion:" naming the Lord Viſcount Coſteloe, and the Lord Taffe, which gave great umbrage to thoſe who were well affected, and as great encouragement to the rebels there.

To the firſt, the King confeſſed, " he found about " ſix ſcore horſes at Cheſter, which had long lain there; " and, at his remove from Nottingham, knowing the " other horſe and men raiſed for Ireland were then " marching with the Earl of Eſſex againſt him, he " knew not but theſe likewiſe might be ſo employed,

" and

" and therefore in his own neceſſity took them for his " own draughts. For the clothes, which had been " taken by his ſoldiers, that it proceeded by the default " of the Parliament: who, after the war was begun, had " ſent thoſe carriages through his quarters, without " ſending to his Majeſty for a ſafe conduct, or giving " any notice to him of it, till after they were taken: " that it was within two miles of Coventry (which " was then in rebellion) that thoſe clothes were taken; " and that, as ſoon as he knew they were deſigned for " Ireland, his Majeſty had uſed the beſt means he could " to recover them; but that the ſoldiers, who were " almoſt naked, had divided them for their own ſupplies; " and his Majeſty offered to give a ſafe conduct at all " times for whatſoever ſhould be deſigned for Ireland."

The occaſion of the other reproach, " for counte- " nancing perſons who adhered to the rebels," was this. The Lords Dillon (Viſcount Coſteloe) and Taffe had, four months before, paſſed out of Ireland into England, having never been in conſort with the rebels, but ſo much truſted by them, that they deſired, by their hands, to addreſs a petition to the King; humble enough, deſiring, " only to be heard, and offering to ſubmit to his " Majeſty's ſingle judgment." With this petition, and all other inſtructions, as they pretended, theſe Lords acquainted the Lords Juſtices and Council of Ireland; who were ſo well ſatisfied with the perſons employed, that they granted their ſafe paſs, and ſent letters by them of teſtimony. They were no ſooner landed in England, but they were apprehended, and ſent priſoners to the Parliament, and by them committed with all ſtrictneſs, " as agents employed by the rebels of Ireland to the " King;" and that circumſtance enforced, and ſpread among the people, with all licentious gloſſes againſt the King;

King; who, for that reaſon, took no notice of their reſtraint, though from his miniſters he received advertiſement of the truth of the whole buſineſs. After ſome time was ſpent in cloſe impriſonment, theſe Lords, by petition, and all other addreſſes they could make, preſſed to be brought to any kind of examination and trial; of which they found no other benefit, than that, upon this importunity, their impriſonment was leſs cloſe; and, by degrees, under a formal reſtraint, (which, though more pleaſant, was not leſs coſtly), had the liberty of London, and from thence, after four months reſtraint, without being formally charged with any crime, or brought to any trial, which they often deſired, they eſcaped, and came to York; whither a meſſenger from the Houſe of Commons followed them, and demanded them as priſoners.

Many were of opinion, that they ſhould have been delivered back; foreſeeing that the Parliament would preſs the ſcandal of ſheltering them much to the King's diſadvantage; and any imputations, "of countenancing "the rebels of Ireland," found more credit, and made deeper impreſſion with the people, than any other diſcourſes of "protecting Malignants and Delinquents." On the other ſide, it was thought unreaſonable to remit men to an impriſonment, which appeared to have been unjuſt, by their not being proceeded againſt in ſo long time; eſpecially when their coming to the King would be declared ſuch a crime, that it would be now in their enemies' power to cauſe them to be puniſhed; which before they could not do; at beſt, it were to deliver them up to the Serjeant of the Houſe of Commons, from whence no innocence could redeem them, without paying ſuch vaſt fees, as would amount to a greater ſum than they could probably be ſupplied with. So that

the

the King, who wiſhed that they had rather gone any whither than where he was, reſolved to take no notice of their eſcape. And ſo they continued in his quarters, and put themſelves into the troops; where they behaved themſelves with good courage, and frankly engaged their perſons in all dangerous enterprizes.

In theſe jealouſies and conteſts, the King being viſibly and confeſſedly unable to ſend ſuccours of any kind thither, and the Parliament having enough elſe to do, and, in truth, not taking ſo much pains to preſerve it, as to impute the loſs of it to the King, poor Ireland got very ſmall relief. The Earl of Leiceſter, Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom, had received his diſpatch from the King, before he went to Shrewſbury. But when the King thought he would have gone directly to Cheſter, and ſo to Ireland, his Lordſhip returned to London; which increaſed the King's jealouſy and prejudice to him; which his former carriage, and a letter writ lately by him from Nottingham to the Earl of Northumberland, and by order of Parliament printed, had begot to a great degree. Shortly after his return to London, the Houſe of Commons demanded "to ſee the inſtructions "he had received from the King;" which, as it was unreaſonable in them, ſo he had received expreſs command from the King, "not to communicate them." However, after he had avoided it as long as he could, and they continued peremptory in the demand, in the end, he produced them to be peruſed by the committee of both Houſes. The truth is, the Earl's condition was very ſlippery, and almoſt impoſſible to be ſafely managed by the moſt dexterous perſon.

He was deſigned to that employment by the King, ſhortly upon the death of the Earl of Strafford, (or rather before; not without ſome advice from that Earl), with

with as great circumſtances of grace and favour, as could be; and as a perſon, of whom entirely the King aſſured himſelf, being then ſo ungracious to the Parliament, that as there were ſome ſharp glances at him in that time, (which are before remembered), ſo nothing preſerved him from a public exception, but the intereſt of the Earl of Northumberland, whoſe ſiſter he had married; whom that party was not willing to irreconcile. After the rebellion was broke out in Ireland, and the King had committed the carrying on the war to the Houſes, he thought it abſolutely neceſſary for his province, to render himſelf as gracious to that people as was poſſible; and laboured that with ſo good effect and induſtry, that he omitted that care which ſhould have been obſerved in continuing his intereſt at Court. For the King and Queen grew every day leſs ſatisfied with him; which ſure he did not with warineſs enough provide againſt; though, I believe, he had never unfaithful purpoſes towards either of them; but did ſadly project, by his demeanor and intereſt in the Houſes, to provide ſo well for Ireland, and to go thither in ſo good a condition, that, being once there, he might be able to ſerve the King as he ſhould be required.

But one man is rarely able to act both thoſe parts: for his ſhewing his inſtructions, he gave a reaſon, which, if he had been free from all other objections, might appear no ill excuſe: "He knew his inſtructions were ſuch, that, "being peruſed by the committee, could by no miſ- "conſtruction, or poſſible perverſion, be wreſted to the "King's diſadvantage;" as indeed they never were able, nor ever attempted, to fix any reproach from them upon the King. "Whereas, after they were ſo peremptorily "required, if he ſhould have as peremptorily refuſed to "ſubmit, they would have concluded that there had "been

" been ſomewhat unjuſtifiable in them, and upon that " jealouſy made no ſcruple of publiſhing the worſt re- " proaches upon his Majeſty." And it may be, he was not without an imagination, that if by this conteſt he had drawn the diſpleaſure of the two Houſes upon him, as could not be avoided, his misfortune at court might have ſuffered that conteſt to have depreſſed him. And when he left the King between Nottingham and Shrewſbury, his condition was ſo low at court, that a man might have imagined his intereſt would be beſt preſerved by being within the verge of the Parliament's protection. As his return to London was beſides the King's expectation, ſo his ſtay there was longer than ſeemed to be intended by his own propoſal; for he ſtaid there above two months, till after the battle of Edgehill, and both parties being fixed in their winter quarters; and then, without waiting again on the King, though Oxford was very few miles out of his way, about the end of November, he went to Cheſter, with a purpoſe of tranſporting himſelf for Ireland, but without the leaſt appearance of addition of ſtrength, or proviſions from the Parliament; neither were their ſhips there ready to tranſport him.

About the end of November, four officers of the army in Ireland, Sir James Montgomery, Sir Hardreſs Waller, Colonel Arthur Hill, and Colonel Audly Mervin, having been employed from Ireland to ſolicit the Parliament for ſuccours, came from London to Oxford, and delivered a petition to the King; in which they told him, " that they had addreſſed themſelves to the Parlia- " ment for ſupplies, whoſe ſenſe of their miſeries, and " inclination to redreſs them, appeared very tender to " them; but the preſent diſtempers of the kingdom of " England were grown ſo great, that all future paſſages,

" by which comfort and life ſhould be conveyed to that " gaſping kingdom, ſeemed totally to be obſtructed; ſo " that, unleſs his Majeſty, out of his ſingular wiſdom " and fatherly care, applied ſome ſpeedy remedy, his " loyal and diſtreſſed ſubjects of that kingdom muſt " inevitably periſh. They acknowledged his princely " favour and goodneſs ſince this rebellion, ſo abundantly " expreſſed in a deep ſenſe and lively reſentment of " their bleeding condition; and therefore they beſought " him, among his other weighty cares, ſo to reflect " upon the bleeding condition of that periſhing king- " dom, that timely relief might be afforded. Otherwiſe " his loyal ſubjects there muſt yield their fortunes, as a " prey; their lives, a ſacrifice; and their religion, a ſcorn " to the mercileſs rebels, powerfully aſſiſted from abroad."

And indeed the condition of the Proteſtants, in that kingdom, was very miſerable: for, whilſt the diſtractions of England kept them from receiving ſuccours from thence, the rebels had arms, ammunition, money, and commanders, from Rome, Spain, and France; the Pope having ſent a formal avowed Nuncio, to whoſe juriſdiction the Iriſh ſubmitted; and the Kings of France and Spain having ſent great ſupplies, and their agents, to countenance and foment the rebellion; who gave notable countenance to the aſſembly and formed council for the rebels, ſettled at Kilkenny.

The King, who well knew this petition was ſent by the permiſſion of thoſe at Weſtminſter, and that the agents employed were men of notorious diſaffection to him, who looked for ſome ſuch anſwer as might improve the envy of the people, uſed the meſſengers with all poſſible grace, and returned them as gracious an anſwer: " That, from the beginning of that monſtrous rebellion, " he had had no greater ſorrow, than for the bleeding " con-

" condition of that his kingdom. That he had, by all " means, laboured, that timely relief might be afforded " to it, and conſented to all propoſitions, how diſadvan- " tageous ſoever to himſelf, that had been offered to " him to that purpoſe; and, not only at firſt recom- " mended their condition to both his Houſes of Parlia- " ment, and immediately, of his own mere motion, ſent " over ſeveral commiſſions, and cauſed ſome proportion " of arms and ammunition (which the petitioners well " knew to have been a great ſupport to the northern " parts of that kingdom) to be conveyed to them out " of Scotland, and offered ten thouſand volunteers to " undertake that war; but had often preſſed, by many " ſeveral meſſages, that ſufficient ſuccours might be " haſtened thither, and other matters of ſmaller impor- " tance laid by, which did divert it; and offered, and " moſt really intended, in his own royal perſon, to have " undergone the danger of that war, for the defence of " his good ſubjects, and the chaſtiſement of thoſe per- " fidious and barbarous rebels; and in his ſeveral ex- " preſſions of his deſires of treaty and peace, he had de- " clared the miſerable preſent condition and certain fu- " ture loſs of Ireland, to be one of the principal motives " moſt earneſtly to deſire, that the preſent diſtractions " of this kingdom might be compoſed, and that others " would concur with him to the ſame end."

He told them, " He was well pleaſed, that his offers, " concurrence, actions, and expreſſions, were ſo rightly " underſtood by the petitioners, and thoſe who had em- " ployed them, (notwithſtanding the groundleſs and hor- " rid aſperſions which had been caſt upon him); but he " wiſhed, that, inſtead of a mere general complaint, to " which his Majeſty could make no return but of compaſ- " ſion, they could have digeſted, and offered to him any

" ſuch deſires, by conſenting to which, he might convey, " at leaſt in ſome degree, comfort and life to that gaſping " kingdom; preſerve his diſtreſſed and loyal ſubjects " of the ſame from inevitably periſhing, and the true " Proteſtant religion from being ſcorned and trampled " on by thoſe mercileſs rebels. And, if the petitioners " could yet think of any ſuch, and propoſe them to his " Majeſty, he aſſured them, that by his readineſs to " conſent, and his thanks to them for the propoſal, he " would make it appear to them, that their moſt preſſing " perſonal ſufferings could not make them more de- " ſirous of relief, than his care of the true religion, and " of his faithful ſubjects, and of his duty, which obliged " him, to his power, to protect both, rendered him de- " ſirous to afford it to them."

The King being fully informed now, as well by this committee, as from his miniſters of ſtate in that kingdom, of the growing power of the rebels in Ireland, and of the weak reſiſtance his good ſubjects were like to make, whoſe only hopes depended upon thoſe ſuccours which they preſumed the Lord Lieutenant would bring over with him, and that he was now going thither without the leaſt addition of ſtrength, or probable aſſurance that any would be ſent after him; his Majeſty conſidered likewiſe, that, beſides the damp this naked arrival of the Lord Lieutenant there muſt caſt upon the minds of all, it would make likewiſe a great alteration in the conduct of affairs there. For, upon his landing, the commiſſion to the Earl of Ormond, of Lieutenant General of the army, would be determined; and there had thoſe jealouſies and diſreſpects paſſed between the Earl of Leiceſter and him, that the Earl of Ormond was reſolved, no more to continue that command, but immediately to tranſport himſelf out of that kingdom; by which the King

King ſhould loſe the ſervice of a perſon much the moſt powerful, moſt able, and moſt popular within that kingdom; and who had, with wonderful courage and conduct, and almoſt miraculous ſucceſs, hitherto reſtrained the rage and fury of the rebels, and indeed a man ſo accompliſhed, that he had either no enemies, or ſuch who were aſhamed to profeſs they were ſo.

Upon theſe conſiderations, the King thought fit, for ſome time, till he might farther weigh the whole buſineſs, to ſuſpend the Earl of Leiceſter's journey: and therefore ſent to him to Cheſter (where he had lain, in ſome indiſpoſition of health, above a fortnight; and the ſhips being not yet come for his tranſportation) "to attend "his Majeſty at Oxford;" which he did ſhortly after Chriſtmas, and continued there; the King directing the Earl of Ormond (whom about this time he made a Marquis) "to carry on the war as he had done; and, during "the abſence of the Lord Lieutenant, to diſpoſe of all "places and offices in the army which became void." His Majeſty likewiſe at this time made an alteration in the civil power; for whereas Sir William Parſons and Sir John Burlacy had continued Lords Juſtices from and before the death of the Earl of Strafford, the King finding that Sir William Parſons (who was a man of long experience in that kingdom, and confeſſed abilities, but always of ſuſpected reputation) did him all imaginable diſſervice, and combined with the Parliament in England, removed him from that truſt; and, in his room, deputed Sir Harry Tichborne, a man of ſo excellent a fame, that though the Parliament was heartily angry at the remove of the other, and knew this would never be brought to ſerve their turn, they could not faſten any reproach upon the King for this alteration.

Another circumſtance muſt not be forgotten. After

the war broke out in England, the Parliament had ſent over two of their members of the Commons (Mr. Rãynolds and Mr. Goodwyn) as a committee into Ireland, to reſide at Dublin, and had given directions to the Lords Juſtices, "that they ſhould have leave to be "preſent at their conſultations;" which they had; and were no other than ſpies upon thoſe, who ſhould preſume to deliver any opinions there not agreeable to the ſenſe of the Houſes. When the King made that alteration in the government, he likewiſe took notice, that ſtrangers were admitted to be preſent at their debates, which had never been before practiſed; and therefore required them, "that it might be ſo no more." Hereupon, the committee, who had carried themſelves very inſolently and ſeditiouſly there, and with notable contempt of the King, and his authority, were, by the Lords Juſtices and Council, inhibited from being preſent at the Council; and thereupon they quickly left the kingdom, and returned to London; the Parliament unreaſonably accuſing the King of a new breach of privilege, for this diſreſpect to their members. This was the ſtate of Ireland, the war being that Spring proſperouſly carried on by the Marquis of Ormond, and the Earl of Leiceſter ſtill ſtaying at Oxford with the title of Lord Lieutenant. And ſo we will return to Oxford and London.

Many days being paſt ſince the return of the committee of Lords and Commons from Oxford, with the King's anſwer to their propoſitions, and no reply being made by the Houſes, or indeed any ſolemn debate entered thereupon, (for his Majeſty had every day information of what paſſed among them, even in their moſt ſecret councils), and, on the contrary, preparations more vigorouſly intended for the war, than had been before, in ſending out ſtrong parties to infeſt the King's quarters,

quarters, (for, beſides the incurſions and progreſs of Sir William Waller, which are before remembered, Mr. Hambden had made ſome attempts upon the Brill, a garriſon of the King's upon the edge of Buckinghamſhire, but without effect, and with ſome conſiderable loſs), in levying great numbers of men, for the recruiting the Earl of Eſſex's army; and deſigning new extraordinary ways for the raiſing of money, and aſſociating ſeveral counties of the kingdom, towards the raiſing new armies: the King, as well to have the conveniency of ſending to London, (of which journeys he made good uſe), as to quicken and neceſſitate them to ſome reply, ſent another meſſage to them, putting them in mind of "the pro- The King puts the two Houſes in mind of his pro- poſition for a ceſſation of arms. poſition he had made for a ceſſation of arms;" and deſired, "if they approved of a ceſſation, that the day "upon which they thought fit it ſhould begin, and ſuch "particulars, limits, and conditions of it, as were neceſ- "ſary to be underſtood, and agreed on, before the ceſ- "ſation itſelf could actually begin, might be propoſed "by them. Since," his Majeſty ſaid, "he ſuppoſed, "by the preſent great preparations of ſeveral forces to "march ſeveral ways, that, till all that ſhould be agreed "upon, they did not conceive themſelves obliged to an "actual ceſſation; ſo neither, till then, did his Majeſty "conceive himſelf obliged to it: however, he wiſhed it "might be clearly underſtood between them, that no "ſuch imputations, as had been formerly, might be laid "upon him, upon occaſion of any thing that might "intervene."

This meſſage put a neceſſity upon them, of entering again upon the argument, and gave them, who deſired peace and accommodation, an opportunity to preſs for the debate, which had been craftily laid aſide for the diſpatch of other matters; that party, which was moſt deeply

engaged in the war, and reſolved to carry it on, having a notable dexterity in keeping thoſe things from being debated, in which they found their ſenſe would not prevail. And at this time, the number of thoſe in both Houſes, who really deſired the ſame peace the King did, was (if they had not been overwitted by them) ſuperior to the other. For, beſides that many perſons, who from the beginning had always diſſented from them, for their eaſe and conveniency had ſtaid among them, very many were convinced in their underſtandings, that they had been miſled; and diſcerned, in what a bottomleſs gulph of miſery the kingdom would be plunged, if an immediate compoſure were not made; and ſome of thoſe who had been as fierce as any, and given as great countenance to the kindling the fire, either out of conſcience that they had done amiſs, or fear that the King would prevail by power, or anger that they found other men valued above them; in their preſent diſtraction, or their natural inconſtancy even in ill, were moſt ſolicitous for a treaty. So that, within few days after the receipt of this meſſage, both Houſes agreed, "that there ſhould be "a treaty, in which ſo much of the King's propoſitions "as concerned the magazines, forts, and ſhips, and the "propoſition of both Houſes for the diſbanding the "armies, ſhould be firſt treated on, and concluded, before "the proceeding to treat upon any of the other pro-"poſitions; and that the treaty ſhould begin the fourth "of March, or ſooner if it might be; and that, from "the beginning, the time ſhould not exceed twenty "days."

Both Houſes agree there ſhould be a treaty; and they ſend for a ſafe conduct.

The perſons they made choice of to treat, were the Earl of Northumberland, the Lord Say, Mr. Pierrepoint, Sir William Armyn, Sir John Holland, and Mr. Whitlock, for whoſe ſafe conduct they diſpatched a meſſenger to his

his Majeſty; this reſolution being taken but the laſt day of February. As ſoon as the requeſt was preſented, the King returned a ſafe conduct for the Earl of Northumberland and the four commoners; but refuſed to admit the Lord Say to his preſence, upon the ſame exception he had formerly refuſed Sir John Evelyn at Colebrook; his Lordſhip being perſonally excepted from pardon by a former proclamation; but ſignified, "that if they "would employ any other perſon not within the ſame "rule, he ſhould as freely come as if he were in the ſafe "conduct." The King grants it to all they name but the Lord Say.

Whether the Lord Say was nominated by thoſe who believed they ſhould be able, upon the refuſal of him, (which they could not but foreſee), to break off all overtures of farther treaty; or whether they believed, they had ſo far prevailed by underhand negociations at Oxford, that he ſhould be admitted, and that he would have been able to perſuade the King to yield to what they propoſed, or at leaſt to have engaged the King to thoſe who would have yielded to him, I know not; but as it was not ſo inſiſted on at Weſtminſter as to break the treaty, ſo many were of opinion at Oxford, that the King ſhould have admitted him. They ſaid, "he was a wiſe man, and "could not but know, that it would not be poſſible for "him to make any impreſſion upon his Majeſty's judge-"ment in the propoſitions in debate; and therefore, "that he would never have ſuffered himſelf to be deſigned "to that negotiation, (which, without doubt, by his in-"tereſt in both Houſes he might have prevented), if he "did not purpoſe to do ſome ſignal ſervice to his Ma-"jeſty." And indeed many believed, "that if he had "come, and found the King's goodneſs inclined to par-"don and truſt him, that he would have done the beſt "he could, to redeem his former breaches." Others

were

were of opinion, "that he was ſo far from being inclined "to ſerve the King, or advance the treaty, that they "would have ſent him as a ſpy, leſt others ſhould;" and theſe were the thoughts both at Oxford and London. But the King, who knew the Lord Say as well as any of them, believed, that it was not in his power to do any good, and if it had, that it was not in his will; was reſolved not to break his rule, leſt ſuch a remiſſion might give advantage againſt him in the future: and ſo ſent the anſwer above remembered. Together with this deſire of a ſafe conduct, they ſent his Majeſty word, "that "they had likewiſe conſented, that there ſhould be a "ceſſation of arms on either ſide, under the reſtrictions "and limitations hereafter following.

The two Houſes ſend their terms for a ceſſation.

1. "That all manner of arms, ammunition, victuals, "money, bullion, and all other commodities, paſſing "without ſuch a ſafe conduct as may warrant their "paſſage, may be ſtayed and ſeized on, as if no ceſſation "was agreed on.

2. "That all manner of perſons, paſſing without ſuch "a ſafe conduct as is mentioned in the article next going "before, ſhall be apprehended, and detained, as if no "ſuch ceſſation were agreed on at all.

3. "That his Majeſty's forces in Oxfordſhire ſhould "advance no nearer to Windſor than Wheatley, and in "Buckinghamſhire no nearer to Ayleſbury than Brill; "and that, in Berkſhire, the forces reſpectively ſhall "not advance nearer the one to the other, than now they "are: and that the Parliament forces in Oxfordſhire "ſhall advance no nearer to Oxford than Henley, and "thoſe in Buckinghamſhire no nearer to Oxford than "Ayleſbury: and that his Majeſty's forces ſhall take "no new quarters, above twelve miles from Oxford, any "way; and the Parliament forces ſhall take no new "quarters,

" quarters, above twelve miles from Windſor, any " way.

4. " That no ſiege ſhall be begun or continued againſt " Glouceſter; and that his Majeſty's forces, now em- " ployed in the ſiege, ſhall return to Cirenceſter and " Malmſbury, or to Oxford, as ſhall be moſt for their " convenience; and the Parliament forces, which are in " Glouceſterſhire, ſhall remain in the cities of Glouceſter, " Briſtol, and the caſtle and town of Berkly, or retire " nearer to Windſor, as they ſhall ſee cauſe: and that " thoſe of Wales, which are drawn to Glouceſter, ſhall " return to their quarters where they were before they " drew down to Glouceſterſhire.

5. " That, in caſe it be pretended on either ſide, that " the ceſſation is violated, no act of hoſtility is immedi- " ately to follow, but firſt the party complaining is to " acquaint the Lord General on the other ſide, and to " allow three days, after notice, for ſatisfaction; and in " caſe ſatisfaction be not given, or accepted, then five " days notice to be given, before hoſtility begin, and the " like to be obſerved in the remoter armies, by the com- " manders in chief.

6. " Laſtly, that all other forces, in the kingdom of " England, and dominion of Wales, not before mention- " ed, ſhall remain in the ſame quarters, and places, as " they are at the time of publiſhing this ceſſation, and " under the ſame conditions as are mentioned in the " articles before. And that this ceſſation ſhall not ex- " tend, to reſtrain the ſetting forth or employing of any " ſhips, for the defence of his Majeſty's dominions."

All which they deſired " his Majeſty would be pleaſed " to ratify and confirm; and that this ceſſation might " begin upon the fourth of March next, or ſooner if it " might be; and continue until the five and twentieth

" of

" of the ſame month; and in the mean time to be pub-
" liſhed on either ſide; and that the treaty might like-
" wiſe commence upon the ſame day; and the con-
" tinuance thereof not to exceed twenty days."

Theſe propoſitions were delivered to his Majeſty on the firſt of March, which was almoſt a month after the ceſſation had been propoſed by him, (for his propoſitions were made on the third of February), which adminiſtered cauſe of doubt, that the overture was not ſincere; ſince it was hardly poſſible, that the ceſſation could begin ſo ſoon as the fourth, by which time, though the King ſhould conſent to the terms propoſed, upon ſight, his anſwer could very hardly be returned to them. But the articles themſelves were ſuch as occaſioned much debate, and difference of opinion, among thoſe who deſired the ſame thing. The King, after the examination of them with his Privy Council, and at a council of war, made a committee out of each, to conſider the inconvenience his conſent to them might produce to his party, if that ceſſation and treaty did not produce a peace; and the inequality in them, if the overture paſſed from an equal enemy according to the rules of war. Some were of opinion, " that the ceſſation ſhould be conſented to by
" the King, upon the articles propoſed, though they
" ſhould be thought unequal, not only becauſe it would
" be an act of great grace and compaſſion to the people,
" to give them ſome reſpite, and taſte of peace, and the
" not conſenting to it (the reaſon not being ſo eaſy to be
" underſtood) would be as impopular and ungracious;
" but that, they believed, it would at leaſt caſt the peo-
" ple into ſuch a ſlumber, that much of their fury and
" madneſs would be abated; and that they would not
" be eaſily induced to part with the eaſe they felt, and
" would look upon that party as an enemy, that robbed
" them

"them of it; that it would give an opportunity of "charitable intercourſe, and revive that freedom of con- "verſation, which, of itſelf, upon ſo great advantage of "reaſon, as they believed the King's cauſe gave, would "rectify the underſtanding of many who were miſled; "but eſpecially, that it would not only hinder the recruit "of the Earl of Eſſex's army, (for that no man would be "ſo mad to declare themſelves againſt the King, when "they ſaw a ceſſation, in order to reſtoring the King to "his rights), but would leſſen the forces he had already; "in that the army conſiſted moſt of men engaged by "the pay, not affection to the cauſe; who, upon ſuch a "remiſſion of duty as would neceſſarily attend a ceſſation, "would abandon a party which they foreſaw, upon a "peace, muſt be condemned, though it might be ſecure: "and whereas all overtures of a treaty hitherto had ad- "vanced their levies upon pretence of being in a poſture "not to be contemned, they believed, a real ceſſation "would render thoſe levies impoſſible."

Others thought "any ceſſation diſadvantageous enough "to the King; and therefore, that the terms, upon "which it was to be made, were to be preciſely looked "to: that the articles propoſed would only produce a "ſuſpenſion of preſent acts of hoſtility and blood among "the ſoldiers; but not give the leaſt taſte of peace, or "admit the leaſt benefit to the people; for that all in- "tercourſe and converſation was inhibited, inſomuch as "no perſon of the King's party, though no ſoldier, had "liberty to viſit his wife, or family, out of the King's "quarters, during this ceſſation; and the hindering "recruits could only prejudice the King, not at all the "Earl of Eſſex, who had at preſent a greater army than "ever before; and the city of London was ſuch a ma- "gazine of men, as could ſupply him upon very ſmall "warning.

" warning. Beſides, though the ſtate of the King's " army and quarters about Oxford was ſuch as might " receive ſome advantage by a ceſſation; yet, in the " weſt, it was hoped his affairs were in the bud; and " the Earl of Newcaſtle was ſo much maſter in the " north, that if a peace enſued not, (which wiſe men did " not believe was ſeriouſly intended on the Parliament's " part, by reaſon the propoſitions to be treated on were " ſo unreaſonable, and impoſſible to be conſented to), " ſuch a ceſſation would hinder the motion and progreſs " of the Earl's good fortune, and give time to the Lord " Fairfax, who was at preſent very low, to put himſelf " into ſuch a poſture as might give new trouble." And it is certain the northern forces had then great dread of this ceſſation.

To theſe conſiderations was added another of greater moment, and which could be leſs anſwered by any acceſs of benefit and advantage on the King's party. Hitherto the Parliament had raiſed their vaſt ſums of money, for the ſupport of their army, (which could only be ſupported by conſtant great pay), and for the diſcharge of their other immenſe expences, incident to ſuch a rebellion, from the city of London, and principally from their friends, not daring ſo rigidly to execute their ordinances generally, but contented themſelves with ſome ſevere judgements upon particular men, whom they had branded with ſome extraordinary mark of malignancy, out of London, ſave only that they gleaned among their own zealots upon voluntary collections, and plundered by their army, which brought no ſupply to their common ſtock: and of what they impoſed upon cities and towns, wherein they had garriſons, (in which they had been likewiſe very tender), they had received very little; not venturing yet, by any general tax and impoſition upon the

the people, to inflame them, and inform them how they meant to invade their liberty and their property, with the jealouſy whereof they had blown them up to all thoſe ſwellings and ſeditious humours againſt the King; and apprehending, that if they ſhould attempt that, any encouragement of ſtrength from any of the King's armies would make the whole kingdom riſe againſt them.

But now, after they had agreed to a treaty, and framed even articles for a ceſſation, they paſſed an ordinance for a weekly aſſeſſment throughout the kingdom, towards the ſupport of the war; by which was impoſed upon the city of London the weekly ſum of ten thouſand pounds, and upon the whole kingdom no leſs than a weekly payment of thirty three thouſand five hundred and eighteen pounds, amounting in the year to one million ſeven hundred forty two thouſand nine hundred thirty ſix pounds; a prodigious ſum for a people to bear, who, before this war, thought the payment of two ſubſidies in a year, which, in the beſt times, never amounted to above two hundred thouſand pounds, and never in our age to above a hundred and fifty, an inſupportable burden upon the kingdom: which indeed had ſcarce borne the ſame, under all the kings that ever reigned.

The Houſes paſs an ordinance for a weekly aſſeſſment on the whole kingdom.

For the ſpeedy and exact collection whereof, they appointed, by the ſame ordinance, commiſſioners in each county, ſuch as were ſufficiently inclined to, and engaged in their deſigns. To this they added other ordinances, for exacting the twentieth part, and other payments, throughout the kingdom; which had been only undergone (and that not generally) in London; and, above all, for the ſequeſtering and ſeizing of the eſtates of all who adhered to the King. "Now if a ceſſation were "conſented to by the King, on the articles propoſed,

"and

" and thereby the King's forces locked up within the " ſeveral limits and narrow bounds, in which they were " contained, theſe ordinances might be executed through- " out all their quarters; and thereby vaſt ſums be raiſed. " Their great aſſociation of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, " Huntingdon, Bedford, and Eſſex, (in neither of which " the King had any viſible party, or one fixed quarter), " upon which, the apprehenſion of the Earl of New- " caſtle's advance upon them, kept them from notable " preſſures, would by this means yield them a great " ſupply of men and money. In Somerſetſhire and " Devonſhire, whilſt Sir Ralph Hopton might hereby " be kept from advancing, they might raiſe what they " would, and might diſpoſe of the ſtocks and perſonal " eſtates of thoſe, whom they had, and would declare to " be malignant; and ſo this ceſſation, beſides the damage " and prejudice to the loyal party, would probably fill " the rebels' coffers, the emptineſs whereof was the moſt, " if not only, probable way and means to determine the " war."

Theſe conſiderations made a deep impreſſion upon thoſe, who believed the treaty was not like to produce a peace; the number of which was increaſed by a new reſolution, at this time entered upon, and vigorouſly proſecuted, " to fortify the city of London, and to draw " a line about it;" which was executed with marvellous expedition; which, many believed, would not have been then done, both for the charge and jealouſy of it, if it had not been reſolved it ſhould not yet return to the King's obedience. And many perſons of honour and quality about the King, who had given great life to his affairs, were ſo ſtartled with the ſenſe of it, that they addreſſed themſelves together to his Majeſty, and beſought him, " that they might not loſe that now, by an " unequal

The city of London fortified.

" unequal ceſſation, which had been preſerved for them, " during the licenſe of hoſtility; and that his and their " enemies might not be that way enabled to deſtroy " them, which yet they durſt not attempt to do by any " other." The King hereupon, after ſolemn debates in council, the chief officers of his army being preſent, reſolved to make ſuch alterations in the articles, as might make the terms a little more equal, at leaſt prevent ſo intolerable diſadvantages.

The King's propoſals of alterations in the two Houſes' articles of ceſſation.

1. "To the firſt article as it was propoſed by them, " his Majeſty fully and abſolutely conſented.

2. " To the ſecond likewiſe fully, as far as it concerned " all officers and ſoldiers of the army; but he propoſed, " that all other his ſubjects, of what quality or condition " ſoever, might, during the ceſſation, paſs to and from " the cities of Oxford or London, or any other parts of " his Majeſty's dominions, without any ſearch, ſtay, or " impriſonment of their perſons, or ſeizure and detention " of their goods or eſtates: and that all manner of trade " and commerce might be open and free between all his " ſubjects, except between the officers and ſoldiers of " either army, or for arms, ammunition, money, bullion, " or victuals for the uſe of either army, without a paſs, " or ſafe conduct;" which, his Majeſty told them, " would be a good beginning to renew the trade and " correſpondence of the kingdom, and whereby his " ſubjects might be reſtored to that liberty and freedom " they were born to, and had ſo happily enjoyed till " theſe miſerable diſtractions; and which, even during " this war, his Majeſty had, to his utmoſt, laboured to " preſerve, opening the way, by moſt ſtrict proclamations, " to the paſſage of all commodities, even to the city of " London itſelf."

3, 4, 5, 6, To theſe the King likewiſe conſented, with

two proviſions: firſt, "that ſuch ſhips, as were neceſſary "to be ſet forth, ſhould be commanded by ſuch perſons "as his Majeſty ſhould approve of. Secondly, that, "during the ceſſation, none of his ſubjects ſhould be "impriſoned otherwiſe than according to the known "laws of the land, and that there ſhould be no plunder-"ing, or violence offered to any of his ſubjects." The firſt of theſe was inſerted, (without purpoſe of inſiſting on it), leſt by the King's conſent to the article, in the terms it was propoſed, he might be thought to conſent in any degree to their uſurpation of the naval authority. And the ſecond was, to prevent the execution of the ordinances before mentioned.

And his Majeſty told them, "he hoped, theſe ſmall "alterations would ſufficiently manifeſt, how ſolicitous "he was for the good of his people, for whoſe liberties "he ſhould inſiſt, when, in matters merely concerning "himſelf, he might deſcend to eaſier conditions; and "how deſirous he was, that, in this unnatural contention, "no more blood of his ſubjects might be ſpilt, upon "which he looked with much grief, compaſſion, and "tenderneſs of heart, even on the blood of thoſe, who "had lifted up their hands againſt him. And therefore "he doubted not, but both Houſes would conſent to "them. However, if any ſcruples ſhould be made, he "was willing that the commiſſioners for the treaty might "nevertheleſs immediately come to him, and ſo all "matters concerning the ceſſation might be there ſettled "between them."

After this anſwer returned by the King, many days paſſed without any return to him; and in the mean time another addreſs was made to his Majeſty, upon which the great managers at London had ſet their hearts, more than upon the treaty; and for which indeed they deferred

their

their treaty. They had ſtill a great dependence and confidence upon their brethren of Scotland, and yet that people moved very ſlowly; and, ſince the Earl of Eſſex had been ſettled in his winter quarters, there had been high quarrels between the Engliſh and Scotch officers, inſomuch as, upon ſome reproachful words which had been caſt out, many ſwords were one day drawn in Weſtminſter-hall, when the Houſes were ſitting, between them; and ſome blood drawn, which (though the Houſes induſtriouſly laboured to compoſe it with declarations "of their joint value and reſpect of that nation with "their own, and that their deſerts could only diſtinguiſh "them") gave ſo great umbrage, that many of the Scots, ſome of eminent command, quitted the ſervice; and it was hoped it would have broke any farther national combination in miſchief.

But the general inclination to rebellion maſtered thoſe particular conſiderations and diſobligations; and, about the end of February, to facilitate the King's conſent to the grand propoſition for the extirpation of epiſcopacy, (which the two Houſes had been, by the arts before mentioned, wrought to make; when, in truth, there were very few of themſelves deſired it; as, when it paſſed the Houſe of Peers, there were but five Lords preſent), there arrived at Oxford the Earl of Lowden, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, and Mr. Alexander Henderſon, a man of equal fame in the diſtractions that aroſe in that kingdom: the former came as a commiſſioner from the Lords of the Secret Council of that kingdom, or, as they then thought fit to call themſelves, "the conſervators of the "peace between the two kingdoms;" and deſired to paſs as a mediator in the differences between the King and the two Houſes, and that the King would give them leave upon the matter to be umpires between them.

The other, Mr. Henderſon, had a ſpecial employment from the aſſembly of the Kirk of Scotland, to preſent a petition from that body to the King; the which, becauſe it was then thought of a very ſtrange nature and dialect, and becauſe I ſhall always report the acts of that nation (as far as I am obliged to mention them) in their own words, I think very convenient to inſert in this place.

But it will be firſt neceſſary, for the better underſtanding one angry clauſe in it, to remember, that, when the Earl of Newcaſtle marched into Yorkſhire, upon occaſion of ſome aſperſions publiſhed againſt him by the Lord Fairfax, "that his army conſiſted only of Papiſts, "and that his deſign was to extirpate the Proteſtant "religion," the Earl ſet forth a declaration of the reaſons of his marching into that country, which was, "upon the "deſire of the principal gentlemen, to reſcue and protect "them from the tyranny of the Parliament;" and then, taking notice of "the ſcandalous imputations upon him "in point of religion," after he had vindicated himſelf from the leaſt ſuſpicion of inclination to Popery, he confeſſed "he had granted commiſſions to many Papiſts, "which, as he knew, was, in this caſe, agreeable to the "laws of the kingdom, ſo he believed it very agreeable "to the preſent policy; and that the quarrel between "the King and the two Houſes being not grounded "upon any matter of religion, the rebels profeſſing "themſelves to be of the ſame of which his Majeſty "was clearly known to be, and the Papiſts generally at "this time appearing very loyal to him, which too "many Proteſtants were not, he thought their aſſiſtance "might very fitly be made uſe of, to ſuppreſs the re-"bellion of the other." And from thence theſe zealous Scots concluded, that he preferred the Papiſts, in point of loyalty, before the Proteſtants; which was a calumny

of

of ſo public a concernment, that they could not be ſilent in. Their petition follows in theſe words.

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty;

The humble Petition of the Commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly of the Kirk of Scotland met at Edinburgh, Jan. 4, $164\frac{2}{3}$.

The petition of the General Aſſembly of the Kirk of Scotland preſented to the King by Mr. Henderſon, ſigned Jan. 4, $164\frac{2}{3}$.

" Our ſilence, and ceaſing to preſent before your Ma-
" jeſty our humble thoughts and deſires, at this time of
" common danger to religion, to your Majeſty's ſacred
" perſon, your crown, and poſterity, and to all your Ma-
" jeſty's dominions, were impiety againſt God, unthank-
" fulneſs and diſloyalty againſt your Majeſty, and in-
" direct approbation and hardening of the adverſaries of
" truth and peace in their wicked ways, and cruelty
" againſt our brethren, lying in ſuch depths of affliction
" and anguiſh of ſpirit; any one of which crimes were,
" in us above all others, unexcuſable, and would prove
" us moſt unworthy of the truſt committed unto us.
" The flame of this common combuſtion hath almoſt
" devoured Ireland, is now waſting the kingdom of
" England, and we cannot tell how ſoon it ſhall enter
" upon ourſelves, and ſet this your Majeſty's moſt
" ancient and native kingdom on fire. If in this
" woful caſe, and lamentable condition of your Majeſty's
" dominions, all others ſhould be ſilent, it behoveth us
" to ſpeak; and if our tongues and pens ſhould ceaſe,
" our conſciences within us would cry out, and the
" ſtones in the ſtreets would anſwer us.

" Our great grief, and apprehenſion of danger, is not
" a little increaſed, partly by the inſolence and pre-
" ſumption of Papiſts, and others diſaffected to the re-
" formation of religion, who, although for their number

" and power they be not conſiderable among us, yet,
" through the ſucceſs of the Popiſh party in Ireland, and
" the hopes they conceive of the prevailing power of
" the Popiſh armies and the Prelatical faction in
" England, they have of late taken ſpirit, and begun to
" ſpeak big words againſt the reformation of religion,
" and the work of God in this land; and partly, and
" more principally, that a chief praiſe of the Proteſtant
" religion (and thereby our not vain, but juſt gloriation)
" is, by the public declaration of the Earl of Newcaſtle,
" General of your Majeſty's forces for the northern
" parts, and neareſt unto us, transferred unto Papiſts;
" who, although they be ſworn enemies unto kings,
" and be as infamous for their treaſons and conſpiracies
" againſt princes and rulers, as for their known idolatry
" and ſpiritual tyranny, yet are they openly declared
" to be not only good ſubjects, or better ſubjects, but
" far better ſubjects than Proteſtants: which is a new
" and foul diſparagement of the reformed religion, a
" notable injury to your Majeſty in your honour, a
" ſenſible reflection upon the whole body of this king-
" dom, which is impatient that any ſubjects ſhould be
" more loyal than they; but abhorreth, and extremely
" diſdaineth, that Papiſts, who refuſe to take the oath
" of allegiance, ſhould be compared with them in al-
" legiance and fidelity; and which (being a ſtrange
" doctrine from the mouth or pen of profeſſed Pro-
" teſtants) will ſuffer a hard conſtruction from all the
" reformed Kirks.

" We therefore, your Majeſty's moſt humble and
" loving ſubjects, upon theſe and the like conſiderations,
" do humbly entreat, that your Majeſty may be pleaſed,
" in your princely wiſdom, firſt to conſider, that the in-
" tentions of Papiſts, directed by the principles of their
" profeſſion,

" profeſſion, are no other than they have been from the " beginning, even to build their Babel, and to ſet up " their execrable idolatry and Antichriſtian tyranny, in " all your Majeſty's dominions; to change the face of " your two kingdoms of Scotland and England into " the ſimilitude of miſerable Ireland; which is more " bitter to the people of God, your Majeſty's good ſub- " jects, to think upon, than death; and whatſoever " their preſent pretences be, for the defence of your " Majeſty's perſon and authority, yet, in the end, by " their arms and power, with a diſplayed banner, to " bring that to paſs againſt your royal perſon and " poſterity, which the fifth of November, never to be " forgotten, was not able by their ſubtile and un- " dermining treaſon to produce; or, which will be their " greateſt mercy, to reduce your Majeſty, and your " kingdoms, to the baſe and unnatural ſlavery of their " monarch, the Pope: and next, that your Majeſty, " upon this undeniable evidence, may timouſly and " ſpeedily apply your royal authority, for diſbanding " their forces, ſuppreſſing their power, and diſappointing " their bloody and mercileſs projects.

" And for this end, we are, with greater earneſtneſs " than before, conſtrained to fall down again before " your Majeſty, and, in all humility, to renew the ſup- " plication of the late general aſſembly, and our own " former petition in their name, for unity of Religion, " and uniformity of Church-government in all your " Majeſty's kingdoms, and, to this effect, for a meeting " of ſome divines to be holden in England, unto which, " according to the deſire of your Majeſty's Parliament, " ſome commiſſioners may be ſent from this Kirk; that, " in all points to be propoſed and debated, there may " be the greater conſent and harmony. We take the

" boldneſs to be the more inſtant in this our humble " deſire, becauſe it concerneth the Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſo " much in his glory, your Majeſty in your honour, the " Kirk of England (which we ought to tender as our " own bowels, and whoſe reformation is more dear unto " us than our lives) in her happineſs, and the Kirk of " Scotland in her purity and peace; former experience " and daily ſenſe teaching us, that, without the reform- " ation of the Kirk of England, there is no hope or " poſſibility of the continuance of reformation here.

" The Lord of heaven and earth, whoſe Vicegerent " your Majeſty is, calleth for this great work of reform- " ation at your hands; and the preſent commotions " and troubles of your Majeſty's dominions are either " a preparation, in the mercy of God, for this bleſſed " reformation and unity of religion, (which is the de- " ſire, prayers, and expectation of all your Majeſty's " good ſubjects in this kingdom), or, which they trem- " ble to think upon, and earneſtly deprecate, are (in the " juſtice of God, for the abuſe of the Goſpel, the tole- " rating of idolatry and ſuperſtition, againſt ſo clear a " light, and not acknowledging the day of viſitation) " the beginning of ſuch a doleful deſolation, as no po- " licy or power of man ſhall be able to prevent, and as " ſhall make your Majeſty's kingdoms, within a ſhort " time, as miſerable as they may be happy by a re- " formation of religion. God forbid that, whilſt the " Houſes of Parliament do profeſs their deſire of the " reformation of religion in a peaceable and parliament- " ary way, and paſs their bills for that end in the par- " ticulars; that your Majeſty, the nurſe-father of the " Kirk of Chriſt, to whoſe care the cuſtody and vindi- " cation of religion doth principally belong, ſhould, to " the provoking of the anger of God, the ſtopping of

" the

" the influence of ſo many bleſſings from heaven, and " the grieving of the hearts of all the godly, fruſtrate " our expectation, make our hopes aſhamed, and hazard " the loſs of the hearts of all your good ſubjects; which, " next unto the truth and unity of religion, and the " ſafety of your kingdoms, are willing to hazard their " lives, and ſpend their blood, for your Majeſty's ho- " nour and happineſs.

" We are not ignorant, that the work is great, the " difficulties and impediments many; and that there be " both mountains and lions in the way; the ſtrongeſt " let, till it be taken out of the way, is the mountain of " Prelacy: and no wonder, if your Majeſty conſider, " how many Papiſts, and popiſhly affected, have, for a " long time, found peace and eaſe under the ſhadow " thereof; how many of the Prelatical faction have " thereby their life and being; how many profane " and worldly men do fear the yoke of Chriſt, and are " unwilling to ſubmit themſelves to the obedience of " the Goſpel; how many there be, whoſe eyes are daz- " zled with the external glory and pomp of the Kirk; " whoſe minds are miſcarried with a conceit of the go- " verning of the Kirk by the rules of human policy; " and whoſe hearts are affrighted with the apprehenſions " of the dangerous conſequences, which may enſue upon " alterations. But when your Majeſty, in your princely " and religious wiſdom, ſhall remember, from the re- " cords of former times, how againſt the gates of hell, " the force and fraud of wicked and worldly men, and " all panic fears of danger, the Chriſtian Religion was " firſt planted; and the Chriſtian Kirk thereafter re- " formed: and, from the condition of the preſent times, " how many, from the experience of the tyranny of the " Prelates, are afraid to diſcover themſelves, leſt they be

" re-

" revenged upon them hereafter, (whereas Prelacy being " removed, they would openly profeſs what they are, " and join with others in the way of reformation), all " obſtacles and difficulties ſhall be but matter of the " manifeſtation of the power of God, the principal " worker; and means of the greater glory to your Ma- " jeſty, the prime inſtrument.

" The intermixture of the government of Prelates " with the civil ſtate, mentioned in your Majeſty's " anſwer to our former petition, being taken away, and " the right government by aſſemblies, which is to be " ſeen in all the reformed Kirks, and wherein the agree- " ment will be eaſy, being ſettled; the Kirk and Reli- " gion will be more pure, and free from mixture, and " the civil government more ſound and firm. That " government of the Kirk muſt ſuit beſt with the " civil ſtate, and be moſt uſeful for kings and king- " doms, which is beſt warranted by God, by whom " kings do reign, and kingdoms are eſtabliſhed. Nor " can a reformation be expected in the common and " ordinary way, expreſſed alſo in your Majeſty's an- " ſwer. The wiſeſt and moſt religious princes have " found it impoſſible, and implying a repugnancy, ſince " the perſons to be reformed, and reformers, muſt be " diverſe; and the way of reformation muſt be different " from the corrupt way, by which defection of work- " men, and corruption in doctrine, worſhip, and go- " vernment, have entered into the Kirk. Suffer us " therefore, dread Sovereign, to renew our petitions for " this unity of Religion, and uniformity of Kirk-govern- " ment, and for a meeting of ſome divines of both " kingdoms, who may prepare matters for your Majeſ- " ty's view, and for the examination and approbation " of more full aſſemblies. The national aſſembly of

" this

" this Kirk, from which we have our commiſſion, did " promiſe, in their thankſgiving for the many favours " expreſſed in your Majeſty's letter, their beſt endea- " vour to keep the people under their charge in unity " and peace, and in loyalty and obedience to your Ma- " jeſty, and your laws; which, we confeſs, is a duty well " beſeeming the preachers of the Goſpel.

" But we cannot conceal how much both paſtors and " people are grieved and diſquieted with the late reports " of the ſucceſs, boldneſs, and ſtrength of Popiſh forces " in Ireland and England; and how much danger, from " the power of ſo malicious and bloody enemies, is ap- " prehended to the religion and peace of this Kirk and " kingdom, conceived by them to be the ſpring, whence " have iſſued all their calamities and miſeries. Which " we humbly remonſtrate to your Majeſty as a neceſſity " requiring a general aſſembly, and do earneſtly ſup- " plicate for the preſence and aſſiſtance of your Majeſ- " ty's commiſſioner, and the day to be appointed; that, " by univerſal conſent of the whole Kirk, the beſt " courſe may be taken for the preſervation of religion, " and for the averting of the great wrath, which they " conceive to be imminent to this kingdom. If it ſhall " pleaſe the Lord, in whoſe hand is the heart of the " King, as the rivers of waters, to turn it whitherſoever " he will, to incline your Majeſty's heart to this through " reformation; no more to tolerate the maſs, or any " part of Romiſh ſuperſtition, or tyranny; and to com- " mand that all good means be uſed for the converſion " of your princely conſort, the Queen's Majeſty, (which " is alſo the humble deſire of this whole Kirk and king- " dom), your joint comforts ſhall be multiplied above " the days of your affliction, to your incredible joy; " your glory ſhall ſhine in brightneſs, above all your " royal

" royal progenitors, to the admiration of the world, and " the terror of your enemies: and your kingdoms ſo " far abound in righteouſneſs, peace, and proſperity, " above all that have been in former generations, that " they ſhall ſay, *It is good for us, that we have been* " *afflicted.*"

This petition was not ſtranger in itſelf, than in the circumſtances that attended it; for it was no ſooner preſented to the King, (if not before), than it was ſent to London, and printed, and communicated with extraordinary induſtry to the people; that they might ſee how far the Scottiſh nation would be engaged for the deſtruction of the Church; and the meſſenger who preſented it, Mr. Henderſon, confeſſed to his Majeſty, that he had three or four letters to the moſt active and ſeditious preachers about London, from men of the ſame ſpirit in Scotland. Upon this provocation, the King might have very reaſonably proceeded againſt Mr. Henderſon, who was neither included in the ſafe conduct, (as the Lord Lowden and the reſt of the commiſſioners were), nor had any authority from the Lords of the Council of that kingdom, (who were qualified with large powers), to countenance his employment; being ſent only from the commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly, (who were not authoriſed by their own conſtitutions, to make any ſuch declaration), and there being then no aſſembly ſitting; which itſelf, with all their new privileges, could not, with any colour of reaſon, or authority, have tranſacted ſuch an inſtrument. However the King, who well knew the intereſt and influence the Clergy had upon the people of that kingdom; and that, whilſt they pretended to remove them from all ſecular employment, they were the principal inſtruments and engines, by which the whole nation was wrought to ſedition; reſolved, not only to uſe the

the perſon of Mr. Henderſon very graciouſly, and to protect him from thoſe affronts, which he might naturally expect in a univerſity, (eſpecially, he having uſed ſome grave and learned Doctors with great inſolence, who went civilly to him to be informed, what arguments had prevailed with him, to be ſo profeſſed an enemy to the Church of England, and to give him ſome information in the argument; with whom he ſupercilioufly refuſed to hold any diſcourſe), but to return an anſwer with all poſſible candour to the petition itſelf; and ſo, before he entered upon the other addreſs, made by the Lord Lowden and the reſt, he returned (after very ſolemn debates in council, where the Earl of Lanerick the Secretary for Scotland, and other Lords of Scotland, who were of the Privy Council, were preſent, and fully concurred, with many expreſſions of their deteſtation of the manners of their countrymen, yet with aſſured confidence that they would not be corrupted to any act of hoſtility) to Mr. Henderſon, and, with all expedition, by other hands into Scotland, this anſwer; which likewiſe I think fit to inſert in the very words, that poſterity may know how tender and provident the King always was, to prevent any miſunderſtanding of him and his actions with that people; and conſequently any commotions in that kingdom; which was the only thing, he feared, might contribute to, and continue, the diſtractions in this.

His Majeſty's Anſwer to the late Petition preſented unto him by the hands of Mr. Alexander Henderſon, from the Commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly of the Church of Scotland.

"We received lately a petition from you, by the "hands of Mr. Alexander Henderſon, to the which we "intended to have given an anſwer, as ſoon as we had "tranſacted

His Majeſty's anſwer to the petition Mar. 20, 1642.

" tranſacted the buſineſs with the other commiſſioners,
" addreſſed to us from the conſervators of the treaty of
" that our kingdom. But finding the ſame to be pub-
" liſhed in print, and to be diſperſed throughout our
" kingdom, to the great danger of ſcandaling of our
" well affected ſubjects; who may interpret the bitter-
" neſs and ſharpneſs of ſome expreſſions, not to be ſo
" agreeable to that regard and reverence, which is due
" to our perſon, and the matter of the petition itſelf to
" be reproachful to the honour and conſtitution of this
" kingdom: we have been compelled, the more ſtrictly
" to examine, as well the authority of the petitioners, as
" the matter of the petition itſelf, and to publiſh our
" opinion of both, that our ſubjects of both kingdoms
" may ſee how equally juſt, and ſenſible, we are of the
" laws and honour of both our kingdoms.

" And firſt, upon peruſal of the petition, we required
" to ſee the commiſſion, by which the meſſenger who
" brought the petition, or the perſons who ſent him,
" are qualified to intermeddle in affairs ſo foreign to
" their juriſdiction, and of ſo great concernment to this
" our kingdom of England. Upon examination where-
" of, and in defence of the laws and government of this
" our kingdom, which we are truſted and ſworn to de-
" fend, we muſt profeſs that the petitioners, or the
" General Aſſembly of our Church of Scotland, have
" not the leaſt authority, or power, to intermeddle or
" interpoſe in the affairs of this kingdom, or church;
" which are ſettled and eſtabliſhed by the proper laws
" of this land, and, till they be altered by the ſame
" competent power, cannot be inveighed againſt without
" a due ſenſe of us, and this nation; much leſs can they
" preſent any advice or declaration to our Houſes of
" Parliament againſt the ſame; or, to that purpoſe, ſend
" any

" any letters, as they have now done, to any miniſters of " our Church here; who, by the laws of this land, can- " not correſpond againſt the ſame.

" Therefore, we do believe that the petitioners, when " they ſhall conſider how unwarranted it is by the laws " of that kingdom, and how contrary it is to the laws of " this, to the profeſſions they have made to each other, " and how unbecoming in itſelf, for them to require " the ancient, happy, and eſtabliſhed government of the " Church of England to be altered, and conformed to " the laws and conſtitutions of another Church, will " find themſelves miſled by the information of ſome " perſons here, who would willingly engage the pe- " titioners to foment a difference and diviſion between " the two kingdoms, which we have, with ſo much care " and induſtry, endeavoured to prevent; not having " laboured more to quench the combuſtion in this king- " dom, than we have to hinder the like from either " devouring Ireland, or entering into Scotland; which, " if all others will equally labour, will undoubtedly be " avoided. But we cannot ſo eaſily paſs over the men- " tion of Ireland, being moved to it by the ſcandalous " aſperſions, that have been often caſt upon us, upon " that ſubject, and the uſe that hath been made of the " woful diſtractions of that kingdom, as of a ſeminary " of fears and jealouſies, to beget the like diſtractions " in this; which leſt they may have further influence, " we are the more willing to make our innocence appear " in that particular.

" When firſt that horrid rebellion begun, we were in " our kingdom of Scotland; and the ſenſe we had then " of it, the expreſſions we made concerning it, the " commiſſions, together with ſome other aſſiſtance, we " ſent immediately into that kingdom, and the inſtant " recom-

" recommendation we made of it to both our Houſes of
" Parliament in England, are known to all perſons of
" quality there and then about us. After our return
" into England, our ready concurring to all the deſires
" of both Houſes, that might moſt ſpeedily repreſs that
" rebellion, by paſſing the bill of preſſing, and in it a
" clauſe, which quitted a right challenged by all, and
" enjoyed by many of our predeceſſors, by parting with
" our rights in the lands eſcheated to us by that rebellion,
" for the encouragement of adventurers; by emptying
" our magazines of arms and ammunition for that ſer-
" vice, (which we have ſince needed for our neceſſary
" defence and preſervation), by conſenting to all bills
" for the raiſing of money for the ſame, though con-
" taining unuſual clauſes, which truſted both Houſes
" without us with the manner of diſpoſing it: our often
" preſſing both Houſes, not to neglect that kingdom,
" by being diverted by conſiderations and diſputes leſs
" concerning both kingdoms: our offer of raiſing ten
" thouſand volunteers to be ſent thither; and our ſeveral
" offers to engage our own royal perſon, in the ſup-
" preſſion of that horrid rebellion, are no leſs known to
" all this nation, than our perpetual earneſtneſs, by our
" foreign miniſters, to keep all manner of ſupplies from
" being tranſported for the relief of the rebels, is known
" to ſeveral neighbouring Princes; which if all good
" ſubjects will conſider, and withal how many of the
" men, and how much of the money raiſed for that end,
" and how much time, care, and induſtry, have been
" diverted from that employment, and employed in this
" unnatural war againſt us, (the true cauſe of the preſent
" miſeries, and want, which our Britiſh armies there do
" now endure), they will ſoon free us from all thoſe im-
" putations, ſo ſcandalouſly and groundleſsly laid upon
" us;

"us; and impute the continuance of the combuſtion "of that miſerable kingdom, the danger it may bring "upon our kingdoms of England and Scotland, and the "beginning of this doleful deſolation, to thoſe who are "truly guilty of it.

"For unity in religion, which is deſired, we cannot "but anſwer, that we much apprehend, leſt the Papiſts "may make ſome advantage of that expreſſion, by con-"tinuing that ſcandal with more authority, which they "have ever heretofore uſed to caſt upon the Reformation, "by interpreting all the differences in ceremony, govern-"ment, or indifferent opinions between ſeveral Proteſtant "Churches, to be differences in religion; and leſt our "good ſubjects of England, who have ever eſteemed "themſelves of the ſame religion with you, ſhould "ſuſpect themſelves to be eſteemed by you to be of a "contrary; and that the religion which they and their "anceſtors have held, ever ſince the bleſſed Reformation, "and in, and for which, they are reſolved to die, is tax-"ed, and branded of falſehood, or inſufficiency, by ſuch "a deſire.

"For uniformity in Church-government, we conceived "the anſwer formerly given by us (at Bridgenorth, "13th October 1642) to the former petition in this "argument, would have ſatisfied the petitioners; and is "ſo full, that we can add little to it; viz. that the "government here eſtabliſhed by the laws hath ſo near "a relation and intermixture with the civil ſtate, (which "may be unknown to the petitioners), that till a com-"poſed, digeſted form be preſented to us, upon a free "debate of both Houſes in a parliamentary way, where-"by the conſent and approbation of this whole kingdom "may be had, and we and all our ſubjects may diſcern, "what is to be left in, or brought in, as well as what is

" to be taken away; we know not how to conſent to " any alteration, otherwiſe than to ſuch an act for the " eaſe of tender conſciences in the matter of ceremonies, " as we have often offered; and that this, and any thing " elſe that may concern the peace of the Church, and " the advancement of God's true religion, may be " ſoberly diſcuſſed, and happily effected, we have " formerly offered, and are ſtill willing, that debates of " that nature may be entered into by a ſynod of godly " and learned divines, to be regularly choſen according " to the laws and cuſtoms of this kingdom: to which " we ſhall be willing that ſome learned divines of our " Church of Scotland may be likewiſe ſent, to be preſent, " and offer, and debate their reaſons. With this anſwer " the petitioners had great reaſon to acquieſce, without " enlarging the matter of their former petition only with " bitter expreſſions againſt the eſtabliſhed government " and laws of their neighbour nation, (as if it were con- " trary to the word of God), with whom they have ſo " lately entered into a ſtrict amity and friendſhip.

" But we cannot enough wonder, that the petitioners " ſhould interpoſe themſelves, not only as fit directors " and judges between us, and our two Houſes of Parlia- " ment, in buſineſs ſo wholly concerning the peace and " government of this our kingdom; and in a matter ſo " abſolutely entruſted to us, as what new laws to conſent, " or not to conſent to: but ſhould aſſume, and publiſh, " that the deſire of reformation in this kingdom is in a " peaceable and parliamentary way; when all the world " may know, that the proceedings here have been, and " are, not only contrary to all the rules and precedents " of former Parliaments, but deſtructive to the freedom, " privilege, and dignity of Parliaments themſelves: that " we were firſt driven by tumults, for the ſafety of our " life,

" life, from our cities of London and Weſtminſter; and " have been ſince purſued, fought withal, and are now " kept from thence by an army, raiſed and paid, as " is pretended, by the two Houſes, which conſiſt not of " the fourth part of the number they ought to do; the " reſt being either driven from thence by the ſame " violence, or expelled, or impriſoned, for not conſenting " to the treaſons and unheard of inſolences practiſed " againſt us. And if the petitioners could believe theſe " proceedings to be in a peaceable and parliamentary " way, they were very unacquainted with the order and " conſtitution of this kingdom, and not ſo fit inſtruments " to promote the reformation and peace, they ſeem to " deſire.

" We cannot believe the intermixture of the preſent " eccleſiaſtical government with the civil ſtate, to be " other than a very good reaſon; and that the govern- " ment of the Church ſhould be by the rules of human " policy, to be other than a very good rule, unleſs ſome " other government were as well proved, as pretended, " to be better warranted by the word of God.

" Of any bills offered to us for reformation, we ſhall " not now ſpeak, they being a part of thoſe articles upon " which we have offered, and expect to treat: but can- " not but wonder, by what authority you prejudge our " judgement herein, by denouncing God's anger upon " us, and our hazard of the loſs of the hearts of all our " good ſubjects, if we conſent not unto them. The " influence of ſo many bleſſings from Heaven upon the " reigns of Queen Elizabeth and our father of bleſſed " memory, and the acknowledgment of them by all " Proteſtant Churches, to have been careful nurſes of the " Church of Chriſt, and to have excellently diſcharged " their duties, in the cuſtody and vindication of religion;

" and the affection of their ſubjects to them, do ſuffi-
" ciently aſſure us, that we ſhould neither ſtop the influ-
" ence of ſuch bleſſings, nor grieve the hearts of all the
" godly, nor hazard the loſs of the hearts of our good
" ſubjects, although we ſtill maintain, in this kingdom,
" the ſame eſtabliſhed eccleſiaſtical government which
" flouriſhed in their times, and under their ſpecial
" protection.

" We doubt not, but our ſubjects of Scotland will
" reſt abundantly ſatisfied with ſuch alterations in their
" own Church, as we have aſſented unto; and not be
" perſuaded by a mere aſſertion, that there is no hope of
" continuance of what is there ſettled by law, unleſs that
" be likewiſe altered which is ſettled here. And our
" ſubjects of England will never depart from their duti-
" ful affection to us, for not conſenting to new laws,
" which, by the law of the land, they know we may as
" juſtly reject, if we approve not of them, as either
" Houſe hath power to prepare for, or both, to propound
" to us. Nor are you a little miſtaken, if either you
" believe the generality of this nation to deſire a change
" of Church-government, or that moſt of thoſe, who
" deſire it, deſire by it to introduce that which you only
" eſteem a reformation; but are as unwilling to ſubmit
" to what you call the yoke of Chriſt, and obedience to
" the Goſpel, as thoſe whom you call profane and
" worldly men; and ſo equally averſe both to Epiſcopacy
" and Preſbytery, that, if they ſhould prevail in this
" particular, the abolition of the one would be no inlet
" to the other; nor would your hearts be leſs grieved,
" your expectations leſs fruſtrated, your hopes leſs
" aſhamed, or your reformation more ſecured. And the
" petitioners, upon due conſideration, will not find
" themſelves leſs miſtaken in the government of all the

" reformed

" reformed Churches, which, they ſay, is by aſſemblies, " than they are in the beſt way of reformation; which " ſure is beſt to be in a common and ordinary way, " where the paſſion or intereſt of particular men may " not impoſe upon the public; but alteration be then " only made, when, upon calm debates, and evident " and clear reaſon, and convenience, the ſame ſhall be " generally conſented to for the peace and ſecurity of " the people; and thoſe who are truſted by the law " with ſuch debates, are not diveſted of that truſt, upon " a general charge of corruptions, pretended to have " entered by that way; and of being the perſons to be " reformed, and ſo unfit to be reformers. And certainly, " the like logic, with the like charges and pretences, " might be uſed to make the Parliament itſelf an in- " capable judge of any reformation, either in Church " or State.

" For the general expreſſions in the petition againſt " Papiſts, in which the petitioners may be underſtood to " charge us with compliance and even favour to their " opinions; we have taken all occaſions to publiſh to " the world our practice and reſolution in the true Pro- " teſtant reformed religion: and we are verily perſuaded, " there is no one ſubject in either of our dominions, " who at all knows us, and hath obſerved our life, but " is, in his ſoul, ſatisfied of our conſtant zeal and un- " moveable affection to that religion, and of our true " diſlike of, and hearty oppoſition to Popery. And as " we willingly conſented, at our being in Scotland, to all " acts propoſed to us, for the diſcountenancing and the " reforming the Papiſts in that our kingdom; ſo, by " our proclamations for the putting of all laws ſeverely " in execution againſt Recuſants; and by not refuſing " any one bill, preſented to us to that purpoſe, in this

" kingdom; and by our perpetual and public profeſſions " of readineſs, with the advice of our two Houſes of " Parliament, prepared for us in a deliberate and orderly " way, to find ſome expedient to perfect ſo good a work; " we conceived, we had not left it poſſible for any man " to believe us guilty of tolerating any part of the " Romiſh tyranny or ſuperſtition; or to ſuſpect, that " the converſion of our deareſt conſort was not ſo much " our deſire, that the acceſſion of as many crowns as " God hath already beſtowed on us, would not be more " welcome to us than that day: a bleſſing, which it is " our daily prayer to the Almighty to beſtow upon us.

" But we might well have expected from the pe- " titioners, who have, in their ſolemn national covenant, " literally ſworn ſo much care of the ſafety of our per- " ſon, and cannot but know in how much danger that " hath been, and ſtill is, by the power and threats of " rebellious armies, that they would as well have re- " membered the 23d of October, as the 5th of No- " vember; and as well have taken notice of the army " raiſed, and led againſt us by the Earl of Eſſex, which " hath actually aſſaulted, and endeavoured to murder " us; which we know to abound in Browniſts, Ana- " baptiſts, and other ſectaries; and in which we have " reaſon (by priſoners we have taken, and the evidence " they have given) to believe there are many more Pa- " piſts (and many of thoſe foreigners) than in all our " army; as have adviſed us, to diſband out of the army " of the Earl of Newcaſtle, which is raiſed for our de- " fence, the Papiſts in that army; who are known to be " no ſuch number, as to endanger their obtaining any " power of building their Babel, and ſetting up their " idolatry; and whoſe loyalty he hath reaſon to com- " mend (though he was never ſuſpected for favouring

" their

" their religion) not before that of Proteſtants, but of " ſuch as rebel under that title; and whoſe aſſiſtance is " as due to us, by the law of God and man, to reſcue " us from domeſtic rebellion, as to defend us from " foreign invaſion; which we think no man denies to be " lawful for them to do. But we do ſolemnly declare, " and proteſt, that God ſhall no ſooner free us from the " deſperate and rebellious arms taken up againſt us, but " we ſhall endeavour to free ourſelves and kingdom from " any fear of danger from the other, by diſarming them, " according to the laws of this land; as we ſhall not fail " to ſend our commiſſioner to the Aſſembly, at the time " appointed for it by the laws of Scotland.

" To conclude, we deſire and require the petitioners " (as becomes good and pious preachers of the Goſpel) " to uſe their utmoſt endeavours, to compoſe any diſ- " traction in opinions, or miſunderſtandings, which may, " by the faction of ſome turbulent perſons, be raiſed in " the minds of our good ſubjects of that our kingdom; " and to infuſe into them a true ſenſe of charity, obe- " dience, and humility, the great principles of the " Chriſtian religion: that they may not ſuffer themſelves " to be tranſported with things that they do not under- " ſtand, or think themſelves concerned in the government " of another kingdom, becauſe it is not according to the " cuſtoms of that in which they live; but that they " diſpoſe themſelves, with modeſty and devotion, to the " ſervice of Almighty God; with duty and affection, " to the obedience of us, and our laws; (remembering " the ſingular grace, favour, and benignity, we have " always expreſſed to that our native kingdom); and with " brotherly and Chriſtian charity one towards another: " and we doubt not but God, in his mercy to us and " them, will make us inſtruments of his bleſſings upon

" each other, and both of us, in a great meaſure, of " happineſs and proſperity to the whole nation."

The tranſactions of the Earl of Lowden and other Scottiſh commiſſioners at Oxford: that they might be mediators, and for a Parliament in Scotland.

The Lord Lowden and the other lay-commiſſioners, who were perſons entirely guided by him, and of inferior quality, gave the precedence to this petition, which they called matter of religion; and preſſed not their own commiſſion, till the King had declared and publiſhed his anſwer to the other: and though they pretended not to have any authority to ſay any thing in that engagement of the commiſſioners of the Aſſembly; yet the Lord Lowden uſed all importunity, and arguments, to perſuade the King in private, to conſent to the alteration of the government of the Church; aſſuring him, " that " it would be a means, not only to hinder his ſubjects " of Scotland from adhering to the Parliament; but " that it would oblige them to aſſiſt his Majeſty to the " utmoſt, in the vindication of all his rights." But he quickly found the King too ſtrongly fixed to be ſwayed in a caſe of conſcience, by a conſideration of convenience; and his Lordſhip undertook to give no other arguments.

He betook himſelf then with his companions to their own proper and avowed errand; which conſiſted of two parts: the one, to offer " the mediation of the con- " ſervators of the peace of that kingdom, for the compo- " ſure of the differences between the King and the two " Houſes;" the other, " to deſire his Majeſty, that he " would ſend out his precepts to ſummon a Parliament " in Scotland." Theſe deſires, and any arguments to enforce them, they always delivered to the King himſelf in writing; declining any addreſs to his miniſters, or any debates with his Council, leſt it might ſeem to leſſen the grandeur and abſoluteneſs of the kingdom of Scotland.

But

But the King always brought thoſe papers, which he received from them, to his Council; and received their advice, what anſwers to return. For the firſt, of mediation, they pretended a title and obligation to it, by a clauſe in the Act of Pacification made at the beginning of this Parliament; which clauſe was; "That the peace "to be then eſtabliſhed might be inviolably obſerved "in all time to come, it was agreed, that ſome ſhould "be appointed by his Majeſty, and the Parliaments of "both kingdoms, who, in the interim betwixt the "ſitting of the Parliaments, might be careful, that the "peace then happily concluded might be continued; "and who ſhould endeavour by all means to prevent all "troubles and diviſions; and if any debate and difference "ſhould happen to ariſe, to the diſturbance of the "common peace, they ſhould labour to remove, or "compoſe them, according to their power; it being "ſuppoſed, that, for all their proceedings of this kind, "they ſhould be anſwerable to the King's Majeſty and "the Parliament: and if any thing ſhould fall out that "ſhould be above their power, and could not be re-"medied by them, they ſhould inform themſelves in "the particulars, and repreſent the ſame to the King's "Majeſty, and the enſuing Parliament; that, by their "wiſdoms and authority, all occaſion and cauſes of "troubles might be removed, and the peace of the "kingdom might be perpetual to all poſterity. And it "was declared, that the power of the commiſſion ſhould "be reſtrained to the articles of peace in that treaty."

This clauſe, and the whole ſtatute, being carefully peruſed, and examined before his Majeſty in his council, the King returned an anſwer to them in writing.

"That he could not find any colour, or pretence of "authority, to be granted by that act of Parliament, by "which

The King's anſwer to them in both particulars.

" which the Commiſſioners for Scotland could conceive " themſelves intereſſed in a faculty of mediation; that " the clauſe mentioned by them (beſides that there was " no ſuch commiſſion granted as was mentioned in that " clauſe, nor any Commiſſioners named for thoſe pur- " poſes) related only to the differences that might grow " between the two nations; and only upon the articles " of that treaty, which, his Majeſty ſaid, had been, and " ſhould be, inviolably obſerved by him. That the dif- " ferences between his Majeſty and his two Houſes of " Parliament had not the leaſt relation to the peace be- " tween the two kingdoms, but to his unqueſtionable " and long enjoyed rights, which his rebellious ſubjects " endeavoured, by force, to wreſt from him; and con- " cerned the fundamental laws of this kingdom; which, " as they could not be ſuppoſed to be known to the con- " ſervators of the peace of Scotland, ſo they could not " have any poſſible cognizance of them. That it might " give great umbrage to his ſubjects of England, if he " ſhould conſent to what they now propoſed; and, " inſtead of confirming and continuing the peace, breed " jealouſies between the nations; and therefore he could " not admit of any ſuch mediation as they propoſed; " but that he hoped the treaty, which he now expected, " would beget ſo good an underſtanding between him " and his two Houſes, that a peace might enſue; to- " wards which he would expect nothing from his ſub- " jects of Scotland, but their prayers."

This gave them no ſatisfaction, but they inſiſted ſtill on their right by that clauſe; which, without any reaſon or argument to perſuade others to be of their mind, they ſaid, " they conceived, laid that obligation upon " them of interpoſition;" to which the King ſtill gave the ſame anſwer.

For

For their other demand of a Parliament in Scotland, the caſe ſtood thus: The King, at his laſt being in Scotland, had, according to the precedent he had made here, granted an act for triennial Parliaments in that kingdom; and, at the cloſe of that preſent Parliament, had ratified another act, by which a certain day was appointed, for the commencement of the next; which day was to be on the firſt Tueſday of June, in the year 1644, except the King ſhould call one ſooner; which he had power to do. So that the queſtion was only, whether the calling a Parliament ſooner in that kingdom was like to advance his ſervice, and to contribute to the peace of this? In the diſquiſition whereof, there needed no arguments, that ſuch a convention could not then produce benefit to the King; the entire government of that people being in thoſe perſons, who had contrived thoſe diſmal alterations. On the other hand, all men thought it very happy for the King, that, without his conſent, there could be no Parliament in Scotland, till June 1644; which was more than fourteen months from this time: till when, how diſinclined ſoever the whole nation ſhould be, there was as much aſſurance as could poſſibly be, from that people, that the Parliament would not be able to procure any avowed ſupply from that kingdom: it being the expreſs words in the late Act of Pacification, "that the king-"dom of England ſhould not denounce, or make war "againſt the kingdom of Scotland, without conſent "of the Parliament of England;" as on the other part it was enacted, "that the kingdom of Scotland "ſhould not denounce, or make war againſt the king-"dom of England, without the conſent of the Parlia-"ment of Scotland. And in caſe any of the ſubjects "of either of the kingdoms ſhould ariſe in arms, or "make

" make war againſt the other kingdom, or ſubjects " thereof, without conſent of the Parliament of that " kingdom, whereof they are ſubjects, or upon which " they do depend, that they ſhould be held, reputed, " and demanded, as traitors to the eſtates, whereof they " are ſubjects. And, that both the kingdoms, in that " caſe, ſhould be bound to concur in the repreſſing " of thoſe that ſhould happen to ariſe in arms, or make " war, without conſent of their own Parliament."

So that whoever believed, that thoſe people could be contained by any obligations, divine or human, thought it impoſſible, by theſe clear texts, that any forces could be raiſed there to invade England, and diſturb his Majeſty, till June 1644; before which time, there was hope the King might ſo far prevail, that the ſpirit of the rebellion might be broken, and men return again to their underſtanding and allegiance. Therefore to that demand the King returned anſwer, " that againſt the time by which " they could legally demand a Parliament, (naming the " day), he would iſſue out his writs, and there being no " emergent cauſe to do it ſooner, he would forbear to put " his ſubjects there to that trouble, which thoſe meet- " ings, how neceſſary ſoever, would naturally carry with " them."

When they perceived that they ſhould not receive ſatisfaction in either of their propoſals, and (which it may be troubled them more) that the King was ſo wary in his anſwers, and ſo clearly expreſſed the reaſons and juſtice of them, that they ſhould have no arguments to apply to the paſſion or intereſt of their countrymen; which they expected at leaſt; (for in that, in which he was moſt ſteadfaſtly reſolved, the preſervation of the government of the Church, he expreſſed no more to them, than, " that being a matter of ſo great importance, and " having

" having ſo near relation to the civil government and " laws of England, they could not be competent con- " ſiderers of it; but that he would do what ſhould be " moſt ſafe, and neceſſary for the peace and welfare of " his ſubjects, who were moſt concerned in it;") at laſt rather curſorily, and as matter of ceremony at parting, than of moment, they deſired " the King's leave, and " paſs to go to London," having, as they ſaid, " ſome " buſineſs there before their return into their own coun- " try."

This was, by many, thought a thing of ſo ſmall moment, that the King ſhould readily grant it; ſince it was evident, that it was in their own power to go thither without his leave; for they were neceſſarily to return through the enemy's quarters; and being once there, they might chooſe whether they would go directly home, or viſit London. And therefore that requeſt was thought but an inſtance of their modeſty, that they might not return without one thing granted to them, at their requeſt. But the King looked upon it as no indifferent thing; and their aſking a buſineſs that they needed not aſk, was enought to demonſtrate, that there was more in it than appeared. And he well knew, there was a great difference between their going to London with his paſs and licence, and without it, which they might eaſily do. They had now publicly declared their errand, and claimed a title, and legal capacity to undertake the buſineſs of mediation; which would be ſo far from being rejected there, that they would be thankfully received, and admitted to a power of umpirage. If upon, or after this claim, the King ſhould grant them his paſs, it would, by their logic, more reaſonably conclude his aſſent, than many of thoſe inferences which they drew from more diſtant propoſitions; and having that ground once,

once, his Majeſty's not conſenting to what thoſe grave mediators would propoſe, and afterwards, as arbitrators, award, ſhould be quarrel ſufficient for the whole nation to engage. And therefore the King expreſsly denied his paſs and ſafe conduct; and told them plainly the reaſon why he did ſo; and required them, "ſince he "had denied to conſent to that, which could be the only "ground of their going to London, that they ſhould "firſt return to thoſe that ſent them, before they at- "tempted that journey: if they did otherwiſe, they "muſt run the hazard of perſons, whom his Majeſty "would not countenance with his protection." And the truth is, though they might very well have gone to London, they could not have returned thence to Scotland, (except they would have ſubmitted to the inconvenience and hazard of a voyage by ſea), without ſo much danger from the King's quarters in the North, (York and Newcaſtle being at his devotion), that they could not reaſonably promiſe themſelves to eſcape.

The Parliament's Commiſſioners to treat came to Oxford.

Whilſt this was in agitation, the Committee from the Parliament for the treaty, to wit, the Earl of Northumberland, Mr. Pierrepoint, Sir W. Armyn, Sir John Holland, and Mr. Whitlock, came to Oxford; who ſhortly took notice of the Scottiſh Commiſſioners' deſires, and alſo deſired on their behalf, "that they might "have his Majeſty's leave to go to London:" but being quickly anſwered, "that that requeſt would not fall "within either of the propoſitions agreed to be treated "of," they modeſtly gave over the interceſſion: and in the end, the Lord Lowden and his countrymen returned directly to Scotland, ſtaying only ſo long in the garriſons of the enemy, through which they were reaſonably to paſs, as to receive ſuch animadverſions, and to entertain ſuch communication, as they thought moſt neceſſary.

As

As ſoon as the Committee arrived at Oxford, they were very graciouſly received by the King; his Majeſty always giving them audience in council, and they withdrawing into a private chamber prepared for them, whilſt their propoſals, which they ſtill delivered in writing, were conſidered, and debated before the King. They declared, "that they were firſt to treat of the ceſſation, "and till that was concluded, that they were not to en-"ter upon any of the other propoſitions;" with which his Majeſty was well pleaſed, preſuming that they had brought, or had power to give, conſent to the articles propoſed by him; which he rather believed, when they read the preamble to the articles: in which it was declared, "that the Lords and Commons being ſtill car-"ried on with a vehement deſire of peace, that ſo the "kingdom might be freed from the deſolation and "deſtruction, wherewith it was like to be overwhelmed, "had conſidered of the articles of ceſſation with thoſe "alterations, and additions, offered by his Majeſty; unto "which they were ready to agree in ſuch manner as was "expreſſed in the enſuing articles." After which, were inſerted the very articles had been firſt ſent to the King, without the leaſt condeſcenſion to any one alteration, or addition, made by him; neither had the Committee power to recede, or conſent to any alteration, but only to publiſh it, if the King conſented in terms, and then, and not till then, to proceed to treat upon the other propoſitions.

The treaty begins upon the propoſals of ceſſation; but that takes no effect.

This the King looked upon as an ill omen; other men as a plain contempt, and ſtratagem, to make the people believe, by their ſending their Committee, that they did deſire a treaty and a ceſſation, yet, by limiting them ſo ſtrictly, to fruſtrate both, and to caſt the envy of it upon the King. Hereupon, the next day, the King ſent a meſ-

a meſſage to them, which he publiſhed, to undeceive the people; farther preſſing "the weight and conſe-"quence of his former exceptions, and alterations; and "the inconvenience that proceeded from not grant-"ing their Committee power to alter ſo much as ver-"bal expreſſions: ſo that, if the King ſhould conſent "to the articles as they were propoſed, he ſhould not "only ſubmit to great diſadvantages; but ſome ſuch, "as themſelves would not think reaſonable to oblige "him to. As by that article wherein they reſerved "a power to ſend out a fleet, or what ſhips they thought "good, to ſea; they were not at all reſtrained from ſend-"ing what land forces they pleaſed, to any part of the "kingdom; ſo that, when the ceſſation ended, they "might have new and greater armies throughout the "kingdom, than they had when it begun; which, he "preſumed, they did not intend; being a thing ſo un-"equal, and contrary to the nature of a ceſſation.

"Then in the articles they laſt ſent, they ſtyled their "forces, the army raiſed by the Parliament; the which if "his Majeſty ſhould conſent to, he muſt acknowledge, "either that he conſented to the raiſing that army, or "that he was no part of the Parliament: neither of "which, he conceived, they would oblige him to do. "And therefore he deſired, that their Committee might "have liberty to treat, debate, and agree upon the articles; "upon which they and all the world ſhould find, that "he was leſs ſolicitous for his own dignity and greatneſs, "than for his ſubjects' eaſe and liberty. But if that ſo "reaſonable, equal, and juſt deſire of his, ſhould not be "yielded unto, but the ſame articles ſtill inſiſted upon, "though his Majeſty, next to peace, deſired a ceſſation, "yet, that the not agreeing upon the one, might not "deſtroy the hopes of, nor ſo much as delay, the other;

"he

" he was willing to treat, even without a ceſſation, upon " the propoſitions themſelves, in that order that was " agreed; and deſired their committee might be enabled " to that effect. In which treaty he would give," he ſaid, " all his ſubjects that ſatisfaction, that if any ſecurity " to enjoy all the rights, privileges, and liberties, due to " them by the law, or that happineſs in Church and " State, which the beſt times had ſeen, with ſuch far- " ther acts of grace, as might agree with his honour, juſ- " tice, and duty to his crown, and which might not render " him leſs able to protect his ſubjects, according to his " oath, would ſatisfy them; his Majeſty was confident, " in the mercy of God, that no more precious blood of " this nation would be thus miſerably ſpent."

This meſſage produced liberty to the committee to enter upon the treaty itſelf, upon the propoſitions, though the ceſſation ſhould not be agreed to: and ſhortly after they ſent reaſons to the King, why they conſented not to the ceſſation in ſuch manner, and with thoſe limitations, as he had propoſed. 1. They alleged, " that, if they ſhould grant ſuch a free trade, as the King " deſired, to Oxford, and other places, where his forces " lay, it would be very difficult, if not impoſſible, to " keep arms, ammunition, money, and bullion, from " paſſing to his army: however, it would be exceeding " advantageous to his Majeſty, in ſupplying his army " with many neceſſaries, and making their quarters a " ſtaple for ſuch commodities, as might be vented in " the adjacent counties; and ſo draw money thither; " whereby the inhabitants would be better enabled by " loans, and contributions, to ſupport his army. As " this advantage to him was very demonſtrable, ſo it was " very improbable that it would produce any ſupply to " them; and, in a treaty for ceſſation, thoſe demands

" could not be thought reaſonable that were not indiffe-
" rent, that is, equally advantageous to both parties.
" 2. That to demand the approving the commanders of
" the ſhips, was, to deſire to add the ſtrength of the one
" party to the other, before the differences were ended;
" againſt all rules of treaty. And to make a ceſſation
" at ſea, was to leave the kingdom naked to foreign
" forces, and the ports open for his ſupplies of arms
" and ammunition. But for conveying any forces, by
" thoſe means, from one part to the other, they would
" obſerve the articles by which that was reſtrained.
" 3. For the expreſſion of the army raiſed by the Parlia-
" ment, they were contented it ſhould be altered, and
" the name of the two Houſes uſed. 4. For the com-
" mitting none, but according to the known laws of the
" land, that is, by the ordinary proceſs of law, it would
" follow, that no man muſt be committed by them for
" ſupplying the King with arms, money, or ammuni-
" tion; for, by the law of the land, the ſubject might
" carry ſuch goods from London to Oxford: the ſol-
" diers muſt not be committed who do run from their
" colours, and refuſe any duty in the army; no man
" ſhould be committed, for not ſubmitting to neceſſary
" ſupplies of money: ſo that if it ſhould be yielded to, in
" his Majeſty's ſenſe, they ſhould be diſabled to reſtrain
" ſupplies from their enemies, and to govern and main-
" tain their own ſoldiers; and ſo, under a diſguiſe of a
" ceſſation, ſhould admit that which would neceſſarily
" produce the diſſolving of their army, and deſtruction
" of their cauſe. And," they ſaid, " it was not proba-
" ble, that his Majeſty would ſuffer the ſame inconve-
" niences by that clauſe; for that they believed he
" would interpret, that what his General did by virtue
" of his commiſſion, was and would be done according

" to

"to the known laws of the land; whereas he had de-
"nied, that thoſe known laws gave any power to the
"two Houſes of Parliament to raiſe armies; and ſo, con-
"ſequently, their General could not exerciſe any martial
"laws. So that under the ſpecious ſhew of liberty and
"law, they ſhould be altogether diſabled to defend their
"liberties and laws; and his Majeſty would enjoy an ab-
"ſolute victory and ſubmiſſion, under pretence of a
"ceſſation and treaty." They ſaid, "being, by a neceſſi-
"ty inevitable, enforced to a defenſive war, and therein
"warranted both by the laws of God and man, it muſt
"needs follow, that, by the ſame law, they were enabled
"to raiſe means to ſupport that war; and therefore
"they could not relinquiſh that power of laying taxes
"upon thoſe who ought to join with them in that de-
"fence, and the neceſſary way of levying thoſe taxes
"upon them, in caſe of a refuſal; for otherwiſe their
"army muſt needs be diſſolved."

Though theſe reaſons were capable, in a ſad and compoſed debate, of full anſwers, and many things would naturally have flowed from them, to diſprove the practice and aſſertions of the framers of them; yet it was very evident, that they carried ſuch a kind of reaſon with them, as would prevail over the underſtandings of the people; and that the King, by not conſenting to the ceſſation, as it was propoſed by them, would be generally thought to have rejected any; which could not but have an ill influence upon his affairs: and therefore his Majeſty ſent them, as ſoon as he had weighed this late meſſage, which he well diſcerned was not formed to ſatisfy him, but to ſatisfy the people againſt him, an anſwer; in which he explained the ill conſequence of many of their aſſumptions, and enforced the importance of his former demands on the behalf of the people: how-

ever, he offered "to admit the ceſſation upon the matter "of their own articles; ſo that he might not be under-"ſtood to conſent to any of thoſe unjuſt and illegal "powers, which they exerciſed upon the ſubjects." But from henceforward, the Houſes declined any farther argument and debate concerning the ceſſation; and directed their committee, "to expedite the treaty upon "the propoſitions:" the particulars whereof being tranſacted in the beginning of the year 1643, I ſhall refer the narrative to the next book; intending in this, only to comprehend the tranſactions to the end of 1642.

I am perſuaded, if the King had, upon the receipt of the articles for the ceſſation, when they were firſt ſent to him, frankly conſented to it, it would have proved very much to his advantage; and that his army would very much have increaſed by it, and the other been impaired; and that it would have been very difficult for the Parliament to have diſſolved it, if once begun, or to have determined the treaty. But beſides the reaſons before mentioned, the conſideration of the northern forces, and the reſtraining them within their old quarters, who ſeemed to be in a condition of marching even to London itſelf, prevailed very far with the King; or rather (which indeed was the main reaſon, and rendered every other ſuggeſtion of weight) the jealouſy that they did not intend to conſent to or admit any peace, but ſuch a one as his Majeſty might not admit, made all the preliminary debates the more inſiſted on.

I cannot but inſert one particular, which may hereafter be thought of ſome ſignification. It was now the time of the year, when, by the cuſtom of the kingdom, the King's Judges Itinerant uſed to go the circuits throughout England and Wales, to adminiſter juſtice to the people: and to enquire into all treaſons, felonies, breaches

of

of the peace, and other miſdemeanors, which were any where committed contrary to the known laws; and they were ſworn to judge according to thoſe known laws, the ſtudy and knowledge whereof was their profeſſion.

The advice and deſires of the two Houſes concerning gaol-delivery.

The Lords and Commons now ſent to the King a ſpecial meſſage, "to adviſe, and deſire him, that, in "regard of the preſent diſtractions, which might hinder "both the judges and the people from reſorting to "thoſe places where ſuch meetings might be appointed, "the aſſizes and gaol-delivery might not be holden: "but that it might be deferred, until it ſhould pleaſe "God to reſtore peace unto his people."

His Majeſty's anſwer.

The King returned them anſwer; "that the preſent "bloody diſtractions of the kingdom, which he had "uſed all poſſible means to prevent, and would ſtill to "remove, did afflict his Majeſty under no conſideration "more, than of the great interruption and ſtop it made "in the courſe and proceedings of juſtice, and the exe- "cution of the laws; whereby his good ſubjects were "robbed of the peace and ſecurity they were born to. "And therefore, as much as in him lay, he would ad- "vance that only means of their happineſs; at leaſt, "they ſhould ſee that their ſufferings that way pro- "ceeded not from his Majeſty; and ſince they might "now expect, by the laws, ſtatutes, and cuſtoms of the "kingdom, the aſſizes and general gaol-delivery in "every county, his Majeſty thought not fit to command "the contrary; but would take ſevere and preciſe order, "that none of his ſubjects ſhould receive the leaſt preju- "dice, as they repaired thither, by any of his forces, "which rule he ſhould be glad to ſee obſerved by others. "And then he hoped, by the execution of the laws, even "thoſe public calamities might have ſome abatement, and "the kingdom recover its former peace and proſperity."

But this anſwer was not more ſatisfactory than others they had uſually received from him; and therefore they betook themſelves to their old, tried weapon, and made an ordinance, "that all Judges, and Juſtices of Aſſize "and Niſi Prius, and Juſtices of Oyer and Terminer, "and Gaol-delivery, ſhould forbear to execute any of "their ſaid commiſſions, or to hold or keep any aſſizes, "or gaol-delivery, at any time during that Lent vaca-"tion; as they would anſwer the contempt and neglect "thereof before the Lords and Commons in Parliament." This was the firſt avowed interruption and ſuſpenſion of the public juſtice, that happened, or that was known ever before in that kind; and gave the people occaſion to believe, that what the Parliament did (what pretence ſoever there was of fundamental laws) was not ſo warrantable by that rule, ſince they laboured ſo much to ſuppreſs that inquiſition. It was not in the King's power to help this; for beſides that the example of Judge Mallet, who, the circuit before, had been forcibly taken from the bench by a troop of horſe, as is before remembered, terrified all the Judges, (and there were very few counties in England, in which they could have been ſecure from the like violence), the records, upon which the legal proceedings were to be, were at London; and ſo the exerciſe of the law ceaſed throughout the kingdom, ſave only in ſome few counties, whither the King ſent ſome Judges of Aſſize, and into others, his commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer; by virtue whereof, the Earl of Eſſex, and many others, were as legally attainted of high treaſon, as the wiſdom of our anceſtors could direct.

The two Houſes make an ordinance to forbid the next aſſizes, and gaol delivery.

The treaty, as is ſaid, being managed at the Council Table, the pride of the Parliament having refuſed to treat with any but the King himſelf, and his Majeſty reſolving to

to tranſact all by the advice and opinion of his Privy Council, it will be ſeaſonable in this place to ſet down the names of all thoſe Privy Counſellors, who attended the King: there being at this time a new one added to the number; for in the time between the return of the commiſſioners to London, and their coming back to the treaty, Sir John Colepepper being preferred to be Maſter of the Rolls, Mr. Hyde was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, till that time, though he was known to be truſted in matters of the greateſt importance, was not under any character in the Court: and when we have named thoſe, who according to their duty did wait upon the King, we ſhall likewiſe name thoſe, who, being under the ſame obligation, ſtayed and acted with the Parliament againſt him.

An account and character of the Privy Counſellors then attending the King, and thoſe who ſtayed with the two Houſes.

Mr. Hyde made Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Lord Littleton was Keeper of the Great Seal of England, of whom ſo much hath been ſaid before, that there is no need of enlargement upon him in this place. His parts, which in the profeſſion of the law were very great, were not very applicable to the buſineſs now in hand; and though, from the time of the King's coming to Oxford, the King had confidence enough in him, to leave the Seal in his cuſtody, and he would have been glad to have done any ſervice; yet, by ill fortune, he had drawn ſo great a diſeſteem upon him from moſt men, that he gave little reputation to the Council, and had little authority in it.

Of the Lord Littleton.

The Duke of Richmond, as he was of the nobleſt extraction, being neareſt allied to the King's perſon of any man who was not deſcended from King James; ſo he was very worthy of all the grace and favour the King had ſhewed him; who had taken great care of his education, and ſent him into France, Italy, and Spain, where he was created a Grandee of that kingdom; and

Of the Duke of Richmond.

as ſoon as he returned, though he was ſcarce one and twenty years of age, made him a Privy Counſellor; and ſhortly after, out of his abundant kindneſs to both families, married him to the ſole daughter of his dead favourite, the Duke of Buckingham; with whom he received twenty thouſand pounds in portion; and his Majeſty's bounty was likewiſe very great to him; ſo that, as he was very eminent in his title, he was at great eaſe in his fortune. He was a man of very good parts, and an excellent underſtanding; yet, which is no common infirmity, ſo diffident of himſelf, that he was ſometimes led by men who judged much worſe. He was of a great and haughty ſpirit, and ſo punctual in point of honour, that he never ſwerved a tittle. He had ſo entire a reſignation of himſelf to the King, that he abhorred all artifices to ſhelter himſelf from the prejudice of thoſe, who, how powerful ſoever, failed in their duty to his Majeſty; and therefore he was purſued with all imaginable malice by them, as one that would have no quarter, upon ſo infamous terms, as but looking on whilſt his Maſter was ill uſed. As he had received great bounties from the King, ſo he ſacrificed all he had to his ſervice, as ſoon as his occaſions ſtood in need of it; and lent his Majeſty, at one time, twenty thouſand pounds together; and, as ſoon as the war begun, engaged his three brothers, all gallant gentlemen, in the ſervice; in which they all loſt their lives. Himſelf lived, with unſpotted fidelity, ſome years after the murder of his Maſter, and was ſuffered to put him into his grave; and died, without the comfort of ſeeing the reſurrection of the Crown.

Of the Marquis of Hertford.

The Marquis of Hertford was a man of great honour and fortune, and intereſt in the affection of the people; and had always undergone hard meaſure from the Court, where he long received no countenance, and had no deſign

ſign of making advantage from it. For, though he was a man of very good parts, and converſant in books, both in the Latin and Greek languages, and of a clear courage, of which he had given frequent evidence; yet he was ſo wholly given up to a country life, where he lived in ſplendour, that he had an averſion, and even an unaptneſs, for buſineſs: beſides his particular friendſhip with the Earl of Eſſex, whoſe ſiſter he had married, his greateſt acquaintance and converſation had been with thoſe who had the reputation of being beſt affected to the liberty of the kingdom, and leaſt in love with the humour of the Court; many of whom were the chief of thoſe who engaged themſelves moſt factiouſly and furiouſly againſt the King. But as ſoon as he diſcerned their violent purpoſes againſt the Government eſtabliſhed, before he ſuſpected their blacker deſigns, he ſevered himſelf from them; and, from the beginning of the Parliament, never concurred with them in any one vote diſhonourable to the King, or in the proſecution of the Earl of Strafford. He did accept the government of the Prince of Wales, as is mentioned before, purely out of obedience to the King; and, no doubt, it was a great ſervice; though for the performance of the office of a governor, he never thought himſelf fit, nor meddled with it. He left York, as is remembered, to form an army for the King in the weſt, where his intereſt was; but he found thoſe parts ſo corrupted, and an army from the Parliament was poured down ſo ſoon upon him, that there was nothing for the preſent to be done worthy of his preſence; ſo that he ſent the ſmall party, that was with him, farther weſt to Cornwall; where, by degrees, they grew able to raiſe an army, with which they joined with him afterwards again; and himſelf returned to the King at Oxford, about the time when the treaty begun.

The

Of the Earl of Southampton.

The Earl of Southampton was indeed a great man in all reſpects, and brought very much reputation to the King's cauſe. He was of a nature much inclined to melancholy, and being born a younger brother, and his father and his elder brother dying upon the point together, whilſt he was but a boy, he was at firſt much troubled to be called *my Lord*, and with the noiſe of attendance; ſo much he then delighted to be alone. He had a great ſpirit; he had never had any converſation in the Court, nor obligation to it. On the contrary, he had undergone ſome hardſhip from it; which made it believed, that he would have been ready to have taken all occaſions of being ſevere towards it. And therefore, in the beginning of the Parliament, no man was more courted by the managers of thoſe deſigns. He had great diſlike of the high courſes, which had been taken in the government, and a particular prejudice to the Earl of Strafford, for ſome exorbitant proceedings. But, as ſoon as he ſaw the ways of reverence and duty towards the King declined, and the proſecution of the Earl of Strafford to exceed the limits of juſtice, he oppoſed them vigorouſly in all their proceedings. He was a man of great ſharpneſs of judgment, a very quick apprehenſion, and that readineſs of expreſſion upon any ſudden debate, that no man delivered himſelf more advantageouſly and weightily, and more efficaciouſly with the hearers; ſo that no man gave them more trouble in his oppoſition, or drew ſo many to a concurrence with him in opinion. He had no relation to, or dependence upon, the Court, or purpoſe to have any; but wholly purſued the public intereſt. It was long before he could be prevailed with to be a Counſellor, and longer before he would be admitted to be of the Bedchamber; and received both honours the rather, becauſe, after he had refuſed to take a pro-

a proteſtation, which both Houſes had ordered to be taken by all their members, they had likewiſe voted, "that no man ſhould be capable of any preferment in "Church or State, who refuſed to take the ſame;" and he would ſhew how much he contemned thoſe votes. He went with the King to York; was moſt ſolicitous, as hath been ſaid, for the offer of peace at Nottingham; and was with him at Edgehill; and came and ſtayed with him at Oxford to the end of the war, taking all opportunities to advance all motions towards peace; and, as no man was more punctual in performing his own duty, ſo no man had more melancholy apprehenſions of the iſſue of the war; which is all ſhall be ſaid of him in this place, there being frequent occaſions to mention him, in the continuance of this diſcourſe.

Of the Earl of Leiceſter.

The Earl of Leiceſter was a man of great parts, very converſant in books, and much addicted to the mathematics; and though he had been a ſoldier, and commanded a regiment, in the ſervice of the States of the United Provinces, and was afterwards employed in ſeveral embaſſies, as in Denmark and in France, was in truth rather a ſpeculative, than a practical man; and expected a greater certitude in the conſultation of buſineſs, than the buſineſs of this world is capable of: which temper proved very inconvenient to him through the courſe of his life. He was, after the death of the Earl of Strafford, by the concurrent kindneſs and eſteem both of King and Queen, called from his embaſſy in France, to be Lieutenant of the kingdom of Ireland; and, in a very ſhort time after, unhappily loſt that kindneſs and eſteem: and being, about the time of the King's coming to Oxford, ready to embark at Cheſter, for the execution of his charge, he was required to attend his Majeſty, for farther inſtructions, at Oxford; where he remained;

and

and though he was of the Council, and ſometimes preſent, he deſired not to have any part in the buſineſs; and lay under many reproaches and jealouſies, which he deſerved not: for he was a man of honour, and fidelity to the King, and his greateſt misfortunes proceeded from the ſtaggering and irreſolution in his nature.

Of the Earl of Briſtol.

The Earl of Briſtol was a man of a grave aſpect, of a preſence that drew reſpect, and of long experience in affairs of great importance. He had been, by the extraordinary favour of King James to his perſon (for he was a very handſome man) and his parts, which were naturally great, and had been improved by good education at home and abroad, ſent embaſſador into Spain, before he was thirty years of age; and afterwards in ſeveral other embaſſies; and at laſt, again into Spain; where he treated and concluded the marriage between the Prince of Wales and that Infanta; which was afterwards diſſolved. He was by King James made of the Privy Council, Vice-Chamberlain of the houſehold, an Earl, and a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the Prince, and was then cruſhed by the power of the Duke of Buckingham, and the prejudice the Prince himſelf had contracted againſt him, during his Highneſs's being in Spain; upon which he was impriſoned upon his return; and after the Duke's death, the King retained ſo ſtrict a memory of all that Duke's friendſhips and diſpleaſures, that the Earl of Briſtol could never recover any admiſſion to Court; but lived in the country, in eaſe, and plenty in his fortune, and in great reputation with all who had not an implicit reverence for the Court; and before, and in the beginning of the Parliament, appeared in the head of all the diſcontented party; but quickly left them, when they entered upon their unwarrantable violences, and grew ſo much into their diſfavour, that after the

King

King was gone to York, upon ſome expreſſions he uſed in the Houſe of Peers in debate, they committed him to the Tower; from whence being releaſed, in two or three days, he made haſte to York to the King; who had before reſtored him to his place in the Council, and the Bedchamber. He was with him at Edgehill, and came with him from thence to Oxford; and, at the end of the war, went into France; where he died; that party having ſo great an animoſity againſt him, that they would not ſuffer him to live in England, nor to compound for his eſtate, as they ſuffered others to do, who had done them more hurt. Though he was a man of great parts, and a wiſe man, yet he had been for the moſt part ſingle, and by himſelf, in buſineſs; which he managed with good ſufficiency; and had lived little in conſort, ſo that in council he was paſſionate, and ſupercilious, and did not bear contradiction without much paſſion, and was too voluminous in diſcourſe; ſo that he was not conſidered there with much reſpect; to the leſſening whereof no man contributed more than his ſon, the Lord Digby; who ſhortly after came to ſit there as Secretary of State, and had not that reverence for his father's wiſdom, which his great experience deſerved, though he failed not in his piety towards him.

Of the Earl of Newcaſtle.

The Earl of Newcaſtle was a perſon well bred, and of a full and plentiful fortune; and had been choſen by the King to be Governor to the Prince of Wales, and made of the Council, and reſigned that office of Governor to the Marquis of Hertford, for the reaſons which have been mentioned. He was not at Oxford, but remained at Newcaſtle, with the King's commiſſion to be General of thoſe parts; being a man of great courage, and ſignal fidelity to the Crown, of whom there will be more occaſion hereafter to enlarge.

The

Of the Earl of Berkſhire, and others.

The Earl of Berkſhire was of the Council, but not yet at Oxford; having been, about or before the ſetting up of the ſtandard, taken priſoner in Oxfordſhire, and committed to the Tower, upon an imagination that he had ſome purpoſe to have executed the commiſſion of array in that county; but they afterwards ſet him at liberty, as a man that could do them no harm any where; and then he came to Oxford, with the title and pretences of a man, who had been impriſoned for the King, and thereby merited more than his Majeſty had to give. His affection for the Crown was good, but his intereſt little.

The Lord Dunſmore had been made a Privy Counſellor, after ſo many, who had deſerved worſe, had been called thither; and was ready to do whatever he was directed: he was a man of a rough and tempeſtuous nature, violent in purſuing what he wiſhed, without judgment, or temper to know the way of bringing it to paſs; however, he had ſome kind of power with froward and diſcontented men; at leaſt he had credit to make them more indiſpoſed. But his greateſt reputation was, that the Earl of Southampton married his daughter, a beautiful and a worthy lady.

The Lord Seymour, being brother to the Marquis of Hertford, was a man of intereſt and reputation; he had been always very popular in the country; where he had lived out of the grace of the Court; and his parts and judgment were beſt in thoſe things which concerned the good huſbandry, and the common adminiſtration of juſtice to the people. In the beginning of the Parliament, he ſerved as Knight of the Shire for Wiltſhire, where he reſided; and behaving himſelf with leſs violence in the Houſe of Commons, than many of his old friends did, and having a great friendſhip for the Earl of Straf-

ford,

ford, he was, by his interpoſition, called to the Houſe of Peers; where he carried himſelf very well in all things relating to the Crown; and when the King went to York, he left the Parliament, and followed his Majeſty, and remained firm in his fidelity.

The Lord Savil was likewiſe of the Council, being firſt Controller, and then Treaſurer of the houſehold, in recompenſe of his diſcovery of all the treaſons and conſpiracies, after they had taken effect, and could not be puniſhed. He was a man of an ambitious and reſtleſs nature; of parts and wit enough; but, in his diſpoſition, and inclination, ſo falſe, that he could never be believed, or depended upon. His particular malice to the Earl of Strafford, which he had ſucked in with his milk, (there having always been an immortal feud between the families; and the Earl had ſhrewdly overborne his father), had engaged him with all perſons who were willing, and like to be able, to do him miſchief. And ſo, having opportunity, when the King was at the Berks, and made the firſt unhappy pacification, to enter into converſation, and acquaintance, with thoſe who were then employed as commiſſioners from the Scots, there was a ſecret intelligence entered into between them from that time; and he was a principal inſtrument to engage that nation to march into England with an army; which they did the next year after. To which purpoſe, he ſent them a letter, ſigned with the names of ſeveral of the Engliſh nobility, inviting them to enter the kingdom, and making great promiſes of aſſiſtance; which names were forged by himſelf, without the privity of thoſe who were named. And when all this miſchief was brought to paſs, and he found his credit in the Parliament not ſo great as other men's, he inſinuated himſelf into credit with ſomebody, who brought him to the

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King or Queen, to whom he confeſſed all he had done to bring in the Scots, and who had conſpired with him, and all the ſecrets he knew, with a thouſand proteſtations "to repair all by future loyalty, and ſervice;" for which he was promiſed a white ſtaff, which the King had then reſolved to take from Sir Henry Vane, who held it with the Secretary's office; which he had accordingly; though all his diſcovery was of no other uſe, than that the King knew many had been falſe, whom he could not puniſh; and ſome, whom he could not ſuſpect. When the King came to York, where this lord's fortune and intereſt lay, his reputation was ſo low, that the gentlemen of intereſt, who wiſhed well to the King's ſervice, would not communicate with him; and, after the King's remove from thence, the Earl of Newcaſtle found cauſe to have ſuch a jealouſy of him, that he thought it neceſſary to impriſon him; and afterwards ſent him to Oxford; where he ſo well purged himſelf, that he was again reſtored to his office. But in the end he behaved himſelf ſo ill, that the King put him again out of his place, and committed him to priſon, and never after admitted him to his preſence; nor would any man of quality ever after keep any correſpondence with him.

Of the Lord Falkland, and Sir John Colepepper, there hath been ſo much ſaid before, that there is no occaſion to add to it in this place. There will be reaſon too ſoon to lament the unhappy death of the former: and the latter, who never failed in his fidelity, will be very often mentioned throughout the enſuing diſcourſe.

Secretary Nicholas was a very honeſt and induſtrious man, and always verſed in buſineſs; which few of the others were, or had been. After ſome time ſpent in the Univerſity of Oxford, and then in the Middle Temple, he lived ſome years in France; and was afterwards Secretary

to

to the Lord Zouch, who was a Privy Counſellor, and Warden of the Cinque Ports; and thereby he underſtood all that juriſdiction, which is very great, and excluſive to the Admiral. And when that lord, many years after, ſurrendered that office to the King, to the end that it might be conferred upon the Duke of Buckingham, his Secretary was likewiſe preferred with the office; and ſo, in a ſhort time, became Secretary of the Admiralty, as well as of the Cinque Ports; and was entirely truſted, and eſteemed by that great favourite. After his death, he continued in the ſame place, whilſt the office was in commiſſion, and was then made Clerk of the Council, from whence the King called him to be Secretary of State, after Secretary Windebank fled the kingdom; upon his Majeſty's own obſervation of his virtue and fidelity, and without any other recommendation: and he was in truth, throughout his whole life, a perſon of very good reputation, and of ſingular integrity.

There remain only two of the Council then at Oxford, who are not yet named, Sir John Banks, who had been Attorney General, and was then Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, a grave and a learned man in the profeſſion of the law; and Sir Peter Wych, who had been ambaſſador at Conſtantinople; from whence he returned very little before the troubles, and gratified Sir Thomas Jermyn very liberally for his white ſtaff, when the Court was very low, and ſo was made a Privy Counſellor, and Controller of the houſehold. He was a very honeſt, plain man; and died very ſhortly after the treaty, and was ſucceeded by Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, a perſon of great reputation at that time, which in few years he found a way to diminiſh.

Of thoſe who were of the King's Council, and who

Of thoſe of the Privy Counſellors who ſtayed with the Parliament.

ſtayed and acted with the Parliament, the Earl of North-

Of the Earl of North-umberland.

umberland may well be reckoned the chief, in reſpect of the antiquity and ſplendour of his family, his great fortune and eſtate, and the general reputation he had among the greateſt men, and his great intereſt, by being High Admiral of England. Though he was of a family, that had lain under frequent blemiſhes of want of fidelity to the Crown, and his father had been long a priſoner in the Tower, under ſome ſuſpicion of having ſome knowledge of the gunpowder treaſon; and after he was ſet at liberty, by the mediation and credit of the Earl of Carliſle, who had, without and againſt his conſent, married his daughter, he continued, to his death, under ſuch a reſtraint, that he had not liberty to live and reſide upon his Northern eſtate: yet this lord's father was no ſooner dead, than the King poured out his favours upon him in a wonderful meaſure: he begun with conferring the order of the Garter upon him, and ſhortly after made him of his Privy Council; when a great fleet of ſhips was prepared, by which the King meant that his neighbour princes ſhould diſcern, that he intended to maintain and preſerve his ſovereignty at ſea, he ſent the Earl of Northumberland Admiral of that fleet, a much greater than the Crown had put to ſea ſince the death of Queen Elizabeth, that he might breed him for that ſervice, before he gave him a more abſolute command. And after he had, in that capacity, exerciſed himſelf a year or two, the King made him Lord High Admiral of England; which was ſuch a quick ſucceſſion of bounties and favours, as had rarely befallen any man, who had not been attended with the envy of a favourite. He was, in all his deportment, a very great man, and that which looked like formality, was a punctuality in preſerving his dignity from the invaſion and intruſion of bold men, which

which no man of that age ſo well preſerved himſelf from. Though his notions were not large or deep, yet his temper, and reſervedneſs in diſcourſe, and his reſervedneſs in ſpeaking, got him the reputation of an able and a wiſe man; which he made evident in the excellent government of his family, where no man was more abſolutely obeyed; and no man had ever fewer idle words to anſwer for; and in debates of importance, he always expreſſed himſelf very pertinently. If he had thought the King as much above him, as he thought himſelf above other conſiderable men, he would have been a good ſubject; but the extreme undervaluing thoſe, and not enough valuing the King, made him liable to the impreſſions, which they who approached him by thoſe addreſſes of reverence and eſteem, that uſually inſinuate into ſuch natures, made in him. So that after he was firſt prevailed upon, not to do that which in honour and gratitude he was obliged to, (which is a very peſtilent corruption,) he was, with the more facility, led to concur in what, in duty and fidelity, he ought not to have done, and which at firſt he never intended to have done. And ſo he concurred in all the counſels which produced the rebellion, and ſtayed with them to ſupport it; which is as much as is neceſſary to ſay of him in this place, ſince there will be often occaſion hereafter to mention him, with ſome enlargement.

Of the Earl of Pembroke.

The Earl of Pembroke hath been enough mentioned in a better conjuncture of time, when his virtues were thought greater than they were, and his vices very little diſcerned. Yet, by what was then ſaid, his nature and his parts might be well enough underſtood; and as neither the one nor the other were improveable, ſo they were liable to be corrupted by any aſſaults; his underſtanding being eaſy to be impoſed upon, and his nature being

made up of very ſtrong paſſions. Whilſt there was tranquillity in the kingdom, he enjoyed his full ſhare in pomp and greatneſs; the largeneſs and plentifulneſs of his fortune being attended with reverence and dependence from the people where his eſtate and intereſt lay, and where indeed he was a great man; getting an affection and eſteem from perſons who had no dependence upon him, by his magnificent living, and diſcourſing highly of juſtice, and of the Proteſtant religion; inveighing bitterly againſt Popery, and telling what he uſed to ſay to the King; and ſpeaking frankly of the overſights of the Court, that he might not be thought a ſlave to it. He had been bred from his cradle in the Court; and had that perfection of a courtier, that as he was not wary enough in offending men, ſo he was forward in acknowledging it, even to his inferiors, and to impute it to his paſſion, and aſk pardon for it; which made him be thought a well natured man. Beſides, he had an office, which, at that time, entitled him to the exerciſe of ſome rudeneſs. and the good order of the Court had ſome dependence upon his incivilities.

There were very few great perſons in authority, who were not frequently offended by him, by ſharp and ſcandalous diſcourſes, and invectives againſt them, behind their backs; for which they found it beſt to receive ſatisfaction by ſubmiſſions, and profeſſions, and proteſtations, which was a coin he was plentifully ſupplied with for the payment of all thoſe debts; whilſt the King retained only ſome kindneſs for him, without any great eſteem of him. But, from the beginning of the Parliament, when he ſaw and heard a people ſtout enough to inveigh againſt the King's authority, and to fall upon thoſe perſons, whom he had always more feared than loved; and found that there were two armies in the kingdom,

kingdom, and that the King had not the entire command of either of them; when the decrees of the Star-Chamber, and the orders and acts of the Council, in all which he had concurred, were called in queſtion, and like to be made penal to thoſe who would not redeem their paſt errors by future ſervice; his fear, which was the paſſion always predominant in him above all his choler and rage, prevailed ſo far over him, that he gave himſelf up into the hands of the Lord Say, to diſpoſe of him as he thought fit, till the King took the white ſtaff from him, and gave it to the Earl of Eſſex, as hath been related at large before.

From this time, he took himſelf to be abſolved from all obligations and dependence upon the Court, which he had lived too long in to be willing to quit; and therefore the more cloſely adhered to them, by whoſe power he thought he might get thither again; and, for ſome time, entertained the hope of obtaining the other ſuperior white ſtaff; which remained then in the King's hand by the departure of the Earl of Arundel into the parts beyond the ſeas. But when he ſaw that ſtaff given to the Duke of Richmond, who was then made Lord Steward of the houſehold, he gave over thoſe weak imaginations, and concurred roundly in all the Lord Say propoſed; and was ſo weak ſtill, as to believe they never meant to rebel againſt the King; or that the King could long ſubſiſt, without putting himſelf into their hands. When they had any thing to do in the Weſt, as the exerciſe of the militia, or executing any other ordinance, they ſent him into the country, and ſhewed him to the people, under the conduct of two or three members of the Houſe, in whom they could confide; and he talked "of the King's evil counſellors, who carried him "from his Parliament; and of the Malignants; and

"againſt ſcandalous miniſters;" whilſt none of his old friends came near him. And when they were reſolved no longer to truſt the Iſle of Wight in the hands of the Earl of Portland, who had been long the King's governor there, and had an abſolute power over the affections of that people, they preferred the poor Earl of Pembroke to it, by an ordinance of Parliament; who kindly accepted it, as a teſtimony of their favour; and ſo got into actual rebellion, which he never intended to do. It is pity to ſay more of him, and leſs could not be ſaid to make him known.

Of the Earl of Eſſex. The Earl of Eſſex hath been enough mentioned before; his nature and his underſtanding have been deſcribed; his former diſobligations from the Court, and then his introduction into it, and afterwards his being diſplaced from the office he held in it, have been ſet forth; and there will be occaſion, hereafter, to renew the diſcourſe of him; and therefore it ſhall ſuffice, in this place, to ſay, that a weak judgment, and ſome vanity, and much pride, will hurry a man into as unwarrantable and as violent attempts, as the greateſt, and moſt unlimited, and inſatiable ambition will do. He had no ambition of title, or office, or preferment, but only to be kindly looked upon, and kindly ſpoken to, and quietly to enjoy his own fortune: and, without doubt, no man in his nature more abhorred rebellion than he did, nor could he have been led into it by any open or tranſparent temptation, but by a thouſand diſguiſes and couzenages. His pride ſupplied his want of ambition, and he was angry to ſee any other man more reſpected than himſelf, becauſe he thought he deſerved it more, and did better requite it. For he was, in his friendſhips, juſt and conſtant; and would not have practiſed foully againſt thoſe he took to be enemies.

No

No man had credit enough with him to corrupt him in point of loyalty to the King, whilſt he thought himſelf wiſe enough to know what treaſon was. But the new doctrine, and diſtinction of allegiance, and of the King's power in and out of Parliament, and the new notions of ordinances, were too hard for him, and did really intoxicate his underſtanding, and made him quit his own, to follow theirs, who, he thought, wiſhed as well, and judged better than himſelf. His vanity diſpoſed him to be his Excellency; and his weakneſs, to believe that he ſhould be the general in the Houſes, as well as in the field; and be able to govern their counſels, and reſtrain their paſſions, as well as to fight their battles; and that, by this means, he ſhould become the preſerver, and not the deſtroyer, of the King and kingdom. With this ill-grounded confidence, he launched out into that ſea, where he met with nothing but rocks and ſhelves, and from whence he could never diſcover any ſafe port to harbour in.

Of the Earl of Saliſbury.

The Earl of Saliſbury had been born and bred in Court, and had the advantage of a deſcent from a father, and a grandfather, who had been very wiſe men, and great miniſters of ſtate in the eyes of Chriſtendom; whoſe wiſdom and virtues died with them, and their children only inherited their titles. He had been admitted of the Council to King James; from which time he continued ſo obſequious to the Court, that he never failed in overacting all that he was required to do. No act of power was ever propoſed, which he did not advance, and execute his part with the utmoſt rigour. No man ſo great a tyrant in his country, or was leſs ſwayed by any motives of juſtice or honour. He was a man of no words, except in hunting and hawking. In matters of ſtate and council, he always concurred in what was

propoſed for the King, and cancelled and repaired all thoſe tranſgreſſions, by concurring in all that was propoſed againſt him, as ſoon as any ſuch propoſitions were made. Yet when the King went to York, he likewiſe attended upon his Majeſty; and, at that diſtance, ſeemed to have recovered ſome courage, and concurred in all counſels which were taken to undeceive the people, and to make the proceedings of the Parliament odious to all the world. But, on a ſudden, he cauſed his horſes to attend him out of the town, and having placed freſh ones at a diſtance, he fled back to London, with the expedition ſuch men uſe, when they are moſt afraid; and never after denied to do any thing that was required of him; and when the war was ended, and Cromwell had put down the Houſe of Peers, he got himſelf to be choſen a member of the Houſe of Commons; and ſat with them, as of their own body; and was eſteemed accordingly.

Of the Earl of Warwick.

The Earl of Warwick was of the King's Council too, but was not wondered at for leaving the King, whom he had never well ſerved; nor did he look upon himſelf as obliged by that honour, which, he knew, was conferred upon him in the crowd of thoſe whom his Majeſty had no eſteem of, or ever propoſed to truſt; ſo his buſineſs was to join with thoſe to whom he owed his promotion. He was a man of a pleaſant and companionable wit and converſation; of an univerſal jollity; and ſuch a licenſe in his words, and in his actions, that a man of leſs virtue could not be found out: ſo that one might reaſonably have believed, that a man ſo qualified would not have been able to have contributed much to the overthrow of a nation and kingdom. But, with all theſe faults, he had great authority and credit with that people, who, in the beginning of the troubles, did all the miſchief; and

by

by opening his doors, and making his houſe the rendezvous of all the ſilenced miniſters, in the time when there was authority to ſilence them, and ſpending a good part of his eſtate, of which he was very prodigal, upon them, and by being preſent with them at their devotions, and making himſelf merry with them, and at them, which they diſpenſed with, he became the head of that party; and got the ſtyle of a godly man. When the King revoked the Earl of Northumberland's commiſſion of Admiral, he preſently accepted the office from the Parliament; and never quitted their ſervice; and when Cromwell diſbanded that Parliament, he betook himſelf to the protection of the Protector; married his heir to his daughter; and lived in ſo entire a confidence and friendſhip with him, that, when the Protector died, he exceedingly lamented him. He left his eſtate, which before was ſubject to a vaſt debt, more improved and repaired, than any man who trafficked in that deſperate commodity of rebellion.

Of the Earl of Holland.

The Earl of Holland had grown up under the ſhadow of the Court, and had been too long a Counſellor before, and contributed too much to the counſels which had moſt prejudiced the Crown, to have declined waiting upon it, when it needed attendance. But he choſe to ſtay with the Parliament; and there hath been enough ſaid of him before, and more muſt be ſaid hereafter. And therefore it ſhall ſuffice now, to ſay, that there was a very froward fate attended all, or moſt of the poſterity of that bed, from whence he and his brother of Warwick had their original; though he, and ſome others among them, had many very good parts, and excellent endowments.

Of the Earl of Manchester.

The Earl of Manchester, of the whole cabal, was, in a thouſand reſpects, moſt unfit for the company he kept.

He

He was of a gentle and a generous nature; civilly bred; had reverence and affection for the perſon of the King, upon whom he had attended in Spain; loved his country with too unſkilful a tenderneſs; and was of ſo excellent a temper and diſpoſition, that the barbarous times, and the rough parts he was forced to act in them, did not wipe out, or much deface, thoſe marks: inſomuch as he was never guilty of any rudeneſs towards thoſe he was obliged to oppreſs, but performed always as good offices towards his old friends, and all other perſons, as the iniquity of the time, and the nature of the employment he was in, would permit him to do; which kind of humanity could be imputed to very few.

He was at laſt diſmiſſed, and removed from any truſt, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he was not wicked enough. He married firſt into the family of the Duke of Buckingham, and, by his favour and intereſt, was called to the Houſe of Peers in the life of his father; and made Baron of Kimbolton, though he was commonly treated and known by the name of the Lord Mandevil; and was as much addicted to the ſervice of the Court as he ought to be. But the death of his lady, and the murder of that great favourite, his ſecond marriage with the daughter of the Earl of Warwick, and the very narrow and reſtrained maintenance, which he received from his father, and which would in no degree defray the expences of the Court, forced him too ſoon to retire to a country life, and totally to abandon both the Court and London; whither he came very ſeldom in many years. And in this retirement, the diſcountenance which his father underwent at Court, the converſation of that family into which he was married, the bewitching popularity, which flowed upon him with a wonderful torrent, and the want of thoſe guards which a good

a good education ſhould have ſupplied him with, by the clear notion of the foundation of the eccleſiaſtical, as well as the civil government, made a great impreſſion upon his underſtanding, (for his nature was never corrupted, but remained ſtill in its integrity), and made him believe that the Court was inclined to hurt, and even to deſtroy the country; and from particular inſtances to make general and dangerous concluſions. They who had been always enemies to the Church prevailed with him to leſſen his reverence for it, and having not been well inſtructed to defend it, he yielded too eaſily to thoſe who confidently aſſaulted it; and thought it had great errors, which were neceſſary to be reformed; and that all means are lawful to compaſs that which is neceſſary. Whereas the true logic is, that the thing deſired is not neceſſary, if the ways are unlawful, which are propoſed to bring it to paſs. No man was courted with more application, by perſons of all conditions and qualities; and his perſon was not leſs acceptable to thoſe of ſteady and uncorrupted principles, than to thoſe of depraved inclinations. And in the end, even his piety adminiſtered ſome excuſe to him; for his father's infirmities and tranſgreſſions had ſo far expoſed him to the inquiſition of juſtice, that the ſon found it neceſſary to procure the aſſiſtance and protection of thoſe who were ſtrong enough to violate juſtice itſelf; and ſo he adhered to thoſe who were beſt able to defend his father's honour, and thereby to ſecure his own fortune; and concurred with them in their moſt violent deſigns, and gave reputation to them. And the Court as unſkilfully took an occaſion too ſoon to make him deſperate, by accuſing him of high treaſon, when (though he might be guilty enough) he was, without doubt, in his intentions, at leaſt, as innocent as any of the leading men.

It

It is ſome evidence, that God Almighty ſaw his heart was not ſo malicious as the reſt, that he preſerved him to the end of the confuſion; when he appeared as glad of the King's reſtoration, and had heartily wiſhed it long before, and very few, who had a hand in the contrivance of the rebellion, gave ſo manifeſt tokens of repentance as he did; and having, for many years, undergone the jealouſy and hatred of Cromwell, as one who abominated the murder of the King, and all the barbarous proceedings againſt the lives of men in cold blood; the King upon his return received him into grace and favour, which he never after forfeited by any undutiful behaviour.

Of the Lord Say.

The laſt of thoſe Counſellors which were made after the faction prevailed in Parliament, who were all made to advance an accommodation, and who adhered to the Parliament, was the Lord Say; a man, who had the deepeſt hand in the original contrivance of all the calamities which befel this unhappy kingdom, though he had not the leaſt thought of diſſolving the monarchy, and leſs of levelling the ranks and diſtinctions of men. For no man valued himſelf more upon his title, or had more ambition to make it greater, and to raiſe his fortune, which was but moderate for his title. He was of a proud, moroſe, and ſullen nature; converſed much with books, having been bred a ſcholar, and (though nobly born) a fellow of New College in Oxford; to which he claimed a right, by the alliance he pretended to have from William of Wickham, the founder; which he made good by a far-fetched pedigree, through ſo many hundred years, half the time whereof extinguiſhes all relation of kindred. However upon that pretence, that College hath been ſeldom without one of that lord's family. His parts were not quick, but ſo much

much above many of his own rank, that he had always great credit and authority in Parliament; and the more, for taking all opportunities to oppoſe the Court; and he had, with his milk, ſucked in an implacable malice againſt the government of the Church. When the Duke of Buckingham propoſed to himſelf, after his return with the Prince from Spain, to make himſelf popular, by breaking that match, and to be gracious with the Parliament, as for a ſhort time he was, he reſolved to embrace the friendſhip of the Lord Say; who was as ſolicitous to climb by that ladder. But the Duke quickly found him of too imperious and pedantical a ſpirit, and to affect too dangerous mutations; and ſo caſt him off; and from that time he gave over any purſuit in Court, and lived narrowly in the country; having converſation with very few, but ſuch who had great malignity againſt the Church and State, and fomented their inclinations, and gave them inſtructions how to behave themſelves with caution, and to do their buſineſs with moſt ſecurity; and was in truth the pilot, that ſteered all thoſe veſſels which were freighted with ſedition to deſtroy the government.

He found always ſome way to make profeſſions of duty to the King, and made ſeveral undertakings to do great ſervices, which he could not, or would not, make good; and made haſte to poſſeſs himſelf of any preferment he could compaſs, whilſt his friends were content to attend a more proper conjuncture. So he got the Maſterſhip of the Wards ſhortly after the beginning of the Parliament, and was as ſolicitous to be Treaſurer after the death of the Earl of Bedford; and, if he could have ſatisfied his rancour in any degree againſt the Church, he would have been ready to have carried the prerogative as high as ever it was. When he thought there was

miſchief

miſchief enough done, he would have ſtopped the current, and have diverted farther fury; but he then found he had only authority and credit to do hurt; none to heal the wounds he had given; and fell into as much contempt with thoſe whom he had led, as he was with thoſe whom he had undone.

Of Sir Henry Vane the elder.

The laſt of the Counſellors who ſtayed with the Parliament, was Sir Henry Vane; who had ſo much excuſe for it, that, being thrown out of Court, he had no whither elſe to go; and promiſed himſelf to be much made of by them, for whoſe ſakes only he had brought that infamy upon himſelf. He was of very ordinary parts by nature, and had not cultivated them at all by art; for he was illiterate. But being of a ſtirring and boiſterous diſpoſition, very induſtrious, and very bold, he ſtill wrought himſelf into ſome employment. He had been acquainted with the viciſſitudes of Court, and had undergone ſome ſevere mortification, by the diſfavour of the Duke of Buckingham, in the beginning of the King's reign. But the Duke was no ſooner dead, (which made it believed that he had made his peace in his life-time, for the King was not, in a long time after, reconciled to any man who was eminently in the Duke's diſfavour), but he was again brought into the Court, and made a Counſellor, and Controller of the houſehold; which place he became well, and was fit for; and if he had never taken other preferment, he might probably have continued a good ſubject. For he had not inclination to change, and in his judgment he had liked the government both of Church and State; and only deſired to raiſe his fortune, which was not great, and which he found many ways to improve. And he was wont to ſay, "that he never had deſired other prefer-
" ment; and believed, that Marquis Hamilton," (with whom

whom he had never kept fair quarter), " when he firſt " propoſed to him to be Secretary of State, did it to " affront him; well knowing his want of ability for the " diſcharge of that office." But, without doubt, as the fatal preferring him to that place was of unſpeakable prejudice to the King, ſo his receiving it was to his own deſtruction. His malice to the Earl of Strafford (who had unwiſely provoked him, wantonly, and out of contempt) tranſported him to all imaginable thoughts of revenge; which is a gueſt, that naturally diſquiets and tortures thoſe who entertain it, with all the perplexities they contrive for others; and that diſpoſed him to ſacrifice his honour and faith, and his Maſter's intereſt, that he might ruin the Earl, and was buried himſelf in the ſame ruin; for which being juſtly chaſtized by the King, and turned out of his ſervice, he was left to his own deſpair; and, though he concurred in all the malicious deſigns againſt the King, and againſt the Church, he grew into the hatred and contempt of thoſe who had made moſt uſe of him; and died in univerſal reproach, and not contemned more by any of his enemies, than by his own ſon; who had been his principal conductor to deſtruction.

We now paſs to the tranſactions in the treaty itſelf, which was in the beginning of the year 1643.

THE END OF THE SIXTH BOOK.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION, &c.

BOOK VII.

MIC. iii. 11.

The heads thereof judge for reward, and the priests thereof teach for hire, and the prophets thereof divine for money: yet will they lean upon the Lord, and say, Is not the Lord among us? none evil can come upon us.

MIC. vii. 4.

The best of them is as a brier; the most upright is sharper than a thorn-hedge: the day of thy watchmen and thy visitation cometh; now shall be their perplexity.

WHEN the treaty was first consented to by the two Houses, they ordered that it should be upon the first propositon made by his Majesty, and the first propositon made by themselves, and that those should be first concluded on, before they proceeded to treat upon any of the other propositions. So that the committee, in the first place, applied themselves to his Majesty, upon his own first propositon, which was, "That his own revenue, "magazines, towns, forts, and ships, which had been "taken, or kept from him by force, should be forthwith

The sum of the demands and conceſſions of both ſides upon the firſt article of the treaty.

" reſtored to him." To which the committee anſwered, " That the two Houſes had made uſe of his Majeſty's " own revenue, but in a very ſmall proportion, which in " a good part had been employed in the maintenance " of his children, according to the allowance eſtabliſhed " by himſelf. And the Houſes would ſatisfy what " ſhould remain due to his Majeſty of thoſe ſums, which " they had received; and would leave the ſame to him " for the time to come. And they deſired likewiſe, " that his Majeſty would reſtore what had been taken " for his uſe, upon any of the bills, aſſigned to other " purpoſes by ſeveral acts of Parliament, or out of the " proviſion made for the war of Ireland: that all the " arms and ammunition taken out of his magazines " ſhould be delivered into his ſtores, and whatſoever " ſhould be wanting they would ſupply in kind, ac- " cording to the proportions they had received: but " they propoſed, the perſons, to whoſe charge thoſe " public magazines ſhould be committed, being nomi- " nated by his Majeſty, might be ſuch, as the two " Houſes of Parliament might confide in, and that his " Majeſty would reſtore all ſuch arms and ammunition, " as had been taken for his uſe, from the ſeveral coun- " ties, cities, and towns.

" That the two Houſes would remove the garriſons " out of all towns and forts in their hands, wherein " there were no garriſons before theſe troubles, and ſlight " all fortifications made ſince that time, and thoſe towns " and forts to continue in the ſame condition they were " in before; and that thoſe garriſons ſhould not be " renewed, or the fortifications repaired, without conſent " of his Majeſty, and both Houſes of Parliament. That " the towns and forts, which were within the juriſdiction " of the Cinque Ports, ſhould be delivered into the " hands

" hands of ſuch a noble perſon, as the King ſhould ap-
" point to be Warden of the Cinque Ports, being ſuch a
" one as they ſhould confide in. That Portſmouth
" ſhould be reduced to the number of the garriſon, as
" was at that time when the Lords and Commons
" undertook the cuſtody of it; and that all other forts,
" caſtles, and towns, in which garriſons had been kept,
" and had been ſince the beginning of theſe troubles
" taken into their care and cuſtody, ſhould be reduced
" to the ſame eſtabliſhment they had in the year 1636,
" and ſhould be ſo continued; and that all thoſe towns,
" forts, and caſtles, ſhould be delivered up into the
" hands of ſuch perſons of quality and truſt, to be
" likewiſe nominated by his Majeſty, as the two Houſes
" ſhould confide in. That the Warden of the Cinque
" Ports, and all governors and commanders of towns,
" caſtles, and forts, ſhould keep the ſame towns,
" caſtles, and forts, reſpectively, for the ſervice of his
" Majeſty, and the ſafety of the kingdom; and that
" they ſhould not admit into them any foreign forces,
" or any other forces raiſed without his Majeſty's au-
" thority, and conſent of the two Houſes of Parliament;
" and they ſhould uſe their utmoſt endeavour to ſup-
" preſs all forces whatſoever raiſed without ſuch authority
" and conſent; and they ſhould ſeize all arms and
" ammunition provided for any ſuch forces.

" They likewiſe propoſed to the King, that he would
" remove the garriſon out of Newcaſtle, and all other
" towns, caſtles, and forts, where any garriſons had
" been placed by him ſince theſe troubles; and that the
" fortifications might be likewiſe ſlighted, and the
" towns and forts left in ſuch ſtate as they were in the
" year 1636; and that all other towns and caſtles
" in his hands, wherein there had been formerly garriſons,

" might be committed to ſuch perſons nominated by " him, as the Houſes ſhould confide in, and under ſuch " inſtructions as were formerly mentioned; and that " the new garriſons ſhould not be renewed, or the " fortifications repaired, without the conſent of the King " and both Houſes of Parliament. That the ſhips " ſhould be delivered into the charge of ſuch a noble " perſon, as the King ſhould nominate to be Lord High " Admiral of England, and the two Houſes confide in; " who ſhould receive that office by letters patents, *quam* " *diu ſe bene geſſerit*, and ſhould have power to nomi- " nate and appoint all ſubordinate commanders and " officers, and have all other powers appertaining to the " office of High Admiral; which ſhips he ſhould em- " ploy for the defence of the kingdom, againſt all foreign " forces whatſoever, and for the ſafeguard of merchants, " ſecuring of trade, and the guarding of Ireland, and " the intercepting of all ſupplies to be carried to the " rebels; and ſhould uſe his utmoſt endeavours to " ſuppreſs all forces, which ſhould be raiſed by any " perſon without his Majeſty's authority, and conſent of " the Lords and Commons in Parliament, and ſhould " ſeize all arms and ammunition provided for ſupply " of any ſuch forces."

To this anſwer, by which they required at leaſt to go whole ſharers with him in his ſovereignty, the King replied, " That he knew not what proportion of his " revenue had been made uſe of by his two Houſes, but " he had reaſon to believe, if much of it had not been " uſed, very much remained ſtill in their hands; his " whole revenue being ſo ſtopped, and ſeized on, by the " orders of one or both Houſes, even to the taking of " his money out of his Exchequer and Mint, and " bonds (forced from his Cofferer's Clerk) for the pro- " viſions

" viſions of his houſehold; that very little had come to
" his uſe for his own ſupport; but he would be well
" contented to allow whatſoever had been employed in
" the maintenance of his children, and to receive the
" arrears due to himſelf, and to be ſure of his own for
" the future. He was likewiſe willing to reſtore all
" monies taken for his uſe, by any authority from him,
" upon any bills aſſigned to other purpoſes, being
" aſſured he had received very little or nothing that
" way: and he expected likewiſe, that ſatisfaction
" ſhould be made by them for all thoſe ſeveral vaſt
" ſums, received, and diverted to other purpoſes, by
" orders of one or both Houſes, which ought to have
" been paid by the Act of Pacification to his ſubjects of
" Scotland, or employed for the diſcharge of the debts
" of the kingdom; or, by other acts of Parliament, for
" the relief of his poor Proteſtant ſubjects in Ireland.
" For what concerned his magazines, he was content
" that all the arms and ammunition, taken out of his
" magazines, which did remain in the hands of both
" Houſes, or of perſons employed by them, ſhould be,
" as ſoon as the treaty was concluded, delivered into the
" Tower of London; and that whatſoever ſhould be
" wanting of the proportions taken by them, ſhould be
" ſupplied by them, with all convenient ſpeed, in kind;
" which, he ſaid, ſhould be committed to, and continued
" in, the cuſtody of the ſworn officers, to whoſe places
" the ſame belonged: and if any of thoſe officers had
" already forfeited, or hereafter ſhould forfeit, that truſt,
" by any miſdemeanors, his Majeſty would by no
" means defend them from the juſtice of the law. That
" he always intended to reſtore ſuch arms and ammu-
" nition, which he had been compelled to take from any
" perſons and places, when his own had been taken

" from him; and would make them recompenſe as ſoon " as his own ſtores were reſtored to him.

" To whatſoever they propoſed for the ſlighting all " fortifications, and reducing all garriſons, which had " been made ſince the beginning of the troubles, and " leaving them in the ſtate they were before, the King " fully and abſolutely conſented; and that the old " caſtles and garriſons ſhould be reduced to their " ancient proportion and eſtabliſhment: but for the " governors and commanders of them, he ſaid, that the " Cinque Ports were already in the cuſtody of a noble " perſon, againſt whom he knew no juſt exception, and " who had ſuch a legal intereſt therein, that he could " not, with juſtice, remove him from it, until ſome " ſufficient cauſe were made appear to him: but he " was very willing, if he ſhould at any time be found " guilty of any thing that might make him unworthy " of that truſt, that he might be proceeded againſt ac- " cording to the rules of juſtice. That the government " of the town of Portſmouth, and all other forts, caſtles, " and towns, as were formerly kept by garriſons, ſhould " be put into the hands of ſuch perſons, againſt whom " no juſt exceptions could be made; all of them being, " before theſe troubles, by letters patents granted to " ſeveral perſons, againſt any of whom he knew not any " exceptions, who ſhould be removed, if juſt cauſe ſhould " be given for the ſame. The Warden of the Cinque " Ports, and all other governors and commanders of the " towns and caſtles, ſhould keep their charges, as by " the law they ought to do, and for the King's ſervice, " and ſafety of the kingdom; and they ſhould not admit " into any of them foreign forces, or other forces raiſed, " or brought into them contrary to the law; but ſhould " uſe their utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs ſuch forces,

" and

" and ſhould ſeize all arms and ammunition, which, by " the laws and ſtatutes of the kingdom, they ought to " ſeize."

To that part which concerned the ſhips, the King told them, " That he expected his own ſhips ſhould be " delivered to him, as by the law they ought to be; " and that when he ſhould think fit to nominate a Lord " High Admiral of England, it ſhould be ſuch a perſon " againſt whom no juſt exception could be made; and " if any ſhould be, he would always leave him to his " due trial and examination; and he would grant his " office to him by ſuch letters patents, as had been " uſed. In the mean time he would govern the Ad- " miralty by commiſſion, as had been in all times ac- " cuſtomed; and whatſoever ſhips ſhould be ſet out by " him, or his authority, ſhould be employed for the " defence of the kingdom againſt all foreign forces " whatſoever, for the ſafeguard of merchants, ſecuring of " trade, guarding of Ireland, and the intercepting of all " ſupplies to be carried to the rebels; and they ſhould " uſe their utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs all forces, " which ſhould be raiſed, by any perſon whatſoever, " againſt the laws and ſtatutes of the kingdom, and to " ſeize all arms and ammunition provided for the ſupply " of any ſuch forces."

It is evident to all men where the difference now lay between them, being whether the King would reſerve the diſpoſal of thoſe offices and places of truſt to himſelf, which all kings had enjoyed, and was indeed a part of his regality, or whether he would be content with ſuch a nomination, as, being to paſs, and depend upon their approbation, no man ſhould ever be admitted to them, who was nominated by him. The committee, upon his Majeſty's anſwer, deſired to know, " whether he did

" intend, that both Houſes ſhould expreſs their con-
" fidence of the perſons, to whoſe truſt thoſe places were
" to be committed; for that they were directed by their
" inſtructions, that, if his Majeſty was pleaſed to aſſent
" thereunto, and to nominate perſons of quality to receive
" the charge of them, that they ſhould certify it to both
" Houſes of Parliament, that thereupon they might
" expreſs their confidence in thoſe perſons, or humbly
" deſire his Majeſty to name others, none of which
" perſons to be removed during three years next enſuing,
" without juſt cauſe to be approved by both Houſes;
" and if any ſhould be ſo removed, or die within that
" ſpace, the perſons, to be put in their places, to be ſuch
" as the two Houſes ſhould confide in." The King anſwered, " That he did not intend, that the Houſes
" ſhould expreſs their confidence of the perſons, to
" whoſe truſts thoſe places ſhould be committed, but
" only that they ſhould have liberty, upon any juſt
" exception, to proceed againſt any ſuch perſons ac-
" cording to law; his Majeſty being reſolved not to
" protect them againſt the public juſtice. When any
" of the places ſhould be void, he well knew the nomi-
" nation, and free election, of thoſe who ſhould ſucceed,
" to be a right belonging to and inherent in his Ma-
" jeſty; and having been enjoyed by all his royal pro-
" genitors, he could not believe his well affected ſubjects
" deſired to limit him in that right; and deſired they
" would be ſatisfied with this anſwer, or give him any
" reaſons to alter his reſolution, and he would comply
" with them."

They told him, " there could be no good and firm
" peace hoped for, if there were not a cure found out
" for the fears and jealouſies; and they knew none ſure,
" but this which they had propoſed." The King replied,

replied, "That he rather expected reaſons grounded "upon law, to have ſhewed him, by the law, that he "had not that right he pretended, or that they had a "right ſuperior to his, in what was now in queſtion; "or that they would have ſhewed him ſome legal reaſon, "why the perſons truſted by him were incapable of "ſuch a truſt; than that they would only have inſiſted "upon fears and jealouſies, of which as he knew no "ground, ſo he muſt be ignorant of the cure. That "the argument they uſed might extend to the depriving "him of, or at leaſt ſharing with him in, all his juſt "regal power; ſince power, as well as forces, might be "the object of fears and jealouſies, and there would be "always a power left to hurt, whilſt there was any left "to protect and defend." He told them, "If he had as "much inclination, as he had more right, to fears and "jealouſies, he might with more reaſon have inſiſted "upon an addition of power, as a ſecurity to enable him "to keep his forts, when he had them, ſince it ap-"peared it was not ſo great, but that they had been "able to take them from him, than they to make any "difficulty to reſtore them to him in the ſame caſe they "were before. But, he ſaid, as he was himſelf content "with, ſo, he took God to witneſs, his greateſt deſire "was, to obſerve always and maintain the law of the land; "and expected the ſame from his ſubjects; and believed "the mutual obſervance of that rule, and neither of "them to fear what the law feared not, to be, on both "parts, a better cure for that dangerous diſeaſe of fears "and jealouſies, and a better means to eſtabliſh a happy "and perpetual peace, than for him to diveſt himſelf of "thoſe truſts, which the law of the land had ſettled in "the Crown alone, to preſerve the power and dignity "of the Prince, for the better protection of the ſubject,

"and

" and of the law, and to avoid thoſe dangerous diſtrac-
" tions, which the intereſt of any ſharers with him
" would have infallibly produced."

The committee neither offered to anſwer his Majeſty's reaſons, nor to oppoſe other reaſons to weigh againſt them; but only ſaid, "That they were commanded " by their inſtructions, to inſiſt upon the deſires of both " Houſes formerly expreſſed." To which the King made no other anſwer, " than that he conceived it all " the juſtice in the world for him to inſiſt, that what " was by law his own, and had been contrary to law " taken from him, ſhould be fully reſtored to him, " without conditioning to impoſe any new limitations " upon him, or his miniſters, which were not formerly " required from them by the law; and he thought it " moſt unreaſonable, to be preſſed to diminiſh his own " juſt rights himſelf, becauſe others had violated and " uſurped them." This was the ſum of what paſſed in the treaty upon that propoſition.

To the firſt propoſition of the two Houſes, " That his " Majeſty would be pleaſed to diſband his armies, as " they likewiſe would be ready to diſband all their " forces, which they had raiſed, and that he would be " pleaſed to return to his Parliament;" the King anſwered, " That he was as ready and willing that all armies " ſhould be diſbanded, as any perſon whatſoever; and " conceived the beſt way to it, would be a happy and " ſpeedy concluſion of the preſent treaty; which, if " both Houſes would contribute as much as he would " do to it, would be ſuddenly effected. And as he " deſired nothing more than to be with his two Houſes, " ſo he would repair thither as ſoon as he could poſſibly " do it with his honour and ſafety."

The committee aſked him, "if by a happy and " ſpeedy

" ſpeedy concluſion of the preſent treaty, he intended a " concluſion upon the two firſt propoſitions, or a con- " cluſion of the treaty in all the propoſitions of both " parts." The King, who well knew it would be very ungracious to deny the diſbanding of the armies, till all the propoſitions were agreed, ſome whereof would require much time, anſwered, " That he intended ſuch a con- " cluſion of, or in the treaty, as there might be a clear " evidence to himſelf, and his ſubjects, of a future peace, " and no ground left for the continuance or growth of " thoſe bloody diſſenſions; which, he doubted not, " might be obtained, if both Houſes would conſent that " the treaty ſhould proceed without farther interruption, " or limitation of days." They aſked him, " What he " intended ſhould be a clear evidence to him, and his " good ſubjects, of a future peace, and no ground left " for the continuance and growth of thoſe bloody " diſſenſions?" His Majeſty told them, " If the concluſion " of the preſent treaty upon his firſt propoſition, and " the firſt propoſition of both Houſes, ſhould be ſo full, " and perfectly made, that the law of the land might " have a full, free, and uninterrupted courſe, for the " defence and preſervation of the rights of his Majeſty, " and of themſelves, and the reſt of his ſubjects, there " would be thence a clear evidence to him, and all men, " of a future peace; and it would be ſuch a concluſion " as he intended, never meaning that both armies " ſhould remain undiſbanded until the propoſitions on " both ſides were fully concluded." To the other clauſe of their own propoſition concerning the King's return to the Parliament, they ſaid, " they had no inſtructions to " treat upon it;" which the King much wondered at; and finding that they had no other authority to treat, or debate what was neceſſary to be done in order to diſ-

banding,

banding, but only to preſs him to appoint a day for the actual diſbanding; and that the forces in the North, where he had a great army, and they had none, might be firſt diſbanded, he endeavoured to draw them to ſome propoſitions upon his return to the Parliament; from whence expedients would naturally reſult, if they purſued that heartily, which would conclude a general peace. And it ſeemed very ſtrange, that, after ſo many diſcourſes of the King's abſence from the Houſes, from whence they had taught the people to believe that moſt of the preſent evils flowed and proceeded, when a treaty was now entered upon, and that was a part of their own firſt propoſition, that their committee ſhould have no inſtructions or authority to treat upon it. After this, they received new inſtructions, "to declare to his Ma-"jeſty the deſire of both Houſes, for his coming to his "Parliament; which, they ſaid, they had often expreſſed "with full offers of ſecurity to his royal perſon, agree-"able to their duty and allegiance, and they knew "no cauſe why he might not repair thither with honour "and ſafety." When the King found he could not engage them in that argument to make any particular overture, or invitation to him; and that the committee, who expreſſed willingneſs enough, had not in truth the leaſt power to promote, or contribute to, an accommodation, leſt they ſhould make the people believe, that he had a deſire to continue the war, becauſe he conſented not to their propoſition of diſbanding the armies, he ſent this meſſage, by an expreſs of his own, to the two Houſes, after he had firſt communicated it to their committee.

Oxford,

Oxford, April 12th, 1643.

His Majeſty's meſſage to the two Houſes of April 12, 1643.

"To ſhew to the whole world, how earneſtly his "Majeſty longs for peace, and that no ſucceſs ſhall "make him deſire the continuance of his army to any "other end, or for any longer time, than that, and "until, things may be ſo ſettled, as that the law may "have a full, free, and uninterrupted courſe, for the "defence and preſervation of the rights of his Majeſty, "both Houſes, and his good ſubjects:

1. "As ſoon as his Majeſty is ſatisfied in his firſt "propoſition, concerning his own revenue, magazines, "ſhips, and forts, in which he deſires nothing, but "that the juſt, known, legal rights of his Majeſty, "(devolved to him from his progenitors), and of the "perſons truſted by him, which have violently been "taken from both, be reſtored unto him, and unto "them; unleſs any juſt and legal exception againſt any "of the perſons truſted by him (which are yet unknown "to his Majeſty) can be made appear to him:

2. "As ſoon as all the members of both Houſes ſhall "be reſtored to the ſame capacity of ſitting and voting "in Parliament, as they had upon the firſt of January "1641; the ſame, of right, belonging unto them by "their birth-rights, and the free election of thoſe that "ſent them; and having been voted from them for "adhering to his Majeſty in theſe diſtractions; his "Majeſty not intending that this ſhould extend either "to the Biſhops, whoſe votes have been taken away by "bill, or to ſuch, in whoſe places, upon new writs, new "elections have been made:

3. "As ſoon as his Majeſty, and both Houſes, may "be ſecured from ſuch tumultuous aſſemblies, as to the "great breach of the privileges, and the high diſhonour

"of

" of Parliaments, have formerly aſſembled about both " Houſes, and awed the members of the ſame; and " occaſioned two ſeveral complaints from the Lords' " Houſe, and two ſeveral deſires of that Houſe to the " Houſe of Commons, to join in a declaration againſt " them; the complying with which deſire might have " prevented all theſe miſerable diſtractions, which have " enſued; which ſecurity, his Majeſty conceives, can be " only ſettled by adjourning the Parliament to ſome " other place, at the leaſt twenty miles from London, " the choice of which his Majeſty leaves to both " Houſes:

" His Majeſty will moſt cheerfully and readily " conſent, that both armies be immediately diſbanded, " and give a preſent meeting to both his Houſes of " Parliament at the time and place, at and to which " the Parliament ſhall be agreed to be adjourned: his " Majeſty being moſt confident, that the law will then " recover due credit and eſtimation; and that upon a " free debate, in a full and peaceable convention of " Parliament, ſuch proviſions will be made againſt " ſeditious preaching, and printing againſt his Majeſty, " and the eſtabliſhed laws, which have been one of the " chief cauſes of the preſent diſtractions, and ſuch care " will be taken concerning the legal and known rights " of his Majeſty, and the property and liberty of his " ſubjects, that whatſoever hath been publiſhed, or done, " in or by colour of any illegal declaration, ordinance, " or order of one or both Houſes, or any committee of " either of them, and particularly the power to raiſe " arms without his Majeſty's conſent, will be in ſuch " manner recalled, diſclaimed, and provided againſt, " that no ſeed will remain for the like to ſpring out of " for the future, to diſturb the peace of the kingdom,

" and

" and to endanger the very being of it. And in ſuch a " convention his Majeſty is reſolved, by his readineſs to " conſent to whatſoever ſhall be propoſed to him, by " bill, for the real good of his ſubjects, (and particularly " for the better diſcovery and ſpeedier conviction of " Recuſants; for the education of the children of Papiſts " by Proteſtants in the Proteſtant religion; for the " prevention of practices of Papiſts againſt the State; " and the due execution of the laws, and true levying of " the penalties againſt them), to make known to all the " world, how cauſeleſs thoſe fears and jealouſies have " been, which have been raiſed againſt him; and by " that ſo diſtracted this miſerable kingdom. And if " this offer of his Majeſty be not conſented to, (in which " he aſks nothing for which there is not apparent juſtice " on his ſide, and in which he defers many things highly " concerning both himſelf and people, till a full and " peaceable convention of Parliament, which in juſtice " he might now require), his Majeſty is confident, that " it will then appear to all the world, not only who is " moſt deſirous of peace, and whoſe fault it is that both " armies are not now diſbanded; but who have been " the true and firſt cauſe, that this peace was ever " interrupted, or thoſe armies raiſed; and the beginning " or continuance of the war, and the deſtruction and " deſolation of this poor kingdom (which is too likely " to enſue) will not, by the moſt intereſſed, paſſionate, " or prejudicate perſon, be imputed to his Majeſty."

To this meſſage the two Houſes returned no anſwer to the King, but required the committee to return to Weſtminſter (having been in Oxford with his Majeſty juſt twenty days) with ſuch poſitive circumſtances, that the Houſe of Commons enjoined their members to begin their journey the ſame day; which they obeyed; though

though it was ſo late, that they were forced to very inconvenient accommodations; and at their return, ſome of them were looked upon with great jealouſy, as perſons engaged by the King, and diſinclined to the Parliament; and this jealouſy prevailed ſo far, that Mr. Martin opened a letter from the Earl of Northumberland to his own lady, preſuming he ſhould therein have diſcovered ſome combination; and this inſolence was not diſliked.

Many were of opinion, that the King was too ſevere in this treaty, and inſiſted too much upon what is his own by right and law; and that if he would have diſtributed offices and places liberally to particular men, which had been a condeſcenſion in policy to be ſubmitted to, he might have been repoſſeſſed of his own power. And I have heard this alleged by many, who at that time were extremely violent againſt all ſuch artifices. The committee themſelves (who at that time perfectly abhorred the proceedings of the Parliament, or rather the power and ſuperiority of the Earl of Eſſex) ſeemed exceedingly deſirous of ſuch an accommodation, as all good men deſired; and to believe, that if the King would have condeſcended ſo far, as to nominate the Earl of Northumberland to be Lord High Admiral, that it would have made ſo great a diviſion in the Houſes, that the treaty would have been continued, and his Majeſty been ſatisfied in all the other propoſitions. And the Earl of Northumberland, to private friends, did make as full profeſſions of future ſervice to his Majeſty, and as ample recognitions of paſt errors and miſtakes, as could reaſonably be expected from a wary nature, before he could be ſure what reception ſuch profeſſions and vows would find. But the King thought the power and intereſt of that committee would be able to do little,

little, if it could not prevail for the enlarging the time of the treaty, in which they ſeemed heartily to engage themſelves. And he was reſolved at leaſt to have a probable aſſurance of the concluſion, before he would offer ſuch conceſſions, as taking no effect might prove prejudicial to him: as particularly, the nominating the Earl of Northumberland to be Admiral (though he would willingly have done it, as the price and pledge of an honourable peace) would have diſcontented all who had, how unreaſonably ſoever, promiſed themſelves that preferment; and many would have imputed it to an unſeaſonable eaſineſs, (from which imputation it concerned the King, at that time, as much to purge himſelf, as of unmercifulneſs and revenge), upon promiſes and hopes, to have readmitted a man to a charge and truſt, he had ſo fatally betrayed and broken, againſt as ſolemn promiſes and obligations, at the leaſt, as he could now enter into; and therefore it concerned the King to be ſure of ſome advantage, in lieu of this viſible hazard.

I am one of thoſe, who do believe that this obligation, at this time, laid upon the Earl of Northumberland, with ſuch other circumſtances of kindneſs as would have been fit to accompany it, would have met real gratitude and faithfulneſs in him, (for as, originally, he had, I am perſuaded, no evil purpoſes againſt the King; ſo he had now ſufficient diſdain and indignation againſt thoſe who got him to tread their ways, when he had not their ends), and that it would have made ſome rent and diviſion in the two Houſes, (which could not but have produced ſome benefit to the King), and that it might probably have procured ſome few days' addition for the continuance of the treaty; the avowed ground of denying it being, becauſe the King had not, in

the leaſt degree, conſented to any one thing propoſed by them: but, I confeſs, I cannot entertain any imagination, that it would have produced a peace, or given the King any advantage, or benefit in the war: what inconvenience it might have produced hath been touched before. For, beſides that the ſtirring and active party, who carried on the war, were neither gracious to the Earl of Northumberland, nor he to them, their favourite at ſea being then the Earl of Warwick, who had the poſſeſſion of the fleet, and whom alone they believed fit to be truſted with the navy; whoever calls to mind what was done in the Houſes, during the time of the treaty, and by their directions; that by their own authority they directed all the lands of Biſhops, Deans, and Chapters, to be ſequeſtered, and inhibited their tenants to pay any rent to them; that, under pretence of ſearching for arms, and taking away ſuperſtitious pictures, they cauſed the Queen's Chapel at Somerſet-Houſe (where ſhe was to exerciſe her devotion, if they ever meant ſhe ſhould return again to London) to be moſt licentiouſly rifled; in which licenſe with impunity, her lodgings were plundered, and all her furniture and goods of value taken away and embezzled; that there was an order made in the Houſe of Commons, when they ſent their meſſengers every day to Oxford without any formality, or control, "that whatſoever perſon ſhould come from "Oxford, or any part of the King's army, to London, or "the parts adjacent, without the warrant of both Houſes "of Parliament, or of the Lord General the Earl of "Eſſex, he ſhould be apprehended as a ſpy and in-"telligencer, and be proceeded againſt according to the "rules and grounds of war:" by virtue of which order of the Houſe of Commons only, and without any communication that notice might be taken of it, a ſervant

of

of the King's, for diſcharging the duty of his place, was executed; which ſhall be anon remembered; all which, except the execution of that man, was tranſacted during the time of the treaty at Oxford.

Whoſoever remembers the other propoſition upon which the treaty was founded, and the bills then preſented to the King for his royal aſſent; that there was no unreaſonable thing demanded in the nineteen propoſitions, which was not comprehended in theſe fourteen, and many additions made, that were not in the former; that they demanded the total abolition and extirpation of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, and Chapters, and the whole frame of the government of the Church; and another bill for the calling an Aſſembly of Divines, nominated by themſelves, (which was a preſumption, as contrary to the policy and government of the kingdom, as the moſt extravagant act they had done), conſiſting of perſons the moſt deeply engaged in the moſt unwarrantable acts that had been done; and yet his Majeſty was required to promiſe to paſs ſuch other bills for ſettling of church-government, as, upon conſultation with that Aſſembly of Divines, ſhould be reſolved on by both Houſes of Parliament: that all the other bills then preſented to the King for his royal aſſent, and inſiſted on by their fourth propoſition, though they had ſpecious and popular titles, contained many clauſes in them contrary to common equity, and the right of the ſubject, and introduced proceedings very different from the known juſtice of the kingdom; and therefore, beſides the time and circumſtances of the paſſing thoſe acts, (when the nation was in blood), not like to meet with his Majeſty's approbation; I ſay, whoſoever remembers and conſiders all this, (to ſay nothing of the limitations by which their committee were bound, without any

power of debating, or other capacity than to deliver the reſolutions of the two Houſes, and to receive the King's anſwer, which might as effectually have been done by any one ſingle ordinary meſſenger), cannot, I conceive, believe, that the King's conſenting to make any one perſon among them High Admiral of England, would have been a means to have reſtored the kingdom to a preſent peace, and the King to his juſt rights and authority. And if all theſe conſiderations be not ſufficient to render that ſuppoſition improbable, that, which follows next in order of ſtory, will abundantly confute it.

On Saturday the 15th of April, which was the very day on which the treaty expired at Oxford, being the laſt of the twenty days which were firſt aſſigned, and to which no importunity of the King's could procure an addition, the Earl of Eſſex marched with his whole army from Windſor, and ſate down before Reading; which preparation would not have been ſo exactly made, and the reſolution ſo punctually taken, if they had meant any reaſonable conceſſions from the King ſhould have fruſtrated that vaſt charge, and determined all farther contentions. The Earl had never before been in the head of ſo gallant an army, which conſiſted of about ſixteen thouſand foot, and above three thouſand horſe, in as good an equipage, and ſupplied with all things neceſſary for a ſiege, as could be expected from an enemy which knew no wants, and had the command of the Tower of London, and all other ſtores of the kingdom. In the town were above three thouſand foot, and a regiment of horſe conſiſting of near three hundred; the fortifications were very mean to endure a formed ſiege, being made only to ſecure a winter quarter, and never intended for a ſtanding garriſon. And it is very true,

The Earl of Eſſex marches to beſiege Reading April 15, being the laſt day of the treaty.

true, that it was reſolved at a council of war at Oxford, "that before the end of April," (before which time it was conceived the enemy would not adventure to take the field) "Sir Arthur Aſton ſhould ſlight thoſe works, "and draw off his garriſon to the King;" and that which made it leſs able to bear a ſiege, than the weakneſs of their works, was their want of ammunition; for they had not forty barrels of powder; which could have held a briſk and a daring enemy but a ſhort time. And as this defect proceeded not from want of foreſight, ſo it was not capable of being ſupplied, at leaſt in that proportion as was worthy the name of a ſupply. For the King had no port to friend, by which he could bring ammunition to Oxford; neither had he been yet able to ſet up any manufacture for any conſiderable ſupply. So that what he brought up with him after the battle of Edgehill, which was the remainder of the four hundred barrels brought by the ſhip called the Providence, before the ſetting up of his ſtandard, had ſerved for all his expeditions, being diſtributed into the ſeveral garriſons; and was ſtill to furniſh all his growing occaſions; and that magazine now at Reading (which was no greater than is before mentioned) was yet double to what was in any other place, Oxford only excepted; wherein, at this time, there was not above one hundred barrels of powder, and in no one place match proportionable to that little powder: and this defect is wholly to be imputed to the lowneſs and ſtraitneſs of the King's condition; for there was no want of induſtry, but all imaginable care and pains taken to prevent and ſupply it.

Notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, the town looked upon the enemy with courage and contempt enough; and, to ſay the truth, both officers and ſoldiers were as

good, as in the infancy of a war could be expected; and they had no apprehenſion of want of victual, with which they were abundantly ſtored. The ſoldiers without were, for the moſt part, newly levied, and few of their officers acquainted with the way and order of aſſaulting towns; and this was the firſt ſiege that happened in England. Upon the firſt ſitting down before it, after they had taken a full view of the ground, their General adviſed with his council of war, in what manner he ſhould proceed, whether by aſſault, or approach; in which there was great diverſity of opinions. "The works were weak; the number of the aſſailants "ſufficient; all materials in readineſs; they believed "the ſoldiers in the town full of apprehenſions, and "a very conſiderable party of the inhabitants diſaffected "to the garriſon, who in the time of a ſtorm would "be able to beget a great diſtraction. They might be "able to ſtorm it in ſo many places at once, that the "number of the ſoldiers within would not be able to "defend all; and if they prevailed in any one, their "whole body of horſe might enter, and be immediately "maſters of the town: if they prevailed this way, their "army would have that reputation, and carry that terror "with it, that no power of the King's would hereafter be "able to abide it; but they might march over the "kingdom, and ſubdue every part of it: whereas if "they delayed their work, and proceeded by way of "approach, thoſe in the town would recover heart, "and, after they had digeſted the preſent fears and "apprehenſions, contemn their danger; and their own "ſoldiers, who were yet freſh and vigorous, would "every day abate in courage, and their numbers in a "few weeks leſſen as much by ſickneſs and duty, as "they ſhould probably do by an aſſault." On the other

other hand it was objected, "that the army conſiſted moſt of new levies," (and in truth there were not, of all that gallant army that was at Edgehill, among the foot, three thouſand men), "who would be hardly "brought to begin upon ſo deſperate ſervice; that it "was the only army the Parliament had, upon which all "their hopes and welfare depended; and if in the "ſpring it ſhould receive an eminent foil, they would "not recover their courage again all the ſummer. "That they were not only to look upon the taking of "Reading, but, purſuing that in a reaſonable way, to "keep themſelves in a poſture and condition to end the "war by a battle with all the King's forces; which "would no doubt apply themſelves to their relief; and "no place under heaven could be ſo commodious for "them to try their fortune in, as that. Whereas if they "ſhould haſtily engage themſelves upon an aſſault, and "receive a repulſe, and ſhould be afterwards forced to "riſe to fight with the King, they ſhould never make "their men ſtand; and then their cauſe was loſt." As for the danger of ſickneſs among the ſoldiers, who were not acquainted with hardſhip, it was urged, "that "though it were earlier in the year than the armies "uſually marched into the field, yet they had much "better accommodation and proviſion than armies uſe "to have; their horſe (to whom that time of the year is "commonly moſt hazardous, through the want of "forage) being plentifully provided for with hay and "oats by the benefit of the river, and all ſupplies being "ſent for the foot out of London."

And in truth it is hardly credible what vaſt quantities (beſides the proviſions made in a very regular way by the commiſſioners) of excellent victual ready dreſſed were every day ſent in waggons and carts from London

to the army, upon the voluntary contributions from private families, according to their affections to the good work in hand; the common people being perſuaded, that the taking of Reading would deſtroy all the King's hopes of an army, and that it would be taken in very few days. Upon theſe arguments and debates, (in which all theſe reaſons were conſidered on both ſides), the major part of the council inclined, and with that the General complied, to purſue the buſineſs by approach. It was reported, that the officers of horſe in the council were all for a ſtorm, and the foot officers for approaching. The chief care and overſight of the approaches was committed to Philip Skippon, a man often mentioned in the firſt part of this hiſtory, who had been an old officer, and of good experience in the Low Countries, and was now made Serjeant-Major-General of the army, by the abſolute power of the two Houſes, and without the cheerful concurrence of the Earl of Eſſex; though Sir John Merrick, who had executed that place by his Lordſhip's choice from the beginning, was preferred to be General of the ordnance.

The approaches advanced very faſt, the ground being in all places as fit for that work as could be, and the town lying ſo low, that they had eaſily raiſed many batteries, from whence they ſhot their cannon into the town at a near diſtance, but without any conſiderable execution; there being fewer loſt by that ſervice than will be believed, and but one man of note, Lieutenant Colonel D'Ews, a young man of notable courage and vivacity, who had his leg ſhot off by a cannon bullet, of which he ſpeedily and very cheerfully died. From the town there were frequent ſallies with good ſucceſs; and very many ſoldiers, and ſome officers, of the enemy were killed; more, hurt; who were ſent to hoſpitals near

near London; and thoſe that were ſent to London, as many cart-loads were, were brought in the night, and diſpoſed with great ſecrecy, that the citizens might take no notice of it: the ſtratagems of this kind are too ridiculous to be particularly ſet down, though purſued then with great induſtry, inſomuch as ſome were puniſhed for reporting that there were many ſoldiers killed and hurt before Reading; and it was a mark of malignity to believe theſe reports; ſo unfit the people were to be truſted with all truths.

Within a week after the beginning of the ſiege, Sir Arthur Aſton the Governor being in a court of guard near the line which was neareſt to the enemy's approaches, a cannon ſhot accidentally lighted upon the top of it, which was covered with brick-tile, a piece whereof, the ſhot going through, hit the Governor in the head, and made that impreſſion upon him, that his ſenſes ſhortly failed him, ſo that he was not only diſabled afterwards from executing in his own perſon, but incompetent for counſel or direction; ſo that the chief command was devolved to Colonel Richard Fielding, who was the eldeſt Colonel of the garriſon. This accident was then thought of great misfortune to the King, for there was not in his army an officer of greater reputation, and of whom the enemy had a greater dread. The next night after this accident, but before it was known at Oxford, a party from thence under the command of Mr. Wilmot, the Lieutenant General of the horſe, without any ſignal oppoſition, put in a ſupply of powder, and a regiment of five hundred foot into the town, and received advertiſement from thence of the Governor's hurt, and that they muſt expect to be relieved within a week, beyond which time they ſhould not be able to hold out. How ill the King was provided for ſuch an expedition,

expedition, will beſt appear by remembering how his forces were then ſcattered, and the preſent poſture he was then in at Oxford.

The nimble and the ſucceſsful marches of Sir William Waller, whom we left triumphing in Wales, after his ſtrange ſurpriſe of the Lord Herbert's forces near Glouceſter, cauſed the King to ſend Prince Maurice with a ſtrong party of horſe and dragoons to attend him, who moved from place to place with as great ſucceſs as ſpeed, after his ſucceſs at Hynam; and to make the ſhame of thoſe officers the leſs, with the ſpirit of victory doubled upon him, he came before Hereford, a town very well affected, and reaſonably well fortified, having a ſtrong ſtone wall about it, and ſome cannon, and there being in it ſome ſoldiers of good reputation, and many gentlemen of honour and quality; and three or four hundred ſoldiers, beſides the inhabitants well armed; yet, without the loſs of one man on either ſide, to the admiration of all who then heard it, or have ever ſince heard of it, he perſuaded them fairly to give up the town, and yield themſelves priſoners upon quarter; which they did, and were preſently by him ſent for their better ſecurity to Briſtol.

Sir William Waller takes Hereford:

From thence he marched to Worceſter, where his conqueſts met ſome ſtop; for, though the town was not ſo ſtrong, nor the garriſon ſo great, (I mean of ſoldiers; for the inhabitants were more), as Hereford, nor one officer in it of more experience than he had gotten this unhappy war, the inhabitants had the courage to reſolve not to admit any ſummons or meſſenger from him; and when his drum, againſt all ſigns made to him from the walls not to approach, did notwithſtanding refuſe to return without delivering his meſſage, they ſhot at him, and killed him; and when Sir William Waller himſelf,

comes before Worceſter: is repulſed:

to

to revenge that affront, marched with his whole body towards them, (there being only an old gate, without bridge or work, before it, to hinder his entrance into the town), they entertained him ſo roughly, that he was forced to retire with the loſs of ſome officers, and about twenty common men; after which, his men having not been accuſtomed to ſuch uſage, he got over the Severn again, and, with quick night marches, ſo avoided Prince Maurice, (who took no leſs pains to meet with him), that with ſome few light ſkirmiſhes, in which he received ſmall loſs, he carried his party ſafe. and full of reputation, through Glouceſter to the Earl of Eſſex's army before Reading; himſelf being ſent for to London, upon a deſign that muſt be hereafter mentioned.

The great want at Oxford (if any one particular might deſerve that ſtyle, where all neceſſary things were wanted) was ammunition; and the only hope of ſupply was from the North; yet the paſſage from thence ſo dangerous, that a party little inferior in ſtrength to an army was neceſſary to convey it; for, though the Earl of Newcaſtle, at that time, was maſter of the field in Yorkſhire, yet the enemy was much ſuperior in all the counties between that county and Oxford; and had planted many garriſons ſo near all the roads, that the moſt private meſſengers travelled with great hazard, three being intercepted for one that eſcaped. To clear theſe obſtructions, and not without the deſign of guarding and waiting on the Queen to Oxford, if her Majeſty were ready for that journey, at leaſt to ſecure a neceſſary ſupply of powder, Prince Rupert reſolved in perſon to march towards the North, and about the beginning of April (the treaty being then at Oxford, and there being hopes that it would have produced a good effect, at leaſt that the Earl of Eſſex would not have

Prince Rupert marches towards the North.

have taken the field till May) his Highneſs, with a party of twelve hundred horſe and dragoons, and ſix or ſeven hundred foot, marched towards Litchfield; which if he could reduce, and ſettle there a garriſon for the King, lay moſt convenient for that northern communication; and would with it diſſolve other little adjacent holds of the enemy's, which contributed much to their interruption. In his way thither, he was to march through Bromicham, a town in Warwickſhire before mentioned, and of as great fame for hearty, wilful, affected diſloyalty to the King, as any place in England. It is before remembered, that the King in his march from Shrewſbury, notwithſtanding the eminent malignity of that people, had ſhewed as eminent compaſſion to them; not giving way that they ſhould ſuffer by the undiſtinguiſhing licenſe of the ſoldier, or by the ſeverity of his own juſtice; which clemency of his found ſo unequal a return, that, the next day after his remove thence, the inhabitants of that place ſeized on his carriages, wherein were his own plate and furniture, and conveyed them to Warwick caſtle; and had from that time, with unuſual induſtry and vigilance, apprehended all meſſengers who were employed, or ſuſpected to be ſo, in the King's ſervice; and though it was never made a garriſon by direction of the Parliament, being built in ſuch a form, as was indeed hardly capable of being fortified, yet they had ſo great a deſire to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the King's good ſubjects, that they caſt up little ſlight works at both ends of the town, and barricadoed the reſt, and voluntarily engaged themſelves not to admit any intercourſe with the King's forces.

In this poſture Prince Rupert now found them, having in the town with them at that time a troop of horſe, belonging to the garriſon of Litchfield, which was grown

to

to that ſtrength, that it infeſted thoſe parts exceedingly; and would in a ſhort time have extended itſelf to a powerful juriſdiction. His Highneſs hardly believing it poſſible, that, when they ſhould diſcover his power, they would offer to make reſiſtance, and being unwilling to receive interruption in his more important deſign, ſent his Quarter Maſters thither to take up his lodging; and to aſſure them, "that if they behaved "themſelves peaceably, they ſhould not ſuffer for what "was paſt:" but they had not confidence good enough to believe him, and abſolutely refuſed to let him quarter in the town; and from their little works, with mettle equal to their malice, they diſcharged their ſhot upon him; but they were quickly overpowered, and ſome parts of the town being fired, they were not able to contend with both enemies; and, diſtracted between both, ſuffered the aſſailant to enter without much loſs; who took not that vengeance upon them they deſerved, but made them expiate their tranſgreſſions with paying a leſs mulct than might have been expected from their wealth, if their wickedneſs had been leſs. takes Brewicham.

In the entrance of this town, and in the too eager purſuit of that looſe troop of horſe that was in it, the Earl of Denbigh (who from the beginning of the war, with unwearied pains, and exact ſubmiſſion to diſcipline and order, had been a volunteer in Prince Rupert's troop, and been engaged with ſingular courage in all enterprizes of danger) was unfortunately wounded with many hurts on the head and body with ſwords and poll-axes; of which, within two or three days, he died. Had it not been for this ill accident, (and to remember the diſmal inequality of this contention, in which always ſome Earl, or perſon of great honour or fortune, fell, when, after the moſt ſignal victory over the other ſide, there

there was ſeldom loſt a man of any known family, or of other reputation, than of paſſion for the cauſe in which he fell), I ſhould not have mentioned an action of ſo little moment, as was this of Bromicham: which I ſhall yet enlarge with the remembrance of a clergyman, who was here killed at the entering of the town, after he had not only refuſed quarter, but provoked the ſoldier by the moſt odious revilings and reproaches of the perſon and honour of the King, that can be imagined, and renouncing all allegiance to him; in whoſe pockets were found ſeveral papers of memorials of his own obſcene and ſcurrilous behaviour with ſeveral women, in ſuch looſe expreſſions, as modeſt ears cannot endure. This man was the principal governor and incendiary of the rude people of that place againſt their Sovereign. So full a qualification was a heightened meaſure of malice and diſloyalty for this ſervice, that it weighed down the infamy of any other lewd and vicious behaviour.

From Bromicham, the Prince, without longer ſtay than to remove two or three ſlight garriſons in the way, which made very little reſiſtance, marched to Litchfield, and eaſily poſſeſſed himſelf of the town, which lay open to all comers; but the cloſe (containing the cathedral church and all the clergymen's houſes) was ſtrongly fortified, and reſolved againſt him. The wall, about which there was a broad and deep moat, was ſo thick and ſtrong, that no battery the Prince could raiſe would make any impreſſion; the Governor, one Colonel Rouſwell, very reſolute; and the garriſon of ſuch men as were moſt tranſported with ſuperſtition to the cauſe in which they engaged, and in number equal to the ground they were to keep, and their proviſions ample for a longer time than it was fit the Prince ſhould ſtay

before

before it. So that it was believed, when his Highneſs had in vain endeavoured to procure it by treaty, he would not have engaged before it; for his ſtrength conſiſted, upon the matter, wholly in horſe; his foot and dragoons being an inconſiderable force for ſuch an attempt. But whether the difficulties were not throughly diſcerned and weighed at firſt, or whether the importance of the place was thought ſo great, that it was worth an equal hazard and adventure, he reſolved not to move till he had tried the uttermoſt; and, to that purpoſe, drew what addition of force he could out of the country, to ſtrengthen his handful of foot; and perſuaded many officers and volunteers of the horſe to alight, and bear their parts in the duty; with which they cheerfully and gallantly complied; and in leſs than ten days he had drawn the moat dry, and prepared two bridges for the graff. The beſieged omitted nothing that could be performed by vigilant and bold men; and killed and wounded many of the beſiegers; and diſappointed and ſpoiled one mine they had prepared. In the end, early in the morning, the Prince having prepared all things in readineſs for the aſſault, he ſprung another mine; which ſucceeded according to wiſh, and made a breach of twenty foot in the wall, in a place leaſt ſuſpected by thoſe within; yet they defended it with all poſſible courage and reſolution, and killed and hurt very many; ſome, officers of prime quality; whereof the Lord Digby, Colonel Gerrard, Colonel Wagſtaffe, and Major Leg, were the chief of the wounded; and when they had entered the breach, they continued the diſpute ſo fiercely within, (the narrowneſs of the breach, and the aſcent, not ſuffering many to enter together, and no horſe being able to get over), that after they had killed Colonel Uſher, and ſome other good officers, and taken

others

others priſoners, (for both Colonel Wagſtaffe and William Leg were in their hands), they compelled the Prince to conſent to very honourable conditions; which he readily yielded to, as thinking himſelf a gainer by the bargain. And ſo the garriſon marched out with fair reſpect, and the Prince's teſtimony of their having made a courageous defence; his Highneſs being very glad of his conqueſt, though the purchaſe had ſhrewdly ſhaken his troops, and robbed him of many officers and ſoldiers he much valued. At this time, either the day before or the day after this action, Prince Rupert received a poſitive order from the King, "to make all poſſible "haſte, with all the ſtrength he had, and all he could "draw together from thoſe parts, to the relief of "Reading;" which was in the danger we but now left it. Upon which his Highneſs, committing the government of Litchfield to Colonel Baggot, a ſon of a good and powerful family in that county, and appointing his troops to make what haſte was poſſible after him, himſelf with a few ſervants came to Oxford to attend the King, whom he found gone towards Reading.

and Litchfield, and returns to the King.

The importunity from that garriſon for relief was ſo peremptory, and the concernment ſo great in their preſervation, that the King found it would not bear the neceſſary delay of Prince Rupert's returning with his forces; and therefore his Majeſty in perſon, with thoſe horſe and foot which he could ſpeedily draw together, leaving very few behind him in Oxford, or in any other garriſon, advanced towards Reading; hoping, and that was the utmoſt of his hope, that he might, with the aſſiſtance of the garriſon, be able to force one quarter, and ſo draw out his men; and by the advantage of thoſe rivers which divided the enemy, and by the paſſes, be able to retire to Oxford; for being joined, he could

not

not have equalled one half of the enemy's army. When the King drew near the town, the day being paſſed whereon they had been promiſed, or had promiſed themſelves, relief, he was encountered by a party of the enemy, which defended their poſt, who being quickly ſeconded by ſupplies of horſe and foot from all their quarters, after a very ſharp conflict, in which many fell on both ſides, the King's party, commanded by the Earl of Forth himſelf, (the General), conſiſting of near one thouſand muſqueteers, were forced to retire to their body; which they did the ſooner, becauſe thoſe of the town made no ſemblance of endeavouring to join with them; which was what they principally relied upon. The reaſon of that was, the garriſon, not ſeeing their relief coming, had ſent for a parley to the enemy, which was agreed to, with a truce for ſo many hours, upon which hoſtages were delivered; and a treaty begun, when the King came to relieve it. Upon the view of the enemy's ſtrength and intrenchment, all were of opinion that the ſmall forces of the King would not be able to raiſe the ſiege, or to join with thoſe in the town; and in this melancholic concluſion his Majeſty retired for the preſent, reſolving to make any other reaſonable attempt the next day. In the mean time, ſome ſoldiers found means to eſcape out of the town, and Colonel Fielding himſelf in the night came to the King, and told him the ſtate they were in; and "that they were in treaty, and be-"lieved he might have very good conditions, and liberty "to march away with all their arms and baggage;" which was ſo welcome news, that the King bid him, Prince Rupert being then preſent, "that, if he could "procure ſuch conditions, he ſhould accept them:" for indeed the men and the arms were all that the King de-

fired, the loſs of either of which was like to prove fatal to him. The King continued ſtill at Nettlebeck, a village ſeven or eight miles diſtant from Reading, to attend the ſucceſs of the treaty; reſolving, if it ſucceeded not, to try the utmoſt again for their redemption: but all men praying heartily for liberty to march off upon the treaty, the next day theſe articles were agreed on.

Reading ſurrendered upon articles, April 27.

1. "That the governor, commanders, and ſoldiers, "both horſe and foot, might march out with flying co- "lours, arms, and four pieces of ordnance, ammunition, "bag and baggage, light match, bullet in mouth, "drums beating, and trumpets ſounding.

2. "That they might have free paſſage to his Ma- "jeſty's city of Oxford, without interruption of any of "the forces under the command of his Excellency the "Earl of Eſſex; provided the ſaid governor, command- "ers, and ſoldiers, uſe no hoſtility until they come to "Oxford.

3. "That what perſons were accidentally come to the "town, and ſhut up by the ſiege, might have liberty "to paſs without interruption; ſuch perſons only ex- "cepted, as had run away from the army under the "command of the Earl of Eſſex.

4. "That they ſhall have fifty carriages for baggage, "ſick, and hurt men.

5. "That the inhabitants of the town of Reading "ſhould not be prejudiced in their eſtates, or perſons, "either by plundering or impriſonment; and that they "who would leave the town, might have free leave, and "paſſage, ſafely to go to what place they would, with "their goods, within the ſpace of ſix weeks after the "ſurrender of the town.

6. "That the garriſon ſhould quit the town by

"twelve

" twelve of the clock the next morning; and that the " Earl of Eſſex ſhould provide a guard for the ſecurity " of the garriſon ſoldiers, when they begun to march."

Upon theſe articles, ſigned by the Earl of Eſſex, the town was delivered on the 27th day of April, (being within a fortnight after the ſiege begun), and the garriſon marched to the King, who ſtayed for them, and with him to Oxford. But at their coming out of the town, and paſſing through the enemy's guards, the ſoldiers were not only reviled, and reproachfully uſed, but many of them diſarmed, and moſt of the waggons plundered, in the preſence of the Earl of Eſſex himſelf, and the chief officers; who ſeemed to be offended at it, and not to be able to prevent it; the unrulineſs of the common men being ſo great. As this breach of the articles was very notorious and inexcuſable, ſo it was made the riſe, foundation, and excuſe for barbarous injuſtice of the ſame kind throughout the greateſt part of the war; inſomuch as the King's ſoldiers afterward, when it was their part to be preciſe in the obſervation of agreements, mutinouſly remembered the violation at Reading, and thereupon exerciſed the ſame licenſe; from thence, either ſide having ſomewhat to object to the other, the requiſite honeſty and juſtice of obſerving conditions was mutually, as it were by agreement, for a long time after violated.

There had been, in the ſecret committee for the carrying on the war, forming thoſe deſigns, and adminiſtering to the expences thereof, a long debate with great difference of opinion, whether they ſhould not march directly with their army to beſiege Oxford, where the King and the Court was, rather than Reading; and if they had taken that reſolution, as Mr. Hambden, and all they who deſired ſtill to ſtrike at the root, very earneſtly

neſtly inſiſted upon, without doubt they had put the King's affairs into great confuſion. For, beſides that Oxford was not tolerably fortified, nor the garriſon well provided for, the court, and multitude of nobility, and ladies, and gentry, with which it was inhabited, bore any kind of alarm very ill. But others, who did not yet think their army well enough compoſed to reſiſt all temptations, nor enough ſubdued in their inclinations to loyalty, and reverence towards the perſon of the King, had no mind it ſhould beſiege the very place where the King himſelf was; and the Earl of Eſſex himſelf, who was yet the ſoul of the army, had no mind to that enterpriſe: and ſo the army marched, as hath been ſaid, directly to Reading, with the ſucceſs that is mentioned.

Though, at the inſtant, the Parliament was highly pleaſed with the getting the town, and the King as well contented, when he ſaw his entire garriſon ſafely joined to the reſt of his army, (for it cannot be denied the joy was univerſal through the King's quarters, upon the aſſurance that they had recovered near four thouſand good men, whom they had given for loſt), yet, according to the viciſſitudes in war, when the accounts are caſt up, either party grew quickly diſſatisfied with its ſucceſs. The King was no ſooner returned to Oxford, but, upon conference between the officers and ſoldiers, there grew a whiſper, "that there had not been fair carriage, and "that Reading had been betrayed," and from thence made a noiſe through Oxford; and the very next day, and at the ſame time, Colonel Fielding, upon whom the diſcourſes reflected, came to the King to deſire, "that an account might be taken of the whole buſineſs "at a council of war for his vindication;" and the common ſoldiers, in a diſorderly manner, "to require juſ-"tice againſt him for betraying and delivering up the

" town to the rebels;" which they avowed with ſo much confidence, with the mention of ſome particulars, " as " the having frequent intercourſe with the Earl of Eſſex, " and hindering and forbidding the ſoldiers to iſſue out " of the town to join with the King, when he came to " relieve them, although their officers had drawn them " up to that purpoſe, and were ready to lead them;" and the like; with ſome raſh and paſſionate words diſreſpectful to his Majeſty; ſo that he gave preſent order for his commitment, and trial at a court of war: the King himſelf being marvellouſly incenſed againſt him, for that clauſe in the third article, which gave liberty to all who were accidentally come to the town, and ſhut up by the ſiege, to paſs without interruption, wherein there was an exception of ſuch perſons who had run away from the Earl of Eſſex's army, and by virtue of that exception ſome ſoldiers were taken after the rendering of the town, and were executed. And though the Colonel excuſed himſelf, " as being no more " concerned to anſwer for the articles, than every member " of the council of war, by which they were agreed;" yet it was alledged, " that the council of war had been " induced to conſent to thoſe articles, upon the Colonel's " averment, that the King had ſeen them, and approved " of them." Whereas his Majeſty had never ſeen any articles in writing, but only conſented, that they ſhould march away with their arms and baggage, if the enemy agreed to thoſe conditions. I have not known the King more afflicted, than he was with that clauſe, which he called no leſs " than giving up thoſe poor men, who, out " of conſcience of their rebellion, had betaken themſelves " to his protection, to be maſſacred and murdered by " the rebels, whom they had deſerted;" and, for the vindication of himſelf therein, he immediately publiſhed

Colonel Fielding ordered to be tried for the ſurrender.

a proclamation, in which he took notice of that clauſe; and declared to all the world,

"That he was not privy to, or, in the leaſt degree, "conſenting to that exception, but held the ſame moſt "prejudicial to his ſervice, and derogatory to his "honour; and that he would always chooſe to run any "hazard or danger, the violence or treaſon of his "enemies could threaten, or bring upon him, rather "than he would withdraw or deny his protection to "any, who, being convinced in their conſcience of "their diſloyalty, ſhould return to their duty, and "betake themſelves to his ſervice. And as he had "referred to a court of war the full examination of all "the particular proceedings, in the delivery of that town, "that juſtice might be done accordingly; ſo he did "declare, that he would always proceed with all "ſeverity againſt ſuch, as ſhould, by the like diſ-"honourable conditions, expoſe his ſubjects, and bereave "them of his protection that had returned to their "obedience to him."

At the trial, it was objected againſt the Colonel, "that the town might have been longer defended, "there being want of no neceſſary proviſion, and as "much powder, at the giving it up, as there was when "the enemy came firſt before it; for, beſides the firſt "ſupply, ſixteen barrels were put in during the ſkirmiſh, "when the King came to relieve it: that ſeveral "colonels preſſed very earneſtly to ſally, when the "King's forces were engaged, and that they were "expreſsly hindered and forbidden by him: that he "frequently gave his paſs to a woman to go out of the "town, who went into the Earl of Eſſex's army, and "returned again: that he perſuaded the council of war "to conſent to the articles, by proteſting that the King

"had

" had well approved them, and reproached thoſe " officers who were of another opinion;" with ſome other particulars of licenſe and paſſion, which reflected more upon his diſcretion, than his honeſty, or conduct.

He juſtified himſelf " to have done nothing towards " the delivery of the place, but upon full conſideration, " advice, and approbation of the council of war: that " he was in his own conſcience and judgment ſatisfied, " that the ſubſtance of the articles were advantageous " for his Majeſty's ſervice; and though it was true, by " that laſt ſupply of ammunition, their ſtore was near as " much as when the ſiege begun; yet it was in all but " thirty-two barrels, which would have laſted but few " hours, if the enemy, who had approached within little " more than piſtol-ſhot of ſome parts of their works, " ſhould attack them in that manner as they had reaſon " to expect; and if they had held out longer, when it " had appeared that the King was not ſtrong enough to " relieve them, they ſhould not have been admitted to " ſuch conditions: and therefore, that he believed a " hazard of ſo great a concernment was not to be run, " when he well knew his Majeſty's former reſolution of " ſlighting the garriſon; and that it would not be now " done above a fortnight ſooner than was intended: that " he had no knowledge of his Majeſty's approach, till " the forces were engaged, when a truce was concluded, " and their hoſtages in the enemy's hands; and there- " fore, that he conceived it againſt the law of arms to " make any attempt from the town; and before they " could ſufficiently deliberate it in council, his Majeſty's " forces retired: that the woman, to whom he gave a " paſs, was one he often employed as a ſpy, with very " good effect; and he did believe, the advantage he " received by it was greater than ſhe could carry to the

" enemy by any information ſhe could give: that he " did perſuade the council of war to conſent to the " conditions, becauſe he believed them very profitable " to his Majeſty, and he had averred only his Majeſty's " approbation of the general ſubſtance of the articles, " never applied it to the clauſe of the third article, " which he much deſired to have altered, but could not " obtain the conſent of the enemy. If he had been " intemperate, or paſſionate to any, who were of another " opinion, or had uſed any paſſionate expreſſions in the " debate, it proceeded only from his zeal to the ſervice, " and his apprehenſion of the loſs of ſo many good " men, upon whom he well knew the King much " depended: that he might have committed many " indiſcretions, for which he deſired pardon, but had " not failed in point of fidelity: that, by the unfortunate " hurt of the Governor, the command was devolved " upon him by his right of ſeniority, not any ambitious " deſign of his own: that he had, from time to time, " acquainted Sir Arthur Aſton with the ſtate and " condition they were in; and though his indiſpoſition " of health was ſuch, that he would not give poſitive " orders, he ſeemed to approve of all that was done; " and though, for the former reaſon, he refuſed to ſign " the articles, yet they were read to him, and he ex- " preſſed no diſlike of them." The truth of it is, Sir Arthur Aſton was believed by many, not to be in ſo incompetent a condition to command as he pretended; and that albeit his head was ſo much ſwoln, that he might not in perſon venture upon any execution, yet his underſtanding, or ſenſes, were not much diſtempered, or diſcompoſed; and that he only poſitively waved meddling, out of diſlike of the condition they were in. And it is true, that, when he came to Oxford, he could

ſpeak

ſpeak as reaſonably of any matter, as ever I knew him before, or after.

Notwithſtanding all the defence the Colonel could make for himſelf, and that there was not indeed any colour of proof, that he had acted any thing treacherouſly, he was, upon an article "for not obeying "orders," (for in this agitation he had received ſome ſuch, which he had not preciſely obſerved), "ſentenced "to loſe his head;" which judgment, after long and great interceſſion, was, in the end, remitted by the King; but his regiment diſpoſed to another; and he never reſtored to that command. And though he had been always before of an unblemiſhed reputation for honeſty and courage, and had heartily been engaged from the beginning of the troubles, and been hurt in the ſervice, and he appeared afterwards as a volunteer, with the ſame courage, in the moſt perilous actions, and obtained a principal command in another of the King's armies, he never recovered the misfortune and blemiſh of this imputation. And yet I muſt profeſs for my part, being no ſtranger to what was then alledged and proved on either party, I do believe him to have been free from any baſe compliance with the enemy, or any cowardly declenſion of what was reaſonable to be attempted. So fatal are all misfortunes, and ſo difficult a thing it is to play an after-game of reputation, in that nice and jealous profeſſion.

The inconveniences and miſchiefs, that reſulted to the King from this accident, were greater than were [redacted] that time taken notice of; for from this, the factions court, army, and city (which afterwards grew very troubleſome to the King) were dated, and took their original; great animoſities grew between the officers of the army; ſome being thought to have been too paſſionate

paſſionate and ſolicitous in the proſecution of the Colonel, and too much to have countenanced the rage and fury of common ſoldiers in demanding juſtice on their officer; for from ſuch a kind of clamour it begun. Others again were as much condemned for a palpable avowed protection of him, thereby to ſhew their power, that a perſon they favoured ſhould not ſuffer; and of both theſe, ſome were more violent than they ſhould have been; which ſeveral inclinations equally poſſeſſed the Court, ſome believing that he was really guilty of treachery, though not ſo clearly proved; and therefore that, being within the mercy of the law, upon another article, no mercy ought to be ſhewed to him; others as really ſuppoſing him innocent, and therefore thinking it great pity, ſeverely to take the forfeiture, upon ſuch a point, as few officers of the army did not know themſelves guilty in: theſe ſuppoſing the former too full of rigour and uncharitableneſs; and they again accuſing the other of too much lenity and indulgence; whilſt many gentlemen of honour and quality, whoſe fortunes were embarked with the King, grew extremely jealous, that the Parliament had corrupted ſome of the King's officers with rewards, and that others had power to protect them from puniſhment and diſcovery; and the ſoldiers again as much incenſed, that their lives muſt be ſacrificed, upon caſual and accidental treſpaſſes, to the animoſity and jealouſy of thoſe who run not the ſame dangers with them.

But theſe indiſpoſitions and diſtempers were the effects of the exigents of that time, (I wiſh the humours had been impaired when the times mended), and very many, who ſaw the King's condition very low in an inſtant, and believed the rebels to be moſt flouriſhing, would look no farther for a reaſon, than the loſs of Reading;

Reading; though they had all ſtill but the town; which was never intended to be kept. It is moſt certain, that the King himſelf was ſo far from believing the condition he was in to be tolerable, that, upon the news of the Earl of Eſſex's advance towards Oxford, within four or five days after the loſs of Reading, he once reſolved, and that by the advice of the chief officers of his army, to march away towards the north, to join with the Earl of Newcaſtle. And if the Earl of Eſſex had, at that time, but made any ſhew of moving with his whole body that way, I do verily perſuade myſelf, Oxford itſelf, and all the other garriſons of thoſe parts, had been quitted to them: but thoſe fears were quickly compoſed, by an aſſurance of the Earl's ſtay at Reading; and that he was not in a poſture for a preſent march, and that his numbers had been ſhrewdly leſſened by the ſiege: whereupon the King reſolved to abide him, and give him battle about Oxford, if he advanced; and, in the mean time, encamped his foot upon the down, about a mile from Abingdon; which was the head quarter for his horſe.

When the ſeaſon of the year grew ripe for taking the field, the Earl of Eſſex found that his too early march had nothing advanced his affairs; the ſoldiers having performed ſo ſtrict duty, and lodging upon the ground, in froſt and rain, before Reading, had produced great ſickneſs and diſeaſes in his army, which had waſted abundance of his men; ſo that he wanted rather another winter quarter to recover and recruit his men, than an opportunity to engage them in action; which he found would be too often adminiſtered. He ſent daily importunities to the Parliament for ſupplies of all kinds, which they were not enough furniſhed with to ſatisfy him; new diviſions and animoſities aroſe there, to perplex

perplex their counſels. Their triumph upon the taking of Reading, which they had celebrated with loud feſtivity, and made the city believe, that all thoſe benefits would attend it, which they knew would be moſt grateful to them, appeared now without any fruit; the King had all his forces and army entire, and had only loſt a town that he never meant to keep, and which they knew not what to do with; and was now ready to come into the field, when theirs was deſtitute of health, and all thoſe accommodations, which muſt enable them to march: and their General every day reiterated his complaints, and reproached them with the unſkilful orders they had ſent him, by which, againſt all the advice and arguments he had given them, he was reduced to that extremity.

The diſreſpectful and abſurd breaking off the treaty with the King was urged by their commiſſioners; who thought themſelves diſobliged by it, and publiſhed the King's gracious diſpoſition, and the temper of the council in Oxford, to be different from what the Parliament deſired it ſhould be believed. They complained of jealouſies which had been entertained of their integrity; and the Earl of Northumberland, having diſcovered, as is ſaid before, that Harry Martin had opened a letter, which he had writ from Oxford to his lady, took him aſide, after a conference in the Painted Chamber between the two Houſes, and queſtioned him upon it; and the other giving him ſome rude anſwers in juſtification of what he had done, the Earl cudgelled him in that preſence; upon which many ſwords were drawn, to the great reproach and ſcandal of the Parliament.

Theſe and the like inſtances of diſtraction and confuſion brought the reputation of that party low; and made it looked upon, as like to deſtroy itſelf without an enemy; whilſt the King's party, at that diſtance, ſeemed

ſeemed to be more united, and to have recovered their ſpirits, of which they received frequent evidence by the news of ſome of their quarters being beat up, and many of their men loſt by the unexpected incurſions of the King's horſe; whereof ſome parties, by night marches, and unuſual lanes, went often near London, and took many priſoners, who thought themſelves ſecure, in their houſes, and in journeys they made; who were put to ranſom themſelves with good ſums of money: ſo that, after all thoſe mountains of promiſes, and undertakings, the wants were greater, and the city more importuned for money, and the Parliament viſibly more neceſſitated for want of it, than they had been before; and inſtead of diſperſing the King's army, and bringing the King back to his Parliament, a ſudden direction was given, and a vigorous execution of that direction was begun, to draw a line about the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and to fortify it; leſt the King's forces might break in upon them; which made the people ſuſpect the ſtate of their affairs to be worſe than in truth it was; yet ſo far were they from any thoughts of peace and accommodation, that the Houſe of Commons raged more furiouſly than ever; and every day engaged themſelves in concluſions more monſtrous, than they had yet entered upon. For the ſupply of the charge of the war, they propoſed ſettling and impoſing an exciſe upon ſuch commodities as might beſt bear it; which was a burden the people of England had hitherto reproached other nations with, as a mark of ſlavery, and never feared by themſelves; and for the exerciſe of the ſovereign power, they reſolved it fit to make a new Great Seal, to be always reſident with the Houſes. But the Lords were not yet arrived at that preſumption, but plainly refuſed to concur with them in either.

Whilſt

Whilſt both armies lay quiet, the one about Reading, the other about Abingdon, or Oxford, without attempting one upon the other, or any action, ſave ſome ſmall enterpriſes by parties, (in which the King got advantage; as particularly the young Earl of Northampton fortunately encountered a party of horſe and foot from Northampton, which thought themſelves ſtrong enough to attempt upon Banbury: but he having routed their horſe, killed above two hundred of their foot, and took as many more priſoners, moſt whereof were ſhrewdly hurt, the young Earl that day ſacrificing to the memory of his father), the King received from the Earl of Newcaſtle, by a ſtrong party of horſe, a good and ample ſupply of ammunition; the want whereof all men looked upon with great horror. As ſoon as this was arrived, and the King had heard that his armies, both in the North and Weſt, begun to flouriſh, and thought himſelf well provided to encounter the Earl of Eſſex, if he deſired it; his Majeſty reſolved once more to try, whether the two Houſes would incline to a reaſonable peace; and to that purpoſe ſent a meſſage to them by an expreſs ſervant of his own, in theſe words:

The King ſends a meſſage to the two Houſes, May 26.

"Since his Majeſty's meſſage of the 12th of April (in "which he conceived he had made ſuch an overture for "the immediate diſbanding of all armies, and compoſure "of thoſe miſerable and preſent diſtractions, by a full "and free convention of Parliament, that a perfect and "ſettled peace would have enſued) hath in all this "time, above a full month, procured no anſwer from "both Houſes, his Majeſty might well believe himſelf "abſolved, both before God and man, from the leaſt "poſſible charge of not having uſed his utmoſt endea-"vours for peace: yet, when he conſiders, that the "ſcene of all this calamity is in the bowels of his own "kingdom;

" kingdom; that all the blood, which is ſpilt, is of his
" own ſubjects; and that what victory ſoever it ſhall
" pleaſe God to give him, muſt be over thoſe who
" ought not to have lifted up their hands againſt him;
" when he conſiders, that theſe deſperate civil diſſen-
" ſions may encourage and invite a foreign enemy, to
" make a prey of the whole nation; that Ireland is in
" preſent danger to be totally loſt; that the heavy
" judgments of God, plague, peſtilence, and famine, will
" be the inevitable attendants of this unnatural conten-
" tion; and that in a ſhort time there will be ſo general
" a habit of uncharitableneſs and cruelty contracted
" through the whole kingdom, that even peace itſelf will
" not reſtore his people to their old temper and ſecuri-
" ty; his Majeſty cannot but again call for an anſwer to
" that his gracious meſſage, which gives ſo fair a riſe to
" end theſe unnatural diſtractions. And his Majeſty
" doth this with the more earneſtneſs, becauſe he doubts
" not the condition of his armies in ſeveral parts; the
" ſtrength of horſe, foot, artillery, his plenty of ammu-
" nition, (when ſome men lately might conceive he
" wanted), is ſo well known and underſtood, that it muſt
" be confeſſed, nothing but the tenderneſs and love to
" his people, and thoſe Chriſtian impreſſions, which al-
" ways live, and he hopes always ſhall dwell, in his heart,
" could move him once more to hazard a refuſal. And
" he requires them, as they will anſwer to God, to him-
" ſelf, and all the world, that they will no longer ſuffer
" their fellow-ſubjects to welter in each other's blood;
" that they would remember by whoſe authority, and to
" what end, they met in that council, and ſend ſuch an
" anſwer to his Majeſty, as may open a door to let in a
" firm peace, and ſecurity to the whole kingdom. If his
" Majeſty

" Majeſty ſhall again be diſappointed of his intentions " therein, the blood, rapine, and deſtruction, which may " follow in England and Ireland, will be caſt upon the " account of thoſe who are deaf to the motive of peace " and accommodation."

This meſſage was received by the Houſe of Peers (to whom it was directed) with all demonſtration of reſpect and duty, and the meſſenger very civilly intreated by them: but when they communicated it to the Houſe of Commons, and deſired their concurrence in preparing an addreſs to the King ſuitable to his gracious invitation, that Houſe was ſo far from concurring with them, that they gave immediate order (which was executed accordingly) for the apprehenſion and commitment of the gentleman who brought the meſſage; and declared, " that they would proceed againſt him at a council of " war," upon the order formerly mentioned, made by them when the treaty was at Oxford, " that any perſon " coming from Oxford without their General's paſs, or " one from the Houſes, ſhould be puniſhed as a ſpy;" to which order as the Peers never conſented, ſo the King had never, till this commitment, notice of it; and themſelves, after the making it, had ſent ſeveral meſſengers to the King, without any formality of paſs or trumpet.

The Houſe of Commons commit the meſſenger.

The Lords did what they could, publicly and privately, to diſſuade this courſe; but they could not prevail: the Houſe of Commons finding that the very imagination that a peace might be concluded, infinitely retarded their carrying on the war, and made not only thoſe, who were yet free, not eaſy to be drawn in; but many, who were engaged, remiſs, and willing to retire; therefore they reſolved to proceed with that vigour and reſolution, that no reaſonable man ſhould believe it poſſible

poſſible for the King to gain a peace but by ſubduing them, which ſeemed at leaſt equally impoſſible. To this purpoſe, inſtead of returning any anſwer to the King's meſſage, within three days after the receiving it they impeached the Queen of high treaſon, "for aſſiſting the "King her huſband with arms, and ammunition, in the "proſecution of the war againſt them;" an attempt as unheard of among all the acts of their predeceſſors, and as ſurpriſing as any thing they had yet ventured upon: their Clergy ſounded their trumpets louder to war than ever, if it was poſſible; and they reſolved, that aſſembly of divines, to which they had at the treaty urged the King's conſent, ſhould now meet by an ordinance of their own, with an addition of ſome members of either Houſe to that number.

The Commons impeach the Queen of high treaſon.

There had been, ſome months before, a deſign of Prince Rupert upon the city of Briſtol, by correſpondence with ſome of the chief inhabitants of the city, who were weary of the tyranny of the Parliament; but it had been ſo unſkilfully or unhappily carried, that, when the Prince was near the town, with ſuch a party of horſe and foot, as he made choice of, it was diſcovered, and many principal citizens apprehended by Nathaniel Fiennes, ſon to the Lord Say, and then Governor of that city for the Parliament; at this time, ſpecial direction and order was ſent thither, "that he ſhould, with all ſeverity, "and expedition, proceed againſt thoſe conſpirators," (as they called them); and thereupon, by a ſentence and judgment of a council of war, Alderman Yeomans, who had been High Sheriff of the city, and of great reputation in it, and George Bouchier, another citizen of principal account, were (againſt all interpoſition his Majeſty could make) both hanged; and all other

imaginable acts done, to let all the world see that there was no way to peace but by the sword.

A design discovered at London, wherein Mr. Waller, Mr. Tomkins, and others, were concerned.

There fell out now an accident at London, which gave great advantage to them in the fierce prosecution of the war, a discovery of a plot, which produced a public thanksgiving to God for their deliverance, a wonderful animosity against the King, and a covenant, and union among themselves, and throughout the city a prejudice to all moderate men, who promoted an accommodation, and a brand upon all overtures of peace as stratagems upon the city and the Parliament. Of this plot, there being never such a formed relation made by those who made great use of it, that men can collect what the design was, or that it was laid with any probable circumstances, by which a success might be expected, I shall briefly and faithfully set down all that I know, have heard, or can reasonably conjecture to be in it; and it was thought by many, and averred by others who I believe did not think so, "that I knew as much of it "as most men."

There was of the House of Commons, one Mr. Waller, a gentleman of a very good fortune and estate, and of admirable parts, and faculties of wit and eloquence, and of an intimate conversation and familiarity with those who had that reputation. He had, from the beginning of the Parliament, been looked upon by all men, as a person of very entire affections to the King's service, and to the established government of Church and State; and, by having no manner of relation to the Court, had the more credit and interest to promote the rights of it. When the ruptures grew so great between the King and the two Houses, that very many of the members withdrew from those councils, he, among the rest, with

equal

equal diſlike abſented himſelf; but at the time the ſtandard was ſet up, having intimacy and friendſhip with ſome perſons now of nearneſs about the King, with the King's approbation, he returned again to London; where he ſpoke, upon all occaſions, with great ſharpneſs and freedom; which (now there were ſo few there that uſed it, and there was no danger of being over-voted) was not reſtrained; and therefore uſed as an argument againſt thoſe, who were gone upon pretence "that they were "not ſuffered to declare their opinion freely in the "Houſe; which could not be believed, when all men "knew, what liberty Mr. Waller took, and ſpoke every "day with impunity, againſt the ſenſe and proceedings "of the Houſe." This won him a great reputation with all people who wiſhed well to the King; and he was looked upon as the boldeſt champion the Crown had in both Houſes; ſo that ſuch Lords, and Commons, as really deſired to prevent the ruin of the kingdom, willingly complied in a great familiarity with him, as a man reſolute in their ends, and beſt able to promote them. And it may be they believed his reputation at Court ſo good, that he would be no ill evidence there, of other men's zeal and affection; and ſo all men ſpoke their minds freely to him, both of the general diſtemper, and of the paſſions and ambition of particular perſons: all men knowing him to be of too good a fortune, and too wary a nature, to engage himſelf in deſigns of danger or hazard.

Mr. Waller had a brother in law, one Mr. Tomkins, who had married his ſiſter, and was Clerk of the Queen's Council, of very good fame for honeſty and ability. This gentleman had good intereſt and reputation in the city, and converſed much with thoſe who diſliked the proceedings of the Parliament, and wiſhed to live under

the ſame government they were born; and from thoſe citizens received information of the temper of the people, upon accidents, in the public affairs. And Mr. Waller and he, with that confidence that uſes to be between brethren of the ſame good affections, frequently imparted their obſervations and opinions to each other; the one relating, how many in both Houſes inclined to peace; and the other making the ſame judgment upon the correſpondence he had, and intelligence he received from the moſt ſubſtantial men of London; and both of them again communicated what one received from the other, to the company they uſed to converſe with; Mr. Waller imparting the wiſhes and power of the well-affected party in the city, to the lords and gentlemen whom he knew to be of the ſame mind; and Mr. Tomkins acquainting thoſe he durſt truſt of the city, that ſuch and ſuch lords and gentlemen, who were of ſpecial note, were weary of the diſtractions, and would heartily and confidently contribute to ſuch an honourable and honeſt peace, as all men knew would be moſt acceptable to the King. And from hence they came reaſonably to a concluſion, that if ſome means were found out to raiſe a confidence in thoſe who wiſhed well, that they ſhould not be oppreſſed by the extravagant power of the deſperate party; but that if they would ſo far aſſiſt one another, as to declare their opinions to be the ſame, they ſhould be able to prevent or ſuppreſs thoſe tumults, which ſeemed to countenance the diſtractions; and the Houſes would be induced to terms of moderation.

In this time the Lord Conway, being returned from Ireland, incenſed againſt the Scots, and diſcontented with the Parliament here, finding Mr. Waller in good eſteem with the Earl of Northumberland, and of great

friendſhip

friendſhip with the Earl of Portland, he entered into the ſame familiarity; and, being more of a ſoldier, in the diſcourſes adminiſtered queſtions, and conſiderations, neceſſary to be underſtood by men that either meant to uſe force, or to reſiſt it; and wiſhed "that they who "had intereſt and acquaintance in the city would "endeavour by a mutual correſpondence to inform "themſelves of the diſtinct affections of their neighbours, "that, upon any exigent, men might foreſee whom "they might truſt;" and theſe diſcourſes being again derived by Mr. Waller to Mr. Tomkins, he, upon occaſion, and conference with his companions, inſiſted on the ſame arguments; and they again converſing with their friends and acquaintance, (for of all this buſineſs, there were not above three who ever ſpoke together), agreed, "that ſome well-affected perſons, in every pariſh "and ward about London, ſhould make a liſt of all the "inhabitants; and thereupon to make a reaſonable "gueſs of their ſeveral affections," (which at that time was no hard thing for obſerving men to do), and thence a computation of the ſtrength and power of that party, which was notoriouſly violent againſt any accommodation.

I am perſuaded the utmoſt project in this deſign was (I ſpeak not what particular men might intend, or wiſh upon their own fancies) to beget ſuch a combination among the party well affected, that they would refuſe to conform to thoſe ordinances of the twentieth part, and other taxes for the ſupport of the war; and thereby, or by joint petitioning for peace, and diſcountenancing the other who petitioned againſt it, to prevail with the Parliament to incline to a determination of the war. And it may be, ſome men might think of making advantage of any caſual commotion, or preventing any

miſchief by it; and thereupon that enquiry where the magazines lay, and diſcourſe of wearing ſome diſtinguiſhing tokens, had been rather caſually mentioned, than ſeriouſly propoſed. For it is certain, very many who were conſcious to themſelves of loyal purpoſes to the King, and of hearty diſlike of the Parliament's proceedings, and obſerved the violent, revengeful, ruinating proſecution of all men, by thoſe of the engaged party, were not without ſad apprehenſions that, upon ſome jealouſy, and quarrel picked, even a general maſſacre might be attempted of all the King's friends; and thereupon, in ſeveral diſcourſes, might touch upon ſuch expedients, as might in thoſe ſeaſons be moſt beneficial to their ſafety. But that there was ever any formed deſign, either of letting in the King's army into London, which was impoſſible to be contrived, or of raiſing an army there, and ſurpriſing the Parliament, or any one perſon of it, or of uſing any violence in or upon the city, I could never yet ſee cauſe to believe; and if there had, they would have publiſhed ſuch a relation of it, after Mr. Waller had confeſſed to them all he knew, had heard, or fancied to himſelf, as might have conſtituted ſome reaſonable underſtanding of it; and not have contented themſelves with making concluſions from queſtions that had been aſked, and anſwers made, by perſons unknown, and forcing expreſſions uſed by one, to relate to actions of another, between whom there had been never the leaſt acquaintance, or correſpondence; and joining what was ſaid at London to ſomewhat done at Oxford, at another time, and to another purpoſe: for, before I finiſh this diſcourſe, it will be neceſſary to ſpeak of another action, which, how diſtinct ſoever from this that is related, was woven together to make one plot.

From

From the King's coming to Oxford, many citizens of good quality, who were proſecuted, or jealouſly looked upon in London, had reſorted to the King, and hoping, if the winter produced not a peace, that the ſummer would carry the King before that city with an army, they had entertained ſome diſcourſe "of raiſing, upon "their own ſtocks of money and credit, ſome regiments "of foot and horſe, and joining with ſome gentlemen of "Kent, who were likewiſe inclined to ſuch an under-"taking." Among theſe was Sir Nicholas Criſp, a citizen of good wealth, great trade, and an active ſpirited man, who had been lately proſecuted with great ſeverity by the Houſe of Commons; and had thereupon fled from London, for appearing too great a ſtickler in a petition for peace in the city. This gentleman induſtriouſly preſerved a correſpondence ſtill there, by which he gave the King often very uſeful intelligence, and aſſured him "of a very conſiderable party, which "would appear there for him, whenever his own power "ſhould be ſo near, as to give them any countenance." In the end, whether invited by his correſpondents there, or truſting his own ſprightly inclinations and reſolutions too much, and concluding that all, who were equally honeſt, would be equally bold, he deſired his Majeſty, "to grant a commiſſion to ſuch perſons, whom he would "nominate, of the city of London, under the Great "Seal of England, in the nature of a commiſſion of "array, by virtue whereof, when the ſeaſon ſhould "come, his party there would appear in diſcipline and "order; and that this was deſired by thoſe, who beſt "knew what countenance and authority was requiſite; "and being truſted to them would not be executed at "all, or elſe at ſuch a time as his Majeſty ſhould receive "ample fruit by it; provided it were done with ſecrecy,

" equal to the hazard they ſhould run who were " employed in it."

The King had this exception to it, " the improbability " that it could do good, and that the failing might do " hurt to the undertakers." But the promoter was a very popular man in the city, where he had been a commander of the Trained Bands, till the ordinance of the militia removed him; which rather improved, than leſſened, his credit; and he was very confident, it would produce a notable advantage to the King: however, they deſired it who were there, and would not appear without it; and therefore the King conſented to it; referring the nomination of all perſons in the commiſſion to him; who, he verily believed, had proceeded by the inſtruction and advice of thoſe that were neareſt the concernment; and for the ſecrecy of it, the King referred the preparing and diſpatch of the commiſſion to Sir Nicholas Criſp himſelf, who ſhould acquaint no more with it, than he found requiſite; ſo, without the privity or advice of any counſellor, or miniſter of ſtate then moſt truſted by his Majeſty, he procured ſuch a commiſſion as he deſired (being no other than the commiſſion of array in Engliſh) to be ſigned by the King, and ſealed with the Great Seal.

This being done, and remaining ſtill in his cuſtody, the Lady Aubigney, by a paſs, and with the conſent of the Houſes, came to Oxford to tranſact the affairs of her own fortune with the King upon the death of her huſband, who was killed at Edgehill; and ſhe having in few days diſpatched her buſineſs there, and being ready to return, Sir Nicholas Criſp came to the King, and beſought him, " to deſire that lady" (who had a paſs, and ſo could promiſe herſelf ſafety in her journey) " to " carry a ſmall box" (in which that commiſſion ſhould be)

be) "with her, and to keep it in her own cuſtody, until "a gentleman ſhould call to her ladyſhip for it, by ſuch "a token: that token," he ſaid, "he could ſend to one "of the perſons truſted, who ſhould keep it by him till "the opportunity came, in which it might be executed." The King accordingly wiſhed the Lady Aubigney to carry it with great care and ſecrecy; telling her, "it "much concerned his own ſervice;" and to deliver it in ſuch manner, and upon ſuch aſſurance, as is before mentioned: which ſhe did, and, within few days after her return to London, delivered it to a perſon who was appointed to call for it. How this commiſſion was diſcovered, I could never learn: for though Mr. Waller had the honour to be admitted often to that lady, and was believed by her to be a gentleman of moſt entire affections to the King's ſervice, and conſequently might be fitly truſted with what ſhe knew, yet her ladyſhip herſelf, not knowing what it was ſhe carried, could not inform any body elſe.

But about this time, a ſervant of Mr. Tomkins, who had often curſorily overheard his maſter and Mr. Waller diſcourſe of the argument we are now upon, placed himſelf behind a hanging, at a time they were together; and there, whilſt either of them diſcourſed the language and opinion of the company they kept, overheard enough to make him believe his information, and diſcovery, would make him welcome to thoſe whom he thought concerned; and ſo went to Mr. Pym, and acquainted him with all he had heard, or probably imagined. The time when Mr. Pym was made acquainted with it is not known; but the circumſtances of the publiſhing it were ſuch, as filled all men with apprehenſions. It was on Wedneſday the thirty-firſt of May, their ſolemn faſt-day, when, being all at their ſermon, in St. Margaret's church

church in Weſtminſter, according to their cuſtom, a letter or meſſage is brought privately to Mr. Pym; who thereupon, with ſome of the moſt active members, riſe from their ſeats; and, after a little whiſpering together, remove out of the church: this could not but exceedingly affect thoſe who ſtayed behind; immediately they ſent guards to all the priſons, as Lambeth-Houſe, Ely-Houſe, and ſuch places, where their Malignants were in cuſtody, with directions "to ſearch the pri-"ſoners;" and ſome other places which they thought fit ſhould be ſuſpected. After the ſermons were ended, the Houſes met; and were only then told, "that letters "were intercepted going to the King and the Court at "Oxford, that expreſſed ſome notable conſpiracy in "hand, to deliver up the Parliament and the city into "the hands of the Cavaliers; and that the time for the "execution of it drew very near." Hereupon a committee was appointed "to examine all perſons they "thought fit; and to apprehend ſome nominated at "that time." And the ſame night, this committee apprehended Mr. Waller and Mr. Tomkins; and, the next day, ſuch others as they ſuſpected.

Mr. Waller was ſo confounded with fear and apprehenſion, that he confeſſed whatever he had ſaid, heard, thought, or ſeen; all that he knew of himſelf, and all that he ſuſpected of others; without concealing any perſon of what degree or quality ſoever, or any diſcourſe that he had ever, upon any occaſion, entertained with them: what ſuch and ſuch ladies of great honour, to whom, upon the credit of his great wit, and very good reputation, he had been admitted, had ſpoke to him in their chambers of the proceedings in the Houſes; and how they had encouraged him to oppoſe them; what correſpondence and intercourſe they had with ſome miniſters

miniſters of ſtate at Oxford; and how they derived all intelligence thither. He informed them, "that the "Earl of Portland and the Lord Conway had been "particular in all the agitations which had been with "the citizens; and had given frequent advice and "directions how they ſhould demean themſelves; and "that the Earl of Northumberland had expreſſed very "good wiſhes to any attempt, that might give a ſtop to "the violent actions and proceedings of the Houſes, "and produce a good underſtanding with the King."

When the committee were thus furniſhed, they took the examinations of Mr. Tomkins, and ſuch other as they thought neceſſary, and having at the ſame time, by ſome other means, diſcovered (or concealed it till this time) that commiſſion which is before diſcourſed of, and gotten the very original into their hands, they kneaded both into one plot and conſpiracy; and, acquainting the Houſes with ſo much as they thought yet ſeaſonable to publiſh, they declared, (without naming any lords, or other perſons, to be intereſſed in the deſign, ſave thoſe only who were impriſoned; among whom the Lady Aubigney was one: and without communicating any of the examinations, which, they pretended, were not to be common till the conſpirators were brought to trial,) "that "the original of this conſpiracy was from the late "London petition for peace," which was ſpoken of about Chriſtmas laſt in the book precedent; "and that, under "pretence of peace and moderation, a party was to be "formed, which ſhould be able to ſuppreſs all opponents, "and to awe the Parliament: that, to this purpoſe, ſome "of thoſe who were the principal movers and fomenters "of that petition, did continue, in the nature of a "committee, ſtill to carry on the deſign: that they held "intelligence in both armies, Court, and Parliament;

"took

" took a general ſurvey of the numbers and affections of " the ſeveral inhabitants throughout the wards and " pariſhes of the city, and places adjacent; and diſ- " tinguiſhed all under the titles of men affected, or averſe " to the King; or indifferent, and neutral perſons, carried " only by the ſucceſs and power of the prevailers: that " they were well inſtructed in the number and inclinations " of the Trained Bands of London; the places where the " magazines were kept; where the commanders for the " Parliament dwelt; had thought of places for ren- " dezvous, and retreat, upon any occaſion, and of " colours, and marks of diſtinction between the different " parties.

" That Mr. Waller and Mr. Tomkins were the " principal perſons employed, and truſted to give " advertiſement to, and correſpond with, the King's " miniſters at Oxford; and receive advertiſements and " commands from thence, for the completing the work; " that they two held conſtant intelligence and intercourſe " with the Lord Falkland, then principal Secretary to " the King; and that from him they received the " ſignification of the King's pleaſure; and that thoſe " directions, counſels, and encouragements had been " principally ſent by thoſe meſſengers which had been " employed by his Majeſty to the Parliament, under the " pretence of peace; and eſpecially by Mr. Alexander " Hambden; who came with the laſt meſſage, and was " a couſin-german to Mr. Waller. That the Lady " Aubigney, who had been lately at Oxford, had brought " thence a commiſſion to [illegible] from the King, by force " of arms to deſtroy, kill, and ſlay the forces, raiſed by " the Parliament and their adherents, as traitors and " rebels; and that they had lately ſent a meſſage to " Oxford by one Haſſel, a ſervant of the King's, to

" acquaint

" acquaint the Lord Falkland, that the deſign was come " to a good perfection; unto which, anſwer was returned, " that they ſhould haſten it with all ſpeed:

" That the particulars of the deſign appeared to be: " 1. To ſeize into their cuſtody the King's children: " 2. To ſeize ſeveral members of both Houſes, the " Lord Mayor, and committee of the militia, under " pretence of bringing them to a legal trial. 3. To " ſeize upon the outworks, forts, tower of London, " magazines, gates, and other places of importance in " the city. 4. To let in the King's forces to ſurpriſe " the city, and to deſtroy all thoſe who ſhould oppoſe " them by authority of the Parliament. 5. By force of " arms to reſiſt all payments impoſed by authority of " Parliament, raiſed for the ſupport of the armies " employed for their juſt defence, &c. to ſuſpend, if not " alter, the whole government of the city, and, with " aſſiſtance of the King's force, to awe and maſter the " Parliament."

When both Houſes were awakened, and ſtartled with this report, the firſt thing agreed on was, " a day of " thankſgiving to God for this wonderful delivery;" which ſhut out any future doubts, and diſquiſitions, whether there had been any ſuch delivery; and, conſequently, whether their plot was in truth, or had been ſo framed. Then it was ſaid, " that as the deſign was the " moſt deſperate, ſo the carriage was the moſt ſubtle, " and among perſons of reputation, and not ſuſpected; " and that there was reaſon to ſuſpect, many members " of both Houſes were privy to it; and therefore there " ought to be all poſſible care taken to make the " diſcovery perfect, and to unite themſelves for the " public defence: that if any part were left undiſcovered, " it might prove fatal to the commonwealth." This finding

finding a full conſent, it was propounded, "that a "proteſtation might be drawn up, by which every "member of the two Houſes might purge himſelf from "any guilt of, or privity in, that conſpiracy; and "likewiſe oblige himſelf to reſiſt and oppoſe any ſuch "combination." They who were under the character of moderate men, and uſually advanced all motions of peace and accommodation, durſt not oppoſe the expedient, leſt they ſhould be concluded guilty; moſt of them having had familiarity with Mr. Waller, and, no doubt, upon ſundry occaſions, ſpoken with that freedom to him, as might very well incur a ſevere interpretation, if, upon this occaſion, what they had ſaid ſhould be ſcanned. And ſo, before the riſing, there was framed by the Houſe of Commons, a vow and covenant to be taken by the members of both Houſes, and afterwards by the city, and their army; for their jealouſy was now ſpread over all their own quarters; which covenant, for the rareneſs of it both in title and ſtile, I think neceſſary here to inſert in the very terms; which were theſe:

A vow and covenant agreed to be taken by the members of both Houſes upon diſcovery of that deſign.

A ſacred vow, and covenant, taken by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, upon the diſcovery of the late horrid and treacherous deſign, for the deſtruction of this Parliament and the kingdom: the 6th of June 1643.

"Whereas there hath been, and now is, in this "kingdom, a Popiſh and traitorous plot for the ſub-"verſion of the true Proteſtant reformed religion, and "the liberty of the ſubject; and, in purſuance thereof, "a Popiſh army hath been raiſed, and is now on foot in "divers parts of this kingdom; and whereas there hath

"been

" been a treacherous and horrid deſign, lately diſcovered " by the great bleſſing and eſpecial providence of God, " of divers perſons, to join themſelves with the armies " raiſed by the King, and to deſtroy the forces raiſed by " the Lords and Commons in Parliament, to ſurpriſe the " cities of London and Weſtminſter, with the ſuburbs; " by arms to force the Parliament; and finding by " conſtant experience, that many ways of force, and " treachery, are continually attempted, to bring to utter " ruin and deſtruction the Parliament and kingdom; " and that which is deareſt, the true Proteſtant religion: " and that, for the preventing and withſtanding the " ſame, it is fit, that all, who are true hearted, and " lovers of their country, ſhould bind themſelves each to " other in a ſacred vow and covenant:

" I *A. B.* in humility, and reverence of the Divine " Majeſty, declare my hearty ſorrow for my own ſins, " and the ſins of this nation, which have deſerved the " calamities and judgments, that now lie upon it; and " my true intention is, by God's grace, to endeavour " the amendment of my own ways: and I do farther, " in the preſence of Almighty God, declare, vow, and " covenant, that, in order to the ſecurity and preſervation " of the true Reformed Proteſtant religion, and liberty " of the ſubject, I will not conſent to the laying down of " arms, ſo long as the Papiſts, now in open war againſt " the Parliament, ſhall by force of arms be protected " from the juſtice thereof: and that I do abhor and " deteſt the ſaid wicked and treacherous deſign, lately " diſcovered: and that I never gave, nor will give, my " aſſent to the execution thereof, but will, according to " my power, and vocation, oppoſe and reſiſt the ſame, " and all other of the like nature. And in caſe any

" other

" other like deſign ſhall hereafter come to my knowledge,
" I will make ſuch timely diſcovery, as I ſhall conceive
" may beſt conduce to the preventing thereof. And
" whereas I do in my conſcience believe, that the
" forces, raiſed by the two Houſes of Parliament, are
" raiſed and continued for their juſt defence, and for
" the defence of the true Proteſtant religion, and liberty
" of the ſubject, againſt the forces raiſed by the King;
" that I will, according to my power, and vocation, aſſiſt
" the forces raiſed and continued, by both Houſes of
" Parliament, againſt the forces raiſed by the King
" without their conſent: and will likewiſe aſſiſt all
" other perſons that ſhall take this oath, in what they
" ſhall do in purſuance thereof; and will not directly,
" or indirectly, adhere unto, nor ſhall willingly aſſiſt
" the forces raiſed by the King, without the conſent of
" both Houſes of Parliament. And this vow, and
" covenant, I make in the preſence of Almighty God,
" the Searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to
" perform the ſame, as I ſhall anſwer at the great day,
" when the ſecrets of all hearts ſhall be diſcloſed."

Though many were much ſtartled at this covenant, and took time to conſider of it, there being in the preamble, and poſitive part, much which very few believed, and in the promiſſory part a more direct denouncing war againſt the King, than had been in plain terms before avowed by them, and an abſolute proteſtation againſt peace, till the King were at their mercy; yet the fear of being concluded guilty of the plot, made them ſwallow all the reſt; and the example of one prevailing with many, there was not a member of either Houſe that took it not: and being thus fettered and entangled themſelves, they ſent their committee into

into the city, to acquaint them with their "happy "discovery, and how miraculouſly God had preſerved "them, and to engage them in the ſame ſacred vow, "and covenant;" which was readily ſubmitted to; and, by the induſtry of their clergy, ſooner than can be imagined, taken throughout that people. Then it was, with equal diligence and ſolemnity, tranſmitted to their army, that their fears of inconvenience from thence might be likewiſe purged; and thence it grew the mark of diſtinction, to know their friends and enemies by; and whoſoever refuſed to take that covenant, needed no other charge to be concluded, and proſecuted, as the higheſt Malignant.

The ſame vow and covenant taken throughout the city and army.

Being this way ſecure from any future clamours for peace, they proceeded to try Mr. Tomkins; Mr. Chaloner, a citizen of good wealth and credit, and moſt intimate with Tomkins; Mr. Hambden, who brought the laſt meſſage from the King; one Haſſel, a meſſenger of the King's, who paſſed often between London and Oxford, and ſometimes carried letters and meſſages to the Lord Falkland; and ſome citizens, whoſe names were in the commiſſion ſent from Oxford; by a council of war; by whom Mr. Tomkins and Mr. Chaloner were condemned to be hanged; and were both, with all circumſtances of ſeverity and cruelty, executed: the one on a gibbet, by his own houſe in Holborn; where he had long lived with ſingular eſtimation; and the other, by his houſe in Cornhill, near the Old Exchange. Haſſel the meſſenger ſaved them farther trouble, and died in priſon the night before his trial: and there being no evidence againſt Mr. Hambden, but what Mr. Waller himſelf gave, they gave no judgment againſt him, but kept him long after in priſon, till he died: neither proceeded they capitally againſt thoſe

The trial and execution of Mr. Tomkins and Mr. Chaloner.

citizens whoſe names were in the commiſſion, it not appearing that their names were uſed with their conſent and privity; though the brand of being Malignants ſerved the turn for their undoing; for all their eſtates were ſeized, as theirs were who had been executed.

There is nothing clearer than that the commiſſion ſent from Oxford by the Lady Aubigney, had not any relation to the diſcourſes paſſed between Mr. Waller, Tomkins, and thoſe citizens; or that they, who knew of one, had not any privity with the other: which if they had had, and intended ſuch an inſurrection, as was alleged, Mr. Waller, and Mr. Tomkins, or ſome one of thoſe lords who were ſuppoſed to combine with them, would have been in the commiſſion. Or if the King's miniſters had been engaged in the conſultation, and hoped to have raiſed a party which ſhould ſuddenly ſeize upon the city and the Parliament, they would never have thought a commiſſion granted to ſome gentlemen at Oxford, (for the major part of the commiſſioners were there), and a few private citizens, would have ſerved for that work. I am very confident, and I have very much reaſon for that confidence, that there was no more known, or thought of at Oxford, concerning the matter of the commiſſion, than I have before ſet forth; nor of the other, than that Mr. Tomkins ſometimes writ to the Lord Falkland, (for Mr. Waller, out of the cautiouſneſs of his own nature, never writ word), and by meſſengers ſignified to him, "that the number of "thoſe who deſired peace, and abhorred the proceedings "of the Houſes, was very conſiderable; and that they "reſolved, by refuſing to contribute to the war, and to "ſubmit to their ordinances, to declare and manifeſt "themſelves in that manner, that the violent party "in the city ſhould not have credit enough to hinder "any

" any accommodation." And the Lord Falkland always returned anſwer, " that they ſhould expedite thoſe " expedients, as ſoon as might be, for that delays made " the war more difficult to be reſtrained." And if I could find evidence, or reaſon, to induce me to believe, that there was any farther deſign in the thing itſelf, or that the King gave farther countenance to it, I ſhould not at all conceal it. No man can imagine, that if the King could have entertained any probable hope of reducing London, which was the fomenter, ſupporter, and indeed the life of the war; or could have found any expedient, from whence he could reaſonably propoſe to diſſolve, ſcatter, and diſperſe thoſe who, under the name of a Parliament, had kindled a war againſt him, but he would have given his utmoſt aſſiſtance and countenance thereunto, either by public force, or private contrivance.

There were very great endeavours uſed, to have proceeded with equal ſeverity againſt the Earl of Portland, and the Lord Conway, (for the accuſation of the Earl of Northumberland, it was proceeded tenderly in; for though the violent party was heartily incenſed againſt him, as a man weary of them, yet his reputation was ſtill very great), who were both cloſe priſoners; and, to that purpoſe, their lordſhips and Mr. Waller were confronted before the committee; where they as peremptorily denying, as he charging them, and there being no other witneſs but he againſt them, the proſecution was rather let alone than declined, till after a long reſtraint they procured enlargement upon bail. Mr. Waller himſelf, (though confeſſedly the moſt guilty; and by his unhappy demeanour, in this time of his affliction, he had raiſed as many enemies as he had formerly friends, and almoſt the ſame), after he had, with incredible

diſſimulation, acted ſuch a remorſe of conſcience, that his trial was put off out of Chriſtian compaſſion, till he might recover his underſtanding, (and that was not, till the heat and fury of the proſecutors was reaſonably abated with the ſacrifices they had made), and, by drawing viſitants to himſelf, of the moſt powerful miniſters of all factions, had, by his liberality, and penitence, his receiving vulgar and vile ſayings from them with humility and reverence, as clearer convictions and informations than in his life he had ever had; and diſtributing great ſums to them for their prayers and ghoſtly counſel; ſo ſatisfied them, that they ſatisfied others; was brought, at his ſuit, to the Houſe of Commons bar; where (being a man in truth very powerful in language; and who, by what he ſpoke, and in the manner of ſpeaking it, exceedingly captivated the good will and benevolence of his hearers; which is the higheſt part of an orator) with ſuch flattery, as was moſt exactly calculated to that meridian, with ſuch a ſubmiſſion, as their pride took delight in, and ſuch dejection of mind, and ſpirit, as was like to cozen the major part, and be thought ſerious; he laid before them "their "own danger and concernment, if they ſhould ſuffer "one of their own body, how unworthy and monſtrous "ſoever, to be tried by the ſoldiers, who might thereby "grow to that power hereafter, that they would both "try thoſe they would not be willing ſhould be tried, "and for things, which they would account no crimes; "the inconvenience and inſupportable miſchief whereof "all wiſe commonwealths had foreſeen, and prevented, "by exempting their own members from all judgments "but their own:" he prevailed, not to be tried by a council of war; and thereby preſerved his dear-bought life; ſo that, in truth, he does as much owe the keeping his

his head to that oration, as Catiline did the loſs of his to thoſe of Tully: and by having done ill very well, he, by degrees, drew that reſpect to his parts, which always carries ſome compaſſion to the perſon, that he got leave to compound for his tranſgreſſion, and them to accept of ten thouſand pounds (which their affairs wanted) for his liberty; whereupon he had leave to recollect himſelf in another country (for his liberty was to be in baniſhment) how miſerable he had made himſelf, in obtaining that leave to live out of his own. And there cannot be a greater evidence of the ineſtimable value of his parts, than that he lived, after this, in the good affection and eſteem of many, the pity of moſt, and the reproach and ſcorn of few, or none.

Theſe high proceedings at London, and in the Houſes, were not ſeconded with any notable ſucceſs abroad; but it appeared plainly, by the flow coming in of monies, and more flow coming in of men, that the hearts of the people were generally more devoted to peace, than to the continuance of thoſe diſtractions; and the Earl of Eſſex, by the great decay and ſickneſs of his army, was not, in near ſix weeks, able to remove from Reading; by which many men concluded, which could not be reaſonably foreſeen, that if Reading had held out many days longer, he would have been compelled to raiſe his ſiege; and that was the reaſon the Earl gave for granting ſo good conditions: for if he could have ſtayed longer before it, he well knew, they muſt have yielded on worſe terms; neither feared he the King would be able to relieve it. In the end, there being no other way to quiet the city of London, he marched towards Oxford; but, in truth, rather to ſecure Buckinghamſhire, which was now infeſted by the King's horſe, than to diſquiet that place. And, to that purpoſe, he fixed his head

The Earl of Essex marches to Thame.

quarter at Thame, ten miles from Oxford, and upon the very edge of the other county.

In the beginning of the war, the army in Scotland having been lately disbanded, many officers of that nation, who had served in Germany and in France, betook themselves to the service of the Parliament; whereof divers were men of good conduct and courage; though there were more as bad as the cause in which they engaged. Of the former sort Colonel Urry was a man of name and reputation, and an excellent officer of horse, and had commanded those horse at Edgehill under Balfour, which had preserved their army there; and finding himself afterwards not so well regarded, as, he thought, he had deserved, as it was no easy thing to value that people at the rate they did set upon themselves; and being without any other affection for their service, than their pay inclined him to, he resolved to quit them, and to go to the King; in order to which, he had kept some correspondence with the Earl of Brainford, the King's General; under whose command he had formerly served in Germany. Whilst the Earl of Essex remained at Thame, and his army quartered thereabout, Urry came to Oxford, in the equipage that became a Colonel of horse who had received good pay; and the very next day after he came, having been very graciously received by the King, to give proof that he brought his whole heart with him, he went to Prince Rupert, acquainted him where the Parliament horse lay, and how loose they were in their quarters; and, to give a testimony of his fidelity to the King, he desired to march a volunteer with a good party, to make an attempt upon the enemy; and the Prince assigning a strong party for the service, he accompanied, and conducted them out of the common road, till they came to a town; where

where a regiment of the Parliament's horſe was quartered; which they beat up, and killed or took moſt of the officers and ſoldiers; and then fell upon thoſe other quarters, by which they had paſſed before, with the like ſucceſs; ſo returned to Oxford with many priſoners, and with notable damage to the enemy.

As ſoon as he returned, he made another propoſition to the Prince for the attacking the quarters near Thame; through which he had paſſed, when he came to Oxford, and ſo was well acquainted with the poſture in which they were; and aſſured the Prince, "that, if he went "about it time enough, before there ſhould be any "alteration in their quarters, which he believed the "General would quickly make, the enterprize would be "worthy of it." The Prince was ſo well ſatisfied with what he had already done, that he reſolved to conduct the next adventure himſelf, which he did very fortunately. They went out of the ports of Oxford in the evening upon a Saturday, and marched beyond all the quarters as far as Wickham, and fell in there at the farther end of the town towards London, from whence no enemy was expected, and ſo no guards were kept there. A regiment of horſe, and of foot, were lodged there; which were cut off, or taken priſoners; and all the horſes and a good booty brought away. From thence they marched backward to another quarter, within leſs than two miles of the General's own quarters; where his men lodged with the ſame ſecurity they had done at Wickham, not expecting any enemy that way; and ſo met with the ſame fate the others had done; and were all killed, or made priſoners. Thus having performed at leaſt as much as they had propoſed to do, and being laden with priſoners and booty, and the ſun being now riſing, the Prince thought it time to retire to

Prince Rupert beats up ſome of his quarters with good ſucceſs.

Oxford, and gave orders to march accordingly with all convenient ſpeed, till they ſhould come to a bridge which was yet two miles from them, where he had appointed a guard to attend, to favour their retreat.

But the alarm had been brought to the Earl of Eſſex from all the quarters, who quickly gathered thoſe troops together, which were neareſt; and directed thoſe to follow the Prince, and to entertain him in ſkirmiſhes, till himſelf ſhould come up with the foot, and ſome other troops; which he made all poſſible haſte to do. So that when the Prince had almoſt paſſed a fair plain, or field, called Chalgrave field, from whence he was to enter a lane, which continued to the bridge; the enemy's horſe were diſcovered marching after them with ſpeed; and as they might eaſily overtake them in the lane, ſo they muſt as eaſily have put them into great diſorder. Therefore the Prince reſolved to expect, and ſtand them upon the open field, though his horſe were all tired, and the ſun was grown very hot, it being about eight of the clock in the morning in June. He then directed, "that the guard of the priſoners ſhould make "what haſte they could to the bridge, but that all the "reſt ſhould return;" for ſome were entered the lane: and ſo he placed himſelf and his troops, as he thought fit, in that field to receive the enemy; which made more haſte, and with leſs order than they ſhould have done; and being more in number than the Prince, and conſiſting of many of the principal officers, who, having been preſent with the Earl of Eſſex when the alarm came, ſtayed not for their own troops, but joined with thoſe who were ready in the purſuit, as they thought, of a flying enemy, or ſuch as would eaſily be arreſted in their haſty retreat; and, having now overtaken them, meant to take revenge themſelves for the damage they had

had received that night, and morning, before the General could come up to have a ſhare in the victory, though his troops were even in view. But the Prince entertained them ſo roughly, that though they charged very bravely and obſtinately, being many of their beſt officers, of which the chiefeſt falling, the reſt ſhewed leſs vigour, in a ſhort time they broke, and fled, and were purſued till they came near the Earl of Eſſex's body; which being at near a mile's diſtance, and making a ſtand to receive their flying troops, and to be informed of their diſaſter, the Prince with his troops haſtened his retreat, and paſſed the lane, and came ſafe to the bridge before any of the Earl's forces came up; who found it then to no purpoſe to go farther, there being a good guard of foot, which had likewiſe lined both ſides of the hedges a good way in the lane. Thus the Prince, about noon, or ſhortly after, entered Oxford, with near two hundred priſoners, ſeven cornets of horſe, and four enſigns of foot, with moſt of the men he carried from thence; few only having been killed in the action, whereof ſome were of name.

The Prince preſented Colonel Urry to the King with a great teſtimony of the courage he had ſhewed in the action, as well as of his counſel and conduct in the whole; which was indeed very dexterous, and could have been performed by no man, who had not been very converſant in the quarters of thoſe he deſtroyed. Upon which, the King honoured him with knighthood, and a commiſſion to raiſe a regiment of horſe; and every body magnified and extolled him, as they uſually do a man who hath good luck, and the more, becauſe he was a Scotchman, and profeſſed a repentance for having been in rebellion againſt the King. He deſerves this teſtimony, and vindication to be given him, againſt the

the calumnies which were raiſed againſt him, "as if he "had broken his truſt, and deſerted the ſervice of the "Parliament, and betrayed them to the King," which is not true. He had owned and publiſhed his diſcontents long before, and demanded redreſs and juſtice in ſome particulars from the Parliament, in which the Earl of Eſſex thought he had reaſon; and wiſhed he might receive ſatisfaction. But the man was in his nature proud and imperious; had raiſed many enemies; was a man of licenſe, and committed many diſorders of that kind. He was however a good officer in the field; regular and vigilant in marching, and in his quarters; which the Parliament thought other men would attain to, who had fewer vices; and therefore granted nothing that he had deſired; upon which he declared, "he "would ſerve them no longer;" and delivered up his commiſſion to the Earl of Eſſex; and being then preſſed to promiſe, that he would not ſerve the King, he poſitively refuſed to give any ſuch engagement; and after he had ſtayed in London about a month, and had received encouragement from ſome friends in Oxford, he came thither in the manner ſet down before.

The Prince's ſucceſs in this laſt march was very ſeaſonable, and raiſed the ſpirits at Oxford very much, and for ſome time allayed the jealouſies and animoſities, which too often broke out in ſeveral factions to the diſquiet of the King. It was viſibly great in the number of the priſoners; whereof many were of condition, and the names of many officers were known, who were left dead upon the field, as Colonel Gunter, who was looked upon as the beſt officer of horſe they had, and a man of known malice to the government of the Church; which had drawn ſome ſevere cenſure upon him before the troubles, and for which he had ſtill meditated revenge.

One

One of the priſoners taken in the action ſaid, "that he "was confident Mr. Hambden was hurt, for he ſaw "him ride off the field before the action was done, "which he never uſed to do, with his head hanging "down, and reſting his hands upon the neck of his "horſe;" by which he concluded he was hurt. The news the next day made the victory much more important, than it was thought to have been. There was full information brought of the great loſs the enemy had ſuſtained in their quarters, by which three or four regiments were utterly broken and loſt: the names of many officers, of the beſt account, were known, who were either killed upon the place, or ſo hurt as there remained little hope of their recovery.

Among the priſoners, there were taken Colonel Sheffield, a younger ſon of the Earl of Mulgrave, and one Colonel Beckly a Scotchman; who, being both viſibly wounded, acted their hurts ſo well, and pretended to be ſo ready to expire, that, upon their paroles neither to endeavour nor endure a reſcue, they were ſuffered to reſt at a private houſe in the way, within a mile of the field, till their wounds ſhould be dreſſed, and they recover ſo much ſtrength as to be able to render themſelves priſoners at Oxford. But the King's forces were no ſooner gone, than they found means to ſend to their comrades, and were the next day ſtrong enough, to ſuffer themſelves to be removed to Thame, by a ſtrong party ſent from the Earl of Eſſex; and, between denying that they had promiſed, and ſaying, that they would perform it, they never ſubmitted themſelves to be priſoners, as much againſt the law of arms, as their taking arms was againſt their allegiance. But that which would have been looked upon as a conſiderable recompenſe for a defeat, could not but be thought a great

great addition to the victory, which was the death of Mr. Hambden; who, being ſhot into the ſhoulder with a brace of bullets, which brake the bone, within three weeks after died with extraordinary pain; to as great a conſternation of all that party, as if their whole army had been defeated, or cut off.

Mr. Hambden wounded in Chalgrave field, of which he died.

Many men obſerved (as upon ſignal turns of great affairs, as this was, ſuch obſervations are frequently made) that the field in which the late ſkirmiſh was, and upon which Mr. Hambden received his death's wound, Chalgrave field, was the ſame place in which he had firſt executed the ordinance of the militia, and engaged that county, in which his reputation was very great, in this rebellion: and it was confeſſed by the priſoners that were taken that day, and acknowledged by all, that upon the alarm that morning, after their quarters were beaten up, he was exceeding ſolicitous to draw forces together to purſue the enemy; and, being a Colonel of foot, put himſelf among thoſe horſe as a volunteer, who were firſt ready; and that when the Prince made a ſtand, all the officers were of opinion to ſtay till their body came up, and he alone (being ſecond to none but the General himſelf in the obſervance and application of all men) perſuaded, and prevailed with them to advance; ſo violently did his fate carry him, to pay the mulct in the place where he had committed the tranſgreſſion, about a year before.

He was a gentleman of a good family in Buckinghamſhire, and born to a fair fortune, and of a moſt civil and affable deportment. In his entrance into the world, he indulged to himſelf all the licenſe in ſports and exerciſes, and company, which were uſed by men of the moſt jolly converſation. Afterwards, he retired to a more reſerved and melancholy ſociety, yet preſerving his own natural cheerful-

cheerfulneſs and vivacity, and above all, a flowing courteſy to all men; though they who converſed nearly with him, found him growing into a diſlike of the eccleſiaſtical government of the Church, yet moſt believed it rather a diſlike of ſome Churchmen, and of ſome introducements of theirs, which he apprehended might diſquiet the public peace. He was rather of reputation in his own country, than of public diſcourſe, or fame in the kingdom, before the buſineſs of Ship-money: but then he grew the argument of all tongues, every man enquiring who and what he was, that durſt, at his own charge, ſupport the liberty and property of the kingdom, and reſcue his country, as he thought, from being made a prey to the Court. His carriage, throughout this agitation, was with that rare temper and modeſty, that they who watched him narrowly to find ſome advantage againſt his perſon, to make him leſs reſolute in his cauſe, were compelled to give him a juſt teſtimony. And the judgment that was given againſt him infinitely more advanced him, than the ſervice for which it was given. When this Parliament begun, (being returned Knight of the ſhire for the county where he lived), the eyes of all men were fixed upon him, as their *Patriæ Pater*, and the pilot that muſt ſteer the veſſel through the tempeſts and rocks which threatened it. And I am perſuaded, his power and intereſt, at that time, was greater to do good or hurt, than any man's in the kingdom, or than any man of his rank hath had in any time: for his reputation of honeſty was univerſal, and his affections ſeemed ſo publicly guided, that no corrupt or private ends could bias them.

He was of that rare affability and temper in debate, and of that ſeeming humility and ſubmiſſion of judgment,

as

as if he brought no opinion of his own with him, but a desire of information and instruction; yet he had so subtle a way of interrogating, and, under the notion of doubts, insinuating his objections, that he infused his own opinions into those from whom he pretended to learn and receive them. And even with them who were able to preserve themselves from his infusions, and discerned those opinions to be fixed in him, with which they could not comply, he always left the character of an ingenious and conscientious person. He was indeed a very wise man, and of great parts, and possessed with the most absolute spirit of popularity, and the most absolute faculties to govern the people, of any man I ever knew. For the first year of the Parliament, he seemed rather to moderate and soften the violent and distempered humours, than to inflame them. But wise and dispassioned men plainly discerned, that that moderation proceeded from prudence, and observation that the season was not ripe, rather than that he approved of the moderation; and that he begot many opinions and motions, the education whereof he committed to other men; so far disguising his own designs, that he seemed seldom to wish more than was concluded; and in many gross conclusions, which would hereafter contribute to designs not yet set on foot, when he found them sufficiently backed by majority of voices, he would withdraw himself before the question, that he might seem not to consent to so much visible unreasonableness; which produced as great a doubt in some, as it did approbation in others, of his integrity. What combination soever had been originally with the Scots for the invasion of England, and what farther was entered into afterwards in favour of them, and to advance any alteration of the government in Parliament, no man,

man doubts was at leaſt with the privity of this gentleman.

After he was among thoſe members accuſed by the King of high treaſon, he was much altered; his nature and carriage ſeeming much fiercer than it did before. And without queſtion, when he firſt drew his ſword, he threw away the ſcabbard; for he paſſionately oppoſed the overture made by the King for a treaty from Nottingham, and as eminently, all expedients that might have produced any accommodations in this that was at Oxford; and was principally relied on, to prevent any infuſions which might be made into the Earl of Eſſex towards peace, or to render them ineffectual, if they were made; and was indeed much more relied on by that party, than the General himſelf. In the firſt entrance into the troubles, he undertook the command of a regiment of foot, and performed the duty of a colonel, upon all occaſions, moſt punctually. He was very temperate in diet, and a ſupreme governor over all his paſſions and affections, and had thereby a great power over other men's. He was of an induſtry and vigilance not to be tired out, or wearied by the moſt laborious; and of parts not to be impoſed upon by the moſt ſubtle or ſharp; and of a perſonal courage equal to his beſt parts; ſo that he was an enemy not to be wiſhed wherever he might have been made a friend; and as much to be apprehended where he was ſo, as any man could deſerve to be. And therefore his death was no leſs pleaſing to the one party, than it was condoled in the other. In a word, what was ſaid of Cinna might well be applied to him; "he had a head to contrive, "and a tongue to perſuade, and a hand to execute, any "miſchief." His death therefore ſeemed to be a great deliverance to the nation.

The

The Earl of Eſſex's army was ſo weakened by theſe defeats, and more by the ſickneſs that had waſted it, that it was not thought ſafe to remain longer ſo near his unquiet and reſtleſs enemies. The factions and animoſities at London required his preſence there; and he thought the army would be ſooner recruited there, than at ſo great a diſtance; ſo that he marched directly from Thame to London, where he found jealouſy and contention enough; leaving his army quartered about St. Alban's. Whilſt the affairs of the Parliament were in this diſtraction, the King's recovered great reputation; and the ſeaſon of the year being fit for action, all diſcontents and factious murmurings were adjourned to the next winter.

The Earl of Eſſex marches from Thame to London; quartering his army about St. Alban's.

The King's affairs in the Weſt.

The end of the treaty, in which we left the chief commanders of the Corniſh forces, with commiſſioners of the other weſtern counties, was like that in other places; for notwithſtanding thoſe extraordinary obligations of oaths, and receiving the Sacrament, circumſtances in no other treaty, the Parliament no ſooner ſent their votes and declarations to them, (the ſame which are before mentioned upon the treaties in Yorkſhire and Cheſhire), and ſome members of their own to overlook and perplex them, but all peaceable inclinations were laid aſide; ſo that (having in the mean time induſtriouſly levied money, throughout Somerſet and Devon, upon friends and enemies; and a good body of men) the night before the expiration of the treaty and ceſſation, James Chudleigh, the Major General of the rebels, brought a ſtrong party of horſe and foot within two miles of Launceſton, the head quarter of the Corniſh, and the very next morning, the ceſſation not being determined till after twelve of the clock in the night, marched upon the town, where they were not ſufficiently provided

provided for them. For though the commanders of the Corniſh had employed their time, as uſefully as they could, during the ceſſation, in preparing the gentry of that country, and all the inhabitants, to ſubmit to a weekly tax for the ſupport of that power, which defended them; over and above which, the gentlemen, and perſons of quality, freely brought in all their plate to be diſpoſed of to the public; and though they foreſaw, after the committee of Parliament came into the country, that the treaty would conclude without fruit, and therefore Sir Ralph Hopton and Sir Bevil Greenvil repaired to Launceſton the day before the expiration of the treaty, to meet any attempt ſhould be made upon them: yet, being to feed and pay their ſmall forces out of one county, they had been compelled to quarter their men at a great diſtance, that no one part might be more oppreſſed than was neceſſary: ſo that all that was done the firſt day was, by the advantage of paſſes, and lining of hedges, to keep the enemy in action, till the other forces came up; which they ſeaſonably did towards the evening; and then the enemy, who received great loſs in that day's action, grew ſo heartleſs, that in the night they retired to Okington, fifteen miles from the place of their ſkirmiſh. After which many ſmall ſkirmiſhes enſued, for many days, with various ſucceſs; ſometimes the Corniſh advancing in Devon, and then retiring again; for it appeared now, that a formed army was marching againſt them, ſo far ſuperior in number, that there was no reaſonable hope of reſiſtance.

Towards the middle of May, the Earl of Stamford marched into Cornwall, by the north part, with a body of fourteen hundred horſe and dragoons, and five thouſand four hundred foot by the poll, with a train of thirteen braſs ordnance, and a mortar-piece, and a very

The Earl of Stamford marches into Cornwall with an army.

plentiful magazine of victual and ammunition, and every way in as good an equipage, as could be provided by men who wanted no money; whilſt the King's ſmall forces, being not half the number, and unſupplied with every uſeful thing, were at Launceſton; of whom the enemy had ſo abſolute a contempt, though they knew they were marching to them, within ſix or ſeven miles, that they conſidered only how to take them after they were diſperſed, and to prevent their running into Pendennis caſtle, to give them farther trouble. To which purpoſe having encamped themſelves upon the flat top of a very high hill, to which the aſcents were very ſteep every way, near Stratton, being the only part of Cornwall eminently diſaffected to the King's ſervice, they ſent a party of twelve hundred horſe and dragoons, under the command of Sir George Chudleigh, father to their Major General, to Bodmin, to ſurpriſe the High Sheriff and principal gentlemen of the country; and thereby, not only to prevent the coming up of any more ſtrength to the King's party, but, under the awe of ſuch a power of horſe, to make the whole country riſe for them. This deſign, which was not in itſelf unreaſonable, proved fortunate to the King. For his forces which marched from Launceſton, with a reſolution to fight with the enemy, upon any diſadvantage of place or number, (which, how hazardous ſoever, carried leſs danger with it, than retiring into the county, or any thing elſe that was in their power), eaſily now reſolved to aſſault the camp in the abſence of their horſe; and, with this reſolution, they marched on Monday the fifteenth of May, within a mile of the enemy; being ſo deſtitute of all proviſions, that the beſt officers had but a biſket a man a day, for two days, the enemy looking upon them as their own.

On

On Tueſday the ſixteenth of May, about five of the clock in the morning, they diſpoſed themſelves to their work; having ſtood in their arms all the night. The number of foot was about two thouſand four hundred, which they divided into four parts, and agreed on their ſeveral provinces. The firſt was commanded by the Lord Mohun and Sir Ralph Hopton; who undertook to aſſault the camp on the ſouth ſide. Next them, on the left hand, Sir John Berkley and Sir Bevil Greenvil were to force their way. Sir Nicholas Slanning and Colonel Trevannion were to aſſault the north ſide; and, on the left hand, Colonel Thomas Baſſet, who was Major General of their foot, and Colonel William Godolphin were to advance with their party; each party having two pieces of cannon to diſpoſe as they found neceſſary: Colonel John Digby commanding the horſe and dragoons, being about five hundred, ſtood upon a ſandy common which had a way to the camp, to take any advantage he could of the enemy, if they charged; otherwiſe, to be firm as a reſerve.

In this manner the fight begun; the King's forces preſſing, with their utmoſt vigour, thoſe four ways up the hill, and the enemies as obſtinately defending their ground. The fight continued with very doubtful ſucceſs, till towards three of the clock in the afternoon; when word was brought to the chief officers of the Corniſh, that their ammunition was ſpent to leſs than four barrels of powder; which (concealing the defect from the ſoldiers) they reſolved could be only ſupplied with courage: and therefore, by meſſengers to one another, they agreed to advance with their full bodies, without making any more ſhot, till they reached the top of the hill, and ſo might be upon even ground with the enemy; wherein the officer's courage, and reſolution, was ſo well

ſeconded by the ſoldier, that they begun to get ground in all places; and the enemy, in wonder of the men, who outfaced their ſhot with their ſwords, to quit their poſt. Major General Chudleigh, who ordered the battle, failed in no part of a ſoldier; and when he ſaw his men recoil from leſs numbers, and the enemy in all places gaining the hill upon him, himſelf advanced, with a good ſtand of pikes, upon that party which was led by Sir John Berkley and Sir Bevil Greenvil; and charged them ſo ſmartly, that he put them into diſorder; Sir Bevil Greenvil, in the ſhock, being borne to the ground, but quickly relieved by his companion; they ſo reinforced the charge, that having killed moſt of the aſſailants, and diſperſed the reſt, they took the Major General priſoner, after he had behaved himſelf with as much courage, as a man could do. Then the enemy gave ground apace, inſomuch as the four parties growing nearer and nearer as they aſcended the hill, between three and four of the clock they all met together upon one ground near the top of the hill; where they embraced with unſpeakable joy, each congratulating the other's ſucceſs, and all acknowledging the wonderful bleſſing of God; and being there poſſeſſed of ſome of the enemy's cannon, they turned them upon the camp, and advanced together to perfect the victory. But the enemy no ſooner underſtood the loſs of their Major General, but their hearts failed them; and being ſo reſolutely preſſed, and their ground loſt, upon the ſecurity and advantage whereof they wholly depended, ſome of them threw down their arms, and others fled; diſperſing themſelves, and every man ſhifting for himſelf:

The Earl is beaten near Stratton, May 16.

their General, the Earl of Stamford, giving the example, who, (having ſtood at a ſafe diſtance all the time of the battle, environed with all the horſe, which in ſmall parties,

parties, though it is true their whole number was not above ſix or ſeven ſcore, might have done great miſchief to the ſeveral parties of foot, who with ſo much difficulty ſcaled the ſteep hill), as ſoon as he ſaw the day loſt, and ſome ſay ſooner, made all imaginable haſte to Exeter, to prepare them for the condition they were ſhortly to expect.

The conquerors, as ſoon as they had gained the camp, and diſperſed the enemy, and after public prayers upon the place, and a ſolemn thankſgiving to Almighty God for their deliverance and victory, ſent a ſmall party of horſe to purſue the enemy for a mile or two; not thinking fit to purſue farther, or with their whole body of horſe, leſt Sir George ſhould return from Bodmin with his ſtrong body of horſe and dragoons, and find them in diſorder; but contenting themſelves with the victory they had obtained upon the place, which, in ſubſtance as well as circumſtance, was as ſignal a one as hath happened to either party ſince the unhappy diſtraction; for on the King's party were not loſt in all above fourſcore men; whereof few were officers, and none above the degree of a captain; and though many more were hurt, not above ten men died afterwards of their wounds. On the Parliament ſide, notwithſtanding their advantage of ground, and that the other were the aſſailants, above three hundred were ſlain on the place, and ſeventeen hundred taken priſoners, with their Major General, and above thirty other officers. They took likewiſe all their baggage and tents, all their cannon, being, as was ſaid before, thirteen pieces of braſs ordnance, and a braſs mortar-piece; all their ammunition, being ſeventy barrels of powder, and all other ſorts of ammunition proportionable, and a very great magazine of biſket, and other excellent proviſions

of victuals; which was as ſeaſonable a bleſſing as the victory, to thoſe who, for three or four days before, had ſuffered great want of food as well as ſleep, and were equally tired with duty and hunger. The army reſted that night and the next day at Stratton; all care being taken by expreſs meſſengers, to diſperſe the news of their ſucceſs to all parts of that country, and to guard the paſſes upon the river Tamar, whereby to hinder the return of the enemy's horſe and dragoons. But Sir George Chudleigh had no ſooner, with great triumph, diſperſed the High Sheriff, and gentlemen, who intended to have called the *poſſe comitatus*, according to their good cuſtom, for the aſſiſtance of the King's party, and with little reſiſtance entered Bodmin, when he received the fatal news of the loſs of their camp and army at Stratton. Upon which, with as much haſte and diſorder, as ſo great a conſternation could produce among a people not acquainted with the accidents of war, leaving many of his men and horſes a prey to the country people, himſelf, with as many as he could get, and keep together, got into Plymouth; and thence, without interruption or hazard, into Exeter.

The Earl of Stamford, to make his own conduct and misfortune the leſs cenſured, induſtriouſly ſpread abroad in all places, and confidently ſent the ſame information to the Parliament, "that he had been betrayed by James "Chudleigh; and that, in the heat of the battle, when "the hope of the day ſtood fair, he had voluntarily, "with a party, run over to the enemy, and immediately "charged the Parliament forces; which begot in all "men a general apprehenſion of treachery, the ſoldiers "fearing their officers, and the officers their ſoldiers "revolt; and thereupon the rout enſued." Whereas the truth is, as he was a young man of excellent parts and

and courage, he performed the part of a right good commander, both in his orders and his perſon; and was taken priſoner in the body of his enemy, whither he had charged with undaunted courage, when there was no other expedient in reaſon left. But this ſcandal ſo without colour caſt on him, and entertained with more credit than his ſervices had merited, (for, from the time of his engagement to the Parliament, he had ſerved not only with full ability, but with notable ſucceſs, and was the only man that had given any interruption to the proſperity of the Corniſh army, and in a night-ſkirmiſh, at Bradock Down near Okington, ſtruck a great terror into them, and diſordered them more than they were at any other time), wrought ſo far upon the young man, together with the kind uſage and reception he found as a priſoner among the chief officers, who loved him as a gallant enemy, and one like to do the King good ſervice if he were recovered to his loyalty, that after he had been priſoner about ten days, he freely declared, "that he was convinced in his conſcience and judgment, "of the errors he had committed;" and, upon promiſe made to him of the King's pardon, frankly offered to join with them in his Majeſty's ſervice; and ſo gave ſome countenance to the reproach that was firſt moſt injuriouſly caſt upon him.

The truth is, he was of too good an underſtanding, and too much generoſity in his nature, to be affected to the cauſe which he ſerved, or to comply with thoſe arts, which he ſaw practiſed to carry it on; and having a command in Ireland when the war firſt broke out, he came thence into England, with a purpoſe to ſerve the King; and to that end, ſhortly after his Majeſty's coming to Oxford, he came thither to tender his ſervice: but he found the eyes of moſt men fixed upon him

with prejudice and jealouſy there, both for his family's ſake, which was notoriouſly diſaffected to the King, and for ſome errors of his own, in that plot, that was ſo much ſpoken of, to bring up the northern army to awe the Parliament; in which buſineſs, being then a very young man, and of a ſtirring ſpirit, and deſirous of a name, he had expreſſed much zeal to the King's ſervice, and been buſy in inclining the army to engage in ſuch petitions and undertakings, as were not gracious to the Parliament. But when that diſcovery was made by Mr. Goring, as is before remembered, and a committee appointed to examine the combination, this gentleman, wrought upon by hopes, or fears, in his examination, ſaid much that was diſadvantageous to the Court, and therefore, bringing no other teſtimony with him to Oxford, but of his own conſcience, he received nothing like countenance there; whereupon he returned to London, ſufficiently incenſed that he was neglected; and was quickly entertained for their weſtern employment, where his neareſt friends were throughly engaged. But after this defeat, his former paſſion being allayed, and his obſervation and experience convincing him, that the deſigns of the Parliament were not ſuch as were pretended, he reſigned himſelf to thoſe who firſt conquered him with force, and then with reaſon and civility; and, no doubt, was much wrought upon by the diſcipline and integrity of the forces, by whom he had been ſubdued; and with the piety, temper, and ſobriety of the chief commanders, which indeed was moſt exemplary, and worthy the cauſe for which they were engaged; the reputation and conſcience whereof had alone carried them through the difficulties and ſtraits, with which they were to contend.

This army, willing to relieve their friends of Cornwall, from

from the burden which they ſuſtained ſo patiently, haſtened their march into Devonſhire, not throughly reſolved whether to attack Plymouth, or Exeter, or both; when advertiſement came to them, by an expreſs from Oxford, "that the King had ſent Prince Maurice, "and the Marquis of Hertford, with a very good body "of horſe, to join with them; and that they were advanced "towards them as far as Somerſetſhire; and that Sir "William Waller was deſigned by the Parliament, "to viſit the Weſt, with a new army, which would "receive a good recruit from thoſe who eſcaped from "the battle of Stratton:" ſo that it was neceſſary for all the King's forces in thoſe parts to be united in a body, as ſoon as might be: hereupon it was quickly reſolved to leave ſuch a party at Saltaſh and Milbrook, as might defend faithful Cornwall from any incurſions of Plymouth, and with their army to march eaſtward; their number increaſing daily upon the reputation of their new wonderful victory; many volunteers coming to them out of Devonſhire, and very many of their priſoners profeſſing, they had been ſeduced, and freely offering to ſerve the King againſt thoſe who had wronged both; who, being entertained under ſome of their own converted officers, behaved themſelves afterwards with great honeſty and courage. And ſo making no longer ſtay by the way, than was neceſſary for the refreſhing of their troops, the Corniſh army, for that was the ſtile it now carried, marched by Exeter, where the Earl of Stamford, with a ſufficient garriſon, then was; and ſtaying only two or three days to fix ſmall garriſons, whereby that town, full of fear and apprehenſion, might be kept from having too great an influence upon ſo populous a county, advanced to Tiverton, where a regiment of foot of the Parliament, under Colonel Ware, a gentleman of that country, had fixed

fixed themſelves; hoping Sir William Waller would be as ſoon with them for their relief, as the Corniſh would be to force them; which regiment being eaſily diſperſed, they ſtayed there to expect new orders from the Marquis of Hertford.

When the loſs of Reading was well digeſted, and the King underſtood the declining condition of the Earl of Eſſex's army, and that he would either not be able to advance, or not in ſuch a manner, as would give him much trouble at Oxford; and hearing in what proſperous ſtate his hopeful party in Cornwall ſtood, whither the Parliament was making all haſte to ſend Sir William Waller, to check their good ſucceſs; his Majeſty reſolved to ſend the Marquis of Hertford into thoſe parts, the rather becauſe there were many of the prime gentlemen of Wiltſhire, Dorſetſhire, and Somerſetſhire, who confidently undertook, if the Marquis went through thoſe counties, with ſuch a ſtrength as they ſuppoſed the King would ſpare to him, they would in a very ſhort time raiſe ſo conſiderable a power, as to oppoſe any force the Parliament ſhould be able to ſend. When the Marquis was ready for his journey, news arrived of the great victory at Stratton; ſo that there was no danger in the Marquis's being able to join with that little Corniſh army; and then there would appear indeed a viſible body worthy the name of an army. This put ſome perſons upon deſiring, that Prince Maurice (who was yet in no other quality of command, than of a private colonel of horſe, but had always behaved himſelf with great courage and vigilance) might be likewiſe diſpoſed into a command of that army. Hereupon the King aſſigned him, and his Highneſs willingly accepted to be Lieutenant General under the Marquis; who for many reaſons, beſides that he was actually poſſeſſed of

it,

it, was thought fit to have the ſuperior power over thoſe weſtern counties, where his fortune lay, and the eſtimation and reverence of the people to him was very great. So the Prince and the Marquis, with Prince Maurice's, and the Earl of Carnarvon's, and Colonel Thomas Howard's regiments of horſe (the Earl being General of the cavalry) advanced into the Weſt; and ſtaying only ſome few days at Saliſbury, and after in Dorſetſhire, whilſt ſome new regiments of horſe and foot, which were levying by the gentlemen in thoſe parts, came up to them, made all convenient haſte into Somerſetſhire, being deſirous to join with the Corniſh as ſoon as might be; preſuming they ſhould be then beſt able to perfect their new levies, when they were out of apprehenſion of being diſturbed by a more powerful force. For Sir William Waller was already marched out of London, and uſed not to ſtay longer by the way than was unavoidably neceſſary.

In the Marquis's firſt entrance into the Weſt, he had an unſpeakable loſs, and the King's ſervice a far greater, by the death of Mr. Rogers, a gentleman of a rare temper, and excellent underſtanding; who, beſides that he had a great intereſt in the Marquis, being his couſin-german, and ſo, out of that private relation, as well as zeal to the public, paſſionately inclined to advance the ſervice, had a wonderful great influence upon the county of Dorſet, for which he ſerved as one of the Knights in Parliament; and had ſo well deſigned all things there, that Poole and Lyme, (two port towns in that county, which gave the King afterwards much trouble), if he had lived, had been undoubtedly reduced. But by his death all thoſe hopes were cancelled, the ſurviving gentry of that ſhire being, how well affected ſoever, ſo unactive, that the progreſs, that was that year made

made there to the King's advantage, owed little to their aſſiſtance.

About the middle of June, Prince Maurice, and the Marquis, with ſixteen or ſeventeen hundred horſe, and about one thouſand new levied foot, and ſeven or eight field-pieces, came to Chard, a fair town in Somerſetſhire, neareſt the edge of Devonſhire; where, according to order, they were met by the Corniſh army; which conſiſted of above three thouſand excellent foot, five hundred horſe, and three hundred dragoons, with four or five field-pieces; ſo that, officers and all, being joined, they might well paſs for an army of ſeven thouſand men; with an excellent train of artillery, and a very fair proportion of ammunition of all ſorts, and ſo good a reputation, that they might well promiſe themſelves a quick increaſe of their numbers. Yet if the extraordinary temper and virtue of the chief officers of the Corniſh had not been much ſuperior to that of their common ſoldiers, who valued themſelves high, as the men whoſe courage had alone vindicated the King's cauſe in the Weſt, there might have been greater diſorder at their firſt joining, than could eaſily have been compoſed. For how ſmall ſoever the Marquis's party was in numbers, it was ſupplied with all the General Officers of a royal army, a General, Lieutenant General, General of the horſe, General of the ordnance, a Major General of horſe, and another of foot, without keeping ſuitable commands for thoſe who had done all that was paſt, and were to be principally relied on for what was to come. So that the chief officers of the Corniſh army, by joining with a much leſs party than themſelves, were at beſt in the condition of private Colonels. Yet the ſame public thoughts ſtill ſo abſolutely prevailed with them, that they quieted all murmurings and emulations

The Marquis of Hertford and Prince Maurice, with their forces, join the Corniſh army at Chard.

lations among inferior officers, and common ſoldiers; and were, with equal candour and eſtimation, valued by the Prince and Marquis, who bethought themſelves of all expedients, which might prevent any future miſunderſtanding.

Taunton was the firſt place they reſolved to viſit, being one of the faireſt, largeſt, and richeſt towns in Somerſetſhire; but withal as eminently affected to the Parliament, where they had now a garriſon; but they had not yet the ſame courage they recovered afterwards: for the army was no ſooner drawn near the town, the head quarters being at Orchard, a houſe of the Portmans, two miles from the town, but the town ſent two of their ſubſtantial inhabitants to treat; which, though nothing was concluded, ſtruck that terror into the garriſon, (the priſoners in the caſtle, whereof many were men of good fortunes, impriſoned there as Malignants, at the ſame time raiſing ſome commotion there), that the garriſon fled out of the town to Bridgewater, being a leſs town, but of a much ſtronger ſituation; and, with the ſame panic fear, the next day, from thence; ſo that the Marquis was poſſeſſed, in three days, of Taunton, Bridgewater, and Dunſtar caſtle, ſo much ſtronger than both the other, that it could not have been forced; yet by the dexterity of Francis Windham, who wrought upon the fears of the owner and maſter of it, Mr. Lutterel, was, with as little bloodſhed as the other, delivered up to the King; into which the Marquis put him, that took it, as Governor; as he well deſerved.

The government of Taunton he committed to Sir John Stawell, a gentleman of a very great eſtate in thoſe parts; who, from the beginning, had heartily and perſonally engaged himſelf and his children for the King; and was in the firſt form of thoſe who had made themſelves

ſelves obnoxious to the Parliament. The other government, of Bridgewater, was conferred upon Edmund Windham, High Sheriff of the county, being a gentleman of a fortune near the place, and of a good perſonal courage, and unqueſtionable affection to the cauſe. The army ſtayed about Taunton ſeven or eight days, for the ſettling thoſe garriſons, and to receive advertiſements of the motion or ſtation of the enemy; in which time they loſt much of the credit and reputation, they had with the country. For whereas the chief commanders of the Corniſh army had reſtrained their ſoldiers from all manner of licenſe, obliging them to ſolemn and frequent actions of devotion, inſomuch as the fame of their religion and diſcipline was no leſs than of their courage, and thereupon Sir Ralph Hopton (who was generally conſidered as the General of that army, though it was governed by ſuch a commiſſion as is before remembered) was greedily expected in his own country, where his reputation was ſecond to no man's; the horſe, that came now with the Marquis, having lived under a looſe diſcipline, and coming now into plentiful quarters, unviſited by an army, eminent for their diſaffection, were diſorderly enough to give the enemy credit in laying more to their charge than they deſerved; and by their licenſe hindered thoſe orderly levies, which ſhould have brought in a ſupply of money, for the regular payment of the army. This extravagancy produced another miſchief, ſome jealouſy, or ſhadow of it, between the Lord Marquis and Prince Maurice; the firſt, as being better verſed in the policy of peace, than in the myſteries of war, deſiring to regulate the ſoldier, and to reſtrain him from uſing any licenſe upon the country; and the Prince being thought ſo wholly to incline to the ſoldier, that he neglected any conſideration of the country, and not without

without ſome deſign of drawing the ſole dependence of the ſoldier upon himſelf. But here were the ſeeds rather ſown of diſlike, than any viſible diſinclination produced; for after they had ſettled the garriſons before mentioned, they advanced, with unity and alacrity, eaſtward, to find out the enemy, which was gathered together in a conſiderable body, within leſs than twenty miles of them.

Whilſt ſo much time was ſpent at Oxford, to prepare the ſupplies for the Weſt, and in ſettling the manner of ſending them; which might have been done much ſooner, and with leſs noiſe; the Parliament foreſaw, that if all the Weſt were recovered from them, their quarters would by degrees be ſo ſtraitened, that their other friends would quickly grow weary of them. They had ſtill all the weſtern ports at their devotion, thoſe in Cornwall only excepted; and their fleets had always great benefit by it. And though moſt of the gentry were engaged againſt them, as they were in truth in many parts throughout the kingdom, yet the common people, eſpecially in the clothing parts of Somerſetſhire, were generally too much inclined to them. So that they could not want men, if they ſent a body of horſe, and ſome arms, to countenance them; with the laſt of which they had ſufficiently ſtored the ſea-towns which were in their hands. And therefore they reſolved, that, though they could not eaſily recruit their army, they would ſend ſome troops of horſe, and dragoons, into the Weſt, to keep up the ſpirits of their friends there. And for the conduct of this ſervice, they made choice of Sir William Waller, a member of the Houſe of Commons, and a gentleman of a family in Kent.

The Parliament ſent Sir William Waller into the Weſt with an army.

Sir William Waller had been well bred; and, having ſpent ſome years abroad, and ſome time in the armies there,

there, returned with a good reputation home; and ſhortly after, having married a young lady, who was to inherit a good fortune in the Weſt, he had a quarrel with a gentleman of the ſame family, who had the honour to be a menial ſervant to the King in a place near his perſon; which, in that time, was attended with privilege and reſpect from all men. Theſe two gentlemen diſcourſing with ſome warmth together, Sir William Waller received ſuch provocation from the other, that he ſtruck him a blow over the face, ſo near the gate of Weſtminſter-hall, that there were witneſſes, who ſwore, "that it was in the hall itſelf," the courts being then ſitting; which, according to the rigour of law, makes it very penal; and the credit the other had in the Court made the proſecution to be very ſevere; inſomuch as he was at laſt compelled to redeem himſelf at a dear ranſom; the benefit whereof was conferred on his adverſary, which made the ſenſe of it the more grievous: and this produced in him ſo eager a ſpirit againſt the Court, that he was very open to any temptation that might engage him againſt it; and ſo concurring in the Houſe of Commons with all thoſe counſels which were moſt violent, he was employed in their firſt military action, for the reducing of Portſmouth; which he effected with great eaſe, as is remembered before: and when the Earl of Eſſex had put the army into winter quarters, he had with ſome troops made a cavalcade or two into the Weſt, ſo fortunately, that he had not only beat up ſome looſe quarters, but had ſurpriſed a fixed and fortified quarter, made by the Lord Herbert of Ragland near Glouceſter; in which he took above twelve hundred priſoners, with all the officers; being a number very little inferior to his own party; which is likewiſe particularly remembered before. So that he got great reputation with the Parliament

ment and the city; and was there called William the Conqueror. And it is very true, that they who looked upon the Earl of Eſſex as a man that would not keep them company to the end of their journey, had their eyes upon Sir William Waller, as a man more for their turn; and were deſirous to extol him the more, that he might eclipſe the other. And therefore they prepared all things for his march with ſo great expedition and ſecrecy, that the Marquis of Hertford was no ſooner joined to the Corniſh troops, (in which time Bridgewater, and Dunſtar, and ſome other places, were reduced from the Parliament), before he was informed that Sir William Waller was within two days' march of him, and was more like to draw ſupplies to him from Briſtol, and the parts adjacent, which were under the Parliament, than the Marquis could from the open country; and therefore it was held moſt counſellable to advance, and engage him, whilſt he was not yet too ſtrong; and by this means they ſhould continue ſtill their march towards Oxford; which they were now inclined to do.

Though Sir William Waller himſelf continued ſtill at Bath, yet the remainder of thoſe horſe and dragoons that eſcaped out of Cornwall, after the battle of Stratton, and ſuch other as were ſent out of Exeter for their eaſe, when they apprehended a ſiege, and thoſe ſoldiers who fled out of Taunton and Bridgewater, and other regiments of the country, were by Alexander Popham, Strode, and the other Deputy Lieutenants of the militia for Somerſet, rallied; and with the Trained Bands, and volunteer regiments of the country, drawn together, with that confidence, that when the Marquis had taken up his head quarters at Somerton, the enemy, before break of day, fell upon a regiment of dragoons, quartered a

mile eaſtward from the town; and gave ſo briſk an alarm to the King's army, that it was immediately drawn out, and advanced upon the enemy, (being the firſt they had ſeen make any ſtand before them, ſince the battle of Stratton), who making ſtands upon the places of advantage, and maintaining little ſkirmiſhes in the rear, retired in no ill order to Wells; and the King's forces ſtill purſuing, they choſe to quit that city likewiſe; and drew their whole body, appearing in number as conſiderable as their purſuers, to the top of a hill, called Mendip Hill, overlooking the city of Wells, which they had left. The day being far ſpent, and the march having been long, the Marquis, with all the foot, and train, ſtayed at Wells; but Prince Maurice, and the Earl of Carnarvon, with Sir Ralph Hopton, and Sir John Berkley, and two regiments of horſe, reſolved to look upon the enemy on the top of the hill; who ſuffered them, without interruption, to gain the top of the hill level with them, and then, in a very orderly manner, facing with a large front of their horſe, to give their foot and baggage leiſure and ſecurity, retired together as the Prince advanced. This, and the natural contempt the King's horſe yet had of the enemy, which in all ſkirmiſhes and charges had been hitherto beaten by them, made the Prince judge this to be but a more graceful running away; and therefore followed them farther, over thoſe large hills, till the enemy, who were anon to paſs through a lane, and a village called Chewton, were compelled, before their entrance into the lane, to leave their reſerve; which faced about much thinner than it was over the hill: which opportunity and advantage was no ſooner diſcerned, as it had been foreſeen, but the Earl of Carnarvon (who always charged home) with an incomparable gallantry charged the

the enemy, and preſſed them ſo hard, that he entered the lane with them, and routed the whole body of their horſe, and followed the execution of them above two miles.

But this was like to have been a dear ſucceſs; for Sir William Waller, who lay with his new army at Bath, and had drawn to him a good ſupply out of the garriſon at Briſtol, had directed this body which was in Somerſet, to retire before the King's forces till they ſhould join with him, who had ſent a freſh, ſtrong party of horſe and dragoons, to aſſiſt their retreat; which, by the advantage of a hedge, had marched without being diſcovered: ſo that the Earl of Carnarvon, being a ſtranger in the country and the ways, purſued the enemy into Sir William Waller's quarters, and till himſelf was preſſed by a freſh body of horſe and dragoons; when he was neceſſitated to retire in as good order as he could; and ſent the Prince, who followed him, word of the danger which attended them. His Highneſs hereupon, with what haſte he could, drew back through the village; chooſing rather, with very good reaſon, to attend the enemy in the plain heath, than to be engaged in a narrow paſſage: thither the Earl of Carnarvon with his regiment came to him, broken and chaſed by the enemy; who immediately drew up a large front of horſe and dragoons, much ſtronger than the Prince's party, who had only his own, and the Earl of Carnarvon's regiments, with ſome gentlemen volunteers. The ſtrait, and neceſſity he was in, was very great; for as he might ſeem much too weak to charge them, ſo the danger might probably be much greater to retire over theſe fair hills, being purſued with a freſh party much ſuperior in number. Therefore he took a gallant reſolution, to give the enemy a briſk charge with his own regiment upon their advance, whilſt the Earl rallied his, and prepared

pared to ſecond him, as there ſhould be occaſion. This was as ſoon and fortunately executed as reſolved; the Prince in the head of the regiment charging ſo vigorouſly, that he utterly broke and routed that part of the front that received the impreſſion. But almoſt half the enemy's horſe, that, being extended larger than his front, were not charged, wheeled about, and charged the Prince in the rear; and at the ſame time the Earl of Carnarvon, with his rallied regiment, charged their rear; and all this ſo throughly performed, that they were mingled one among the other, and the good ſword was to decide the controverſy, their piſtols being ſpent in the cloſe. The Prince himſelf received two ſhrewd hurts in his head, and was beaten off his horſe; but he was preſently relieved, and carried off; and the enemy totally routed, and purſued again by the Earl of Carnarvon; who had a fair execution upon them, as long as the light countenanced his chaſe, and then he returned to the head quarters at Wells; there having been in theſe ſkirmiſhes threeſcore or fourſcore men loſt on the Prince's party, and three times that number by the enemy; the action being too quick to take many priſoners.

At Wells the army reſted many days, as well to recover the Prince's wounds, being only cuts with ſwords, as to conſult what was next to be done; for they were now within diſtance of an enemy that they knew would fight with them. For Sir William Waller was at Bath with his whole army, much increaſed by thoſe who were chaſed out of the Weſt; and reſolved not to advance, having all advantages of proviſions, and paſſes, till a new ſupply, he every day expected from London, were arrived with him. On the other ſide, the Marquis was not only to provide to meet with ſo vigilant an enemy, but to ſecure himſelf at his rear, that the diſaffection

of

of the people behind him, who were only ſubdued, not converted, upon the advance of Sir William Waller, might not take freſh courage. Though Cornwall was reaſonably ſecured, to keep off any impreſſion upon itſelf from Plymouth, yet Devonſhire was left in a very unſafe poſture; there being only a ſmall party at Columb-John, a houſe of Sir John Ackland's, three miles off Exeter, to control the power of that city, where the Earl of Stamford was; and to diſpute not only with any commotion that might happen in the country, but with any power that might arrive by ſea. Upon theſe conſiderations, and the intelligence, that the Parliament had ſent directions to the Earl of Warwick their Admiral, "to attend the Devonſhire coaſt with his fleet, and "take any advantage he could," the Marquis, by the advice of the council of war, ſent Sir John Berkley back into Devonſhire, with Colonel Howard's regiment of horſe, to command the forces which were then there, and to raiſe what numbers more he could poſſibly, for the blocking up that city, and reducing the county; and upon his arrival there, to ſend up to the army Sir James Hamilton's regiment of horſe and dragoons; which had been left in Devonſhire; and, by the licenſe they took, weakened the King's party; ſo that, by ſending this relief thither, he did not leſſen at all his own numbers, yet gave great ſtrength to the reducing thoſe parts, as appeared afterwards by their ſucceſs.

After this diſpoſition, and eight or ten days reſt at Wells, the army generally expreſſing a cheerful impatience to meet with the enemy, of which, at that time, they had a greater contempt, than in reaſon they ſhould have; the Prince and Marquis advanced to Frome, and thence to Bradford, within four miles of Bath. And now no day paſſed without action, and very ſharp

ſkirmiſhes; Sir William Waller having received from London a freſh regiment of five hundred horſe, under the command of Sir Arthur Haſlerig; which were ſo completely armed, that they were called by the other ſide the regiment of Lobſters, becauſe of their bright iron ſhells, with which they were covered, being perfect cuiraſſiers; and were the firſt ſeen ſo armed on either ſide, and the firſt that made any impreſſion upon the King's horſe; who, being unarmed, were not able to bear a ſhock with them; beſides that they were ſecure from hurts of the ſword, which were almoſt the only weapons the other were furniſhed with.

The contention was hitherto with parties; in which the ſucceſſes were various, and almoſt with equal loſſes: for as Sir William Waller, upon the firſt advance from Wells, beat up a regiment of horſe and dragoons of Sir James Hamilton's, and diſperſed them; ſo, within two days, the King's forces beat a party of his from a paſs near Bath, where the enemy loſt two field-pieces, and near an hundred men. But Sir William Waller had the advantage in his ground, having a good city, well furniſhed with proviſions, to quarter his army together in; and ſo in his choice not to fight, but upon extraordinary advantage. Whereas the King's forces muſt either diſperſe themſelves, and ſo give the enemy advantage upon their quarters, or, keeping near together, lodge in the field, and endure great diſtreſs of proviſion; the country being ſo diſaffected, that only force could bring in any ſupply or relief. Hereupon, after ſeveral attempts to engage the enemy to a battle upon equal terms, which having the advantage, he wiſely avoided; the Marquis and Prince Maurice advanced with their whole body to Marsfield, five miles beyond Bath towards Oxford; preſuming, that, by this means, they ſhould draw the enemy from their

their place of advantage, his chief buſineſs being to hinder them from joining with the King. And if they had been able to preſerve that temper, and had neglected the enemy, till he had quitted his advantages, it is probable they might have fought upon as good terms as they deſired. But the unreaſonable contempt they had of the enemy, and confidence they ſhould prevail in any ground, together with the ſtraits they endured for want of proviſions, and their want of ammunition, which was ſpent as much in the daily hedge-ſkirmiſhes, and upon their guards, being ſo near as could have been in battle, would not admit the patience; for Sir William Waller, who was not to ſuffer that body to join with the King, no ſooner drew out his whole army to Lanſdown, which looked towards Marsfield, but they ſuffered themſelves to be engaged upon great diſadvantage.

The battle of Lanſdown, July 5.

It was upon the fifth of July when Sir William Waller, as ſoon as it was light, poſſeſſed himſelf of that hill; and after he had, upon the brow of the hill over the high way, raiſed breaſt-works with fagots and earth, and planted cannon there, he ſent a ſtrong party of horſe towards Marsfield, which quickly alarmed the other army, and was ſhortly driven back to their body. As great a mind as the King's forces had to cope with the enemy, when they had drawn into battalia, and found the enemy fixed on the top of the hill, they reſolved not to attack them upon ſo great diſadvantage; and ſo retired again towards their old quarters: which Sir William Waller perceiving, ſent his whole body of horſe and dragoons down the hill, to charge the rear and flank of the King's forces; which they did throughly, the regiment of cuiraſſiers ſo amazing the horſe they charged, that they totally routed them; and ſtanding firm and unſhaken themſelves, gave ſo great terror to the King's

horſe, who had never before turned from an enemy, that no example of their officers, who did their parts with invincible courage, could make them charge with the ſame confidence, and in the ſame manner they had uſually done. However, in the end, after Sir Nicholas Slanning, with three hundred muſqueteers, had fallen upon and beaten their reſerve of dragooners, Prince Maurice and the Earl of Carnarvon, rallying their horſe, and winging them with the Corniſh muſqueteers, charged the enemy's horſe again, and totally routed them; and in the ſame manner received two bodies more, and routed and chaſed them to the hill; where they ſtood in a place almoſt inacceſſible. On the brow of the hill there were breaſt-works, on which were pretty bodies of ſmall ſhot, and ſome cannon; on either flank grew a pretty thick wood towards the declining of the hill, in which ſtrong parties of muſqueteers were placed; at the rear was a very fair plain, where the reſerves of horſe and foot ſtood ranged; yet the Corniſh foot were ſo far from being appalled at this diſadvantage, that they deſired to fall on, and cried out, "that they might have "leave to fetch off thoſe cannon." In the end, order was given to attempt the hill with horſe and foot. Two ſtrong parties of muſqueteers were ſent into the woods, which flanked the enemy; and the horſe and other muſqueteers up the road way, which were charged by the enemy's horſe, and routed; then Sir Bevil Greenvil advanced with a party of horſe, on his right hand, that ground being beſt for them; and his muſqueteers on the left; himſelf leading up his pikes in the middle; and in the face of their cannon, and ſmall-ſhot from the breaſt-works, gained the brow of the hill, having ſuſtained two full charges of the enemy's horſe; but in the third charge his horſe failing, and giving ground, he received,

received, after other wounds, a blow on the head with a pole-axe, with which he fell, and many of his officers about him; yet the muſqueteers fired ſo faſt upon the enemy's horſe, that they quitted their ground, and the two wings, who were ſent to clear the woods, having done their work, and gained thoſe parts of the hill, at the ſame time beat off their enemy's foot, and became poſſeſſed of the breaſt-works; and ſo made way for their whole body of horſe, foot, and cannon, to aſcend the hill; which they quickly did, and planted themſelves on the ground they had won; the enemy retiring about demi-culverin ſhot behind a ſtone wall upon the ſame level, and ſtanding in reaſonable good order.

Either party was ſufficiently tired, and battered, to be contented to ſtand ſtill. The King's horſe were ſo ſhaken, that of two thouſand which were upon the field in the morning, there were not above ſix hundred on the top of the hill. The enemy was exceedingly ſcattered too, and had no mind to venture on plain ground with thoſe who had beaten them from the hill; ſo that, exchanging only ſome ſhot from their ordnance, they looked one upon another till the night interpoſed. About twelve of the clock, it being very dark, the enemy made a ſhew of moving towards the ground they had loſt; but giving a ſmart volley of ſmall-ſhot, and finding themſelves anſwered with the like, they made no more noiſe: which the Prince obſerving, he ſent a common ſoldier to hearken as near the place, where they were, as he could; who brought word, "that the enemy "had left lighted matches in the wall behind which they "had lain, and were drawn off the field;" which was true; ſo that, as ſoon as it was day, the King's army found themſelves poſſeſſed entirely of the field, and the dead, and all other enſigns of victory: Sir William Waller being

being marched to Bath, in ſo much diſorder and apprehenſion, that he left great ſtore of arms, and ten barrels of powder, behind him; which was a very ſeaſonable ſupply to the other ſide, who had ſpent in that day's ſervice no leſs than fourſcore barrels, and had not a ſafe proportion left.

In this battle, on the King's part, there were more officers and gentlemen of quality ſlain, than common men; and more hurt than ſlain. That which would have clouded any victory, and made the loſs of others leſs ſpoken of, was the death of Sir Bevil Greenvil. He was indeed an excellent perſon, whoſe activity, intereſt, and reputation, was the foundation of what had been done in Cornwall; and his temper and affections ſo public, that no accident which happened could make any impreſſions in him; and his example kept others from taking any thing ill, or at leaſt ſeeming to do ſo. In a word, a brighter courage, and a gentler diſpoſition, were never married together to make the moſt cheerful and innocent converſation.

Sir Bevil Greenvil ſlain.

Very many officers and perſons of quality were hurt; as the Lord Arundel of Wardour, ſhot in the thigh with a brace of piſtol bullets; Sir Ralph Hopton, ſhot through the arm with a muſquet; Sir George Vaughan, and many others, hurt in the head of their troops with ſwords and pole-axes; of which none of name died. But the morning added much to the melancholy of their victory, when the field was entirely their own. For Sir Ralph Hopton riding up and down the field to viſit the hurt men, and to put the ſoldiers in order, and readineſs for motion, ſitting on his horſe, with other officers and ſoldiers about him, near a waggon of ammunition, in which were eight barrels of powder; whether by treachery, or mere accident, is uncertain, the

powder

powder was blown up; and many, who ſtood neareſt, killed; and many more maimed; among whom Sir Ralph Hopton and Serjeant Major Sheldon were miſerably hurt; of which, Major Sheldon, who was thought to be in leſs danger than the other, died the next day, to the general grief of the whole army, where he was wonderfully beloved, as a man of an undaunted courage, and as great gentleneſs of nature. Sir Ralph Hopton, having hardly ſo much life, as not to be numbered with the dead, was put into a litter, and then the army marched to their old quarters at Marsfield; exceedingly caſt down with their morning's misfortune, (Sir Ralph Hopton being indeed the ſoldiers' darling), where they repoſed themſelves the next day, principally in care of Sir Ralph Hopton, who, though there were hope of his recovery, was not fit to travel. In this time many of the horſe, which had been routed in the morning, before the hill was won, found the way to Oxford; and, according to the cuſtom of thoſe who run away, reported all to be loſt, with many particular accidents, which they fancied very like to happen when they left the field; but the next day brought a punctual advertiſement from the Marquis, but, withal, a deſire of a regiment or two of freſh horſe, and a ſupply of ammunition; whereupon the Earl of Crawford with his regiment of horſe, conſiſting of near five hundred, was directed to advance that way, with ſuch a proportion of ammunition as was deſired.

After a day's reſt at Marsfield, it being underſtood that Sir William Waller was ſtill at Bath, (his army having been rather ſurpriſed and diſcomforted with the incredible boldneſs of the Corniſh foot, than much weakened by the number ſlain, which was no greater than on the King's part), and that he had ſent for freſh

ſupply

ſupply from Briſtol; it was concluded, rather to march to Oxford, and ſo to join with the King's army, than to ſtay and attend the enemy, who was ſo near his ſupplies: and ſo they marched towards Chippenham. But when Sir William Waller had intelligence of the blowing up of the powder, of which he well knew there was ſcarcely enough before, and of the hurt it had done, he infuſed new ſpirit into his men; and verily believed that they had no ammunition, and that the loſs of Sir Ralph Hopton (whom the people took to be the ſoul of that army, the other names being not ſo much ſpoken of, or ſo well known, and at this time believed to be dead) would be found in the ſpirits of the ſoldiers; and having gotten ſome freſh men from Briſtol, and more from the inclinations of the three counties of Wilts, Glouceſter, and Somerſet, which joined about Bath, in the moſt abſolute diſaffected parts of all three, he followed the Marquis towards Chippenham; to which he was as near from Bath, as the other from Marsfield.

The next day, early in the morning, upon notice that the enemy was in diſtance, the Prince and the Marquis drew back the army through Chippenham, and preſented themſelves in battalia to the enemy; being very well contented to fight in ſuch a place, where the ſucceſs was to depend more on their foot, who were unqueſtionably excellent, than on their horſe, which were at beſt weary, though their officers were, to envy, forward and reſolute. But Sir William Waller, who was a right good chooſer of advantages, liked not that ground; relying as much upon his horſe, who had gotten credit and courage, and as little upon his foot, who were only well armed, and well bodied, very vulgarly ſpirited, and officered: ſo that having ſtood all night in battalia, and the enemy not coming on, the Prince

Prince and Marquis, the next day, advanced towards the Devizes; Sir Nicholas Slanning, with great ſpirit and prudence, ſecuring the rear with ſtrong parties of muſqueteers; with which he gave the enemy, who preſſed upon them very ſmartly, ſo much interruption, that Sir William Waller, deſpairing of overtaking, ſent a trumpet to the Marquis, with a letter, offering a pitched field at a place of his own chooſing, out of the way. The which being eaſily underſtood to be only a ſtratagem to beget a delay in the march, the Marquis carried the trumpet three or four miles with him, and then ſent him back with ſuch an anſwer as was fit. There were, all this day, perpetual and ſharp ſkirmiſhes in the rear; the enemy preſſing very hard, and being always with loſs repulſed, till the army ſafely reached the Devizes.

Then the caſe was altered for their retreat to Oxford, the enemy being upon them with improvement of courage, and improvement of numbers; Sir William Waller having diſperſed his warrants over the country, ſignifying, "that he had beaten the Marquis," and requiring the people "to riſe in all places for the apprehenſion of "his ſcattered and diſperſed troops;" which confidence, men conceived, could not proceed from leſs than a manifeſt victory; and ſo they flocked to him as the maſter of the field. The foot were no more now to make the retreat, the ſituation of the place they were now in, being ſuch as they could move no way towards Oxford, but over a campaign of many miles, where the ſtronger in horſe muſt needs prevail.

Hereupon, it was unanimouſly adviſed, and conſented to, that the Lord Marquis and Prince Maurice ſhould that night break through, with all the horſe, to Oxford; and that Sir Ralph Hopton (who, by this, was ſuppoſed paſt danger of death, and could hear and ſpeak well enough,

enough, though he could not ſee or ſtir) with the Earl of Marlborough, who was General of the artillery, the Lord Mohun, and other good officers of foot, ſhould ſtay there with their foot and cannon, where it was hoped they might defend themſelves, for a few days, till the General might return with relief from Oxford; which was not above thirty miles off. This reſolution was purſued; and, the ſame night, all the horſe got ſafe away into the King's quarters, and the Prince and Marquis, in the morning, came to Oxford; by which time Sir William Waller had drawn all his forces about the Devizes. The town was open, without the leaſt fortification or defence, but ſmall ditches and hedges; upon which the foot were placed, and ſome pieces of cannon conveniently planted. The avenues, which were many, were quickly barricadoed to hinder the entrance of the horſe, which was principally apprehended. Sir William Waller had ſoon notice of the remove of the horſe; and therefore, intending that purſuit no farther, he brought his whole force cloſe to the town, and beleaguered it round; and having raiſed a battery upon a hill near the town, he poured in his ſhot upon it without intermiſſion, and attempted to enter in ſeveral other places with horſe, foot, and cannon; but was in all places more reſolutely reſiſted, and repulſed. At the ſame time, having intelligence (as his intelligence was always moſt exact in whatſoever concerned him) of the Earl of Crawford's marching with a ſupply of powder, according to order, after the firſt battle of Lanſdown, he ſent a ſtrong party of horſe and dragoons to intercept him; who, before he knew of the alterations which had happened, and of the remove of the horſe towards Oxford, was ſo far engaged, that he hardly eſcaped with the loſs of his ammunition, and a troop or two of his horſe.

Upon

Upon this improvement of his ſucceſs, Sir William Waller reckoned his victory out of queſtion; and thereupon ſent a trumpet into the town to ſummon the beſieged, to let them know, "that he had cut off their "relief, and that their ſtate was now deſperate; and "therefore adviſed them to ſubmit themſelves to the "Parliament, with whom he would mediate on their "behalf." They in the town were not ſorry for the overture; not that they apprehended it would produce any conditions they ſhould accept, but that they might gain ſome time of reſt by it: for the ſtraits they were in were too great for any minds not prepared to preſerve their honour at any rates. When the enemy came firſt before the town, and the guards were ſupplied with ammunition for their duty, there was but one hundred and fifty weight of match left in the ſtore; whereupon diligent officers were directed to ſearch every houſe in the town, and to take all the bed-cords they could find, and to cauſe them to be ſpeedily beaten, and boiled. By this ſudden expedient, there was, by the next morning, provided fifteen hundred weight of ſuch ſerviceable match, as very well endured that ſharp ſervice. The compaſs of the ground they were to keep was ſo large, and the enemy preſſed ſo hard upon all places, that their whole body were upon perpetual duty together, neither officer or ſoldier having any time for reſt; and the activity of the chief officers was moſt neceſſary to keep up the courage of the common men, who well enough underſtood the danger they were in, and therefore they were very glad of this meſſage; and returned, "that "they would ſend an officer to treat, if a ceſſation were "agreed to during the time of the treaty;" which was conſented to, if it were ſuddenly expedited.

On the party of the beſieged were propoſed ſuch terms,

terms, as might take up moſt time in the debate, and might imply courage and reſolution to hold out. Sir William Waller, on the other hand, offered only quarter, and civil uſage to the officers, and leave to the common ſoldiers to return to their houſes without their arms, except they would voluntarily chooſe to ſerve the Parliament. Theſe being terms many of the officers would not have ſubmitted to in the laſt extreme, the treaty ended; after thoſe in the town had gained what they only looked for, ſeven or eight hours ſleep, and ſo long time ſparing of ammunition. The truth is, Sir William Waller was ſo confident that they were at his mercy, that he had written to the Parliament, "that their work "was done, and that, by the next poſt, he would ſend "the number and quality of his priſoners;" neither did he imagine it poſſible that any relief could have been ſent from Oxford; the Earl of Eſſex, to whom he had ſignified his ſucceſs, and the poſture he was in, lying with his whole army at Thame, within ten miles of it. But the importance was too well underſtood by the King to omit any thing, that might, with the utmoſt hazard, be attempted for the redeeming thoſe men, who had wrought ſuch wonders for him. And therefore, as ſoon as the Marquis and Prince arrived at Oxford, with the ſad and unexpected news, and relation of the diſtreſs of their friends, though the Queen was then on her march towards Oxford, and the King had appointed to meet her two days' journey for her ſecurity, his Majeſty reſolved to take only his own guards of horſe, and Prince Rupert's regiment, for that expedition; and ſent the Lord Wilmot with all the reſt of the horſe, to march that very day, in which the advertiſement came to him, towards the Devizes; ſo that the Marquis and the Prince coming to Oxford on the Monday morning, the

Lord

Lord Wilmot, that night, moved towards the work; and Prince Maurice returning with him as a volunteer, but the Lord Wilmot commanding in chief, appeared, on the Wednesday about noon, upon the plain within two miles of the town.

The Lord Wilmot had with him fifteen hundred horse, and no more, and two small field-pieces, which he shot off, to give the town notice of his coming; having it in his hopes, that, it being a fair campaign about the town, when the enemy should rise from before it, he should be able in spite of them to join with the foot, and so to have a fair field for it; which would be still disadvantageous enough, the enemy being superior by much in horse, very few of those who had broken away from the Devizes (except the Prince himself, the Earl of Carnarvon, and some other officers) being come up with them, because they were tired, and dispersed. The enemy, careful to prevent the joining of this party of horse with the foot, and fully advertised of their coming, drew off, on all parts, from the town; and put themselves in battalia upon the top of a fair hill, called Roundway Down; over which the King's forces were necessarily to march, being full two miles off the town: they within conceived it hardly possible, that the relief, they expected from Oxford, could so soon arrive; all the messengers, who were sent to give notice of it, having miscarried by the closeness of the siege; and therefore suspected the warning pieces from the plain, and the drawing off the town by the enemy, to be a stratagem to cozen the foot from those posts they defended, into the open field; and so, very reasonably, being in readiness to march, they waited a surer evidence, that their friends were at hand; which shortly arrived; and assured them, "that the Prince was near, and expected them."

It will be eaſily conceived, with what alacrity they advanced to meet him; but Sir William Waller had purpoſely choſe that ground to hinder that conjunction, and advanced ſo faſt on the Lord Wilmot, that without ſuch removes and traverſes, as might give his men ſome apprehenſion, that Lord could not expect the foot from the town; and therefore he put his troops in order upon that ground to expect the enemy's charge, who were ſomewhat more than muſquet-ſhot off in order of battle.

Here Sir William Waller, out of pure gaiety, departed from an advantage he could not again recover; for being in excellent order of battle, with ſtrong wings of horſe to his foot, and a good reſerve placed, and his cannon uſefully planted, apprehending ſtill the conjunction between the horſe and the foot in the town, and gratifying his enemy with the ſame contempt, which had ſo often brought inconveniences upon them, and diſcerning their number inferior to that he had before (as he thought) maſtered, he marched, with his whole body of horſe, from his foot, to charge the enemy; appointing Sir Arthur Haſlerig with his cuiraſſiers apart, to make the firſt impreſſion; who was encountered by Sir John Byron, in whoſe regiment the Earl of Carnarvon charged as a volunteer; and after a ſharp conflict, in which Sir Arthur Haſlerig received many wounds, that impenetrable regiment was routed, and, in a full career, chaſed upon their other horſe. At the ſame time, the Lord Wilmot charging them from diviſion to diviſion, as they were ranged, in half an hour, ſo ſudden alterations the accidents of war introduce, the whole entire body of the triumphant horſe were ſo totally routed and diſperſed, that there was not one of them to be ſeen upon that large ſpacious down; every man ſhifting for himſelf with greater

The battle of Roundway Down, wherein Sir William Waller is routed.

greater danger by the precipices of that hill, than he could have undergone by oppoſing his purſuer. But as it was an unhappy ground to fly, ſo it was as ill for the purſuer; and after the rout, more periſhed by falls and bruiſes from their horſes, down the precipices, than by the ſword. The foot ſtood ſtill firm, making ſhew of a gallant reſiſtance; but the Lord Wilmot quickly ſeized their cannon, and turned them upon them, at the ſame time that the Corniſh foot, who were by this come from the town, were ready likewiſe to charge them; upon which their hearts failed; and ſo they were charged on all ſides, and either killed, or taken priſoners, very few eſcaping; the Corniſh retaining too freſh a memory of their late diſtreſſes, and revenging themſelves on thoſe who had contributed thereunto. Sir William Waller himſelf, with a ſmall train, fled into Briſtol, which had ſacrificed a great part of their garriſon in his defeat; and ſo were even ready to expire at his entry into the town, himſelf bringing the firſt news of his diſaſter.

This glorious day, for it was a day of triumph, redeemed for that time the King's whole affairs, ſo that all clouds that ſhadowed them ſeemed to be diſpelled, and a bright light of ſucceſs to ſhine over the whole kingdom. There were in this battle ſlain, on the enemy's part, above ſix hundred on the place; nine hundred priſoners taken, beſides two or three hundred retaken and redeemed, whom they had gathered up in the ſkirmiſhes and purſuit; with all their cannon, being eight pieces of braſs ordnance; all their arms, ammunition, waggons, baggage, and victual; eight and twenty foot enſigns, and nine cornets; and all this by a party of fifteen hundred horſe, with two ſmall field-pieces, (for the victory was perfect, upon the matter, before the Corniſh came up; though the enemy's foot were ſuffered to ſtand in a body

uncharged, out of ceremony, till they came; that they might be refreſhed with a ſhare in the conqueſt), againſt a body of full two thouſand horſe, five hundred dragoons, and near three thouſand foot, with an excellent train of artillery. So that the Corniſh had great reaſon to think their deliverance, and victory at Roundway, more ſignal and wonderful than the other at Stratton, ſave that the firſt might be thought the parent of the latter, and the loſs on the King's party was leſs; for in this there were ſlain very few; and, of name, none but Dudley Smith, an honeſt and valiant young gentleman; who was always a volunteer with the Lord Wilmot, and among the firſt upon any action of danger.

Beſides the preſent fruit of this victory, the King received an advantage from the jealouſy, that, from thence, grew among the officers of the Parliament armies. For Sir William Waller believed himſelf to be abſolutely betrayed, and ſacrificed by the Earl of Eſſex, out of envy of the great things he had done, which ſeemed to eclipſe his glories; and complained, "that he, lying "with his whole army within ten miles of Oxford, "ſhould ſuffer the chief ſtrength of that place to march "thirty miles to deſtroy him, without ſo much as ſend-"ing out a party to follow them, or to alarm Oxford, "by which they would have been probably recalled." On the other hand, the Earl, diſdaining to be thought his rival, reproached the other with "unſoldierly neg-"lects, and want of courage, to be beaten by a handful of "men, and to have deſerted his foot and cannon, with-"out engaging his own perſon in one charge againſt the "enemy." Wherever the fault was, it was never forgiven; but, from the enmity that proceeded from thence, the King often afterwards reaped very notable and ſeaſonable advantages; which will be remembered in their places.

This

This bleſſed defeat happened to be upon the ſame day, and upon the ſame time of the day, when the King met the Queen upon the field near Keinton, under Edge-hill, where the battle had been fought in October before; and before their Majeſties came to Oxford, they received the happy news of it. It is eaſy to imagine the joy with which it was received, all men raiſing their fallen ſpirits to too great a height, as though they ſhould now go through all the work without farther oppoſition; and this tranſport to either extremes was too natural upon all the viciſſitudes of the war; and it was ſome allay to the welcome news of the victory to ſome men, that it had been obtained under the command and conduct of Wilmot; who was very much in Prince Rupert's diſeſteem, and not in any notable degree of favour with the King, but much beloved by all the good fellowſhip of the army; which was too great a body. It was now time for the King's army, victorious in ſo many encounters, to take the field; upon what enterpriſe, was the queſtion. This overthrow of Waller had infinitely ſurpriſed, and increaſed the diſtractions at London. They had ſeen the copy of the warrants, which his vanity had cauſed to be diſperſed, after the action at Lanſdown; in which he declared, "that he had "routed the Marquis's army, and was in purſuit of "them; and therefore commanded the juſtices of "peace, and conſtables, to give order for the apprehen-"ſion of them, as they fled diſperſed;" and expected every day, that the Marquis would be ſent up priſoner: and now to hear that his whole invincible army was defeated, and himſelf fled, upon the matter, alone, (for ill news is for the moſt part made worſe, as the beſt is reported to be better than it is), brought them to their wits end; ſo that they could little advance the recruit-

ing the Earl of Eſſex's army; who in his perſon likewiſe grew more ſullen towards them, and reſented their little regard of him, and grew every day more converſant with the Earls of Northumberland and Holland, and others who were moſt weary of the war, and would be glad of peace upon eaſy terms.

The King meets the Queen near Kenton, ſhe coming with a great recruit.

The King's army received a fair addition, by the conjuncture with thoſe forces which attended the Queen; for her Majeſty brought with her above two thouſand foot, well armed, and one thouſand horſe, and ſix pieces of cannon, and two mortars, and about one hundred waggons. So that as ſoon as their Majeſties came to Oxford, the Earl of Eſſex, who had ſpent his time about Thame and Ayleſbury, without any action after that ſkirmiſh in which Mr. Hambden was ſlain, ſave by ſmall parties, of which there was none of name or note, but one handſome ſmart conflict between a party of five hundred horſe and dragoons, commanded by Colonel Middleton, a Scotchman, on the Parliament party, and a regiment of horſe, commanded by Sir Charles Lucas, on the King's; where, after a very ſoldierly conteſt, and more blood drawn than was uſual upon ſuch actions, the King's party prevailed, returning with ſome priſoners of name, and the ſlaughter of one hundred of their enemy, not without ſome loſs of their own: the Earl, I ſay, retired with his army broken, and diſheartened, to Uxbridge, giving over any thought of fighting with the King, till he ſhould be recruited with horſe, men, and money; and ſuffering no leſs in the talk of the people, (who began to aſſume a great freedom in diſcourſe), for not interpoſing to hinder the Queen's march to Oxford, and joining with the King, than for ſitting ſtill ſo near Oxford, whilſt the Lord Wilmot went from thence to the ruin of Sir William Waller.

The Earl of Eſſex retires from Thame with his army to Uxbridge.

After

After which defeat, the Lord Wilmot retired to Oxford to attend his Majeſty; and the Corniſh army (for that name it deſervedly kept ſtill, though it received ſo good an increaſe by the Marquis and Prince's joining with them) drew back, and poſſeſſed themſelves of Bath, which was ſoon quitted to them, upon the overthrow of Waller; that garriſon being withdrawn to reinforce Briſtol. At Bath they reſted, and refreſhed themſelves, till they might receive new orders from the King; who, upon full advice, and conſideration of the ſtate he was in, and the broken condition of the enemy, reſolved to make an attempt upon the city of Briſtol; to which Prince Rupert was moſt inclined, for his being diſappointed in a former deſign; and where there were many well affected to the King's ſervice from the beginning, and more ſince the execution of thoſe two eminent citizens. And the diſeſteem generally had of the courage of Nathaniel Fiennes, the Governor, made the deſign to be thought the more reaſonable; ſo the Marquis and Prince Maurice returned to Bath, upon agreement to appear, on ſuch a day, with their whole ſtrength, before Briſtol, on the Somerſetſhire ſide, when Prince Rupert with the Oxford forces would appear before it, on the Glouceſterſhire ſide.

Briſtol beſieged by Prince Rupert.

On the four and twentieth of July, both armies ſat down before it; quartering their horſe in that manner, that none could go out or in to the city, without great hazard of being taken; and the ſame day, with the aſſiſtance of ſome ſeamen, who were prepared before, they ſeized all the ſhips that were in King-road; which were not only laden with goods of great value, as plate, money, and the beſt ſort of all commodities, which thoſe who ſuſpected the worſt had ſent abroad, but with many perſons of quality; who, being unwilling to run the

hazard of a ſiege, thought that way to have ſecured themſelves, and to have eſcaped to London; and ſo were all taken priſoners. The next day, Prince Rupert came to his brother, and the Marquis, and a general council of all the principal officers of both armies being aſſembled, it was debated, "in what manner they ſhould "proceed, by aſſault or approach."

There were in the town five and twenty hundred foot, and a regiment of horſe and dragoons; the line about the town was finiſhed; yet in ſome places the graff was wider and deeper than in others. The caſtle within the town was very well prepared, and ſupplied with great ſtore of proviſions to endure a ſiege. The opinions were ſeveral: the officers of the Corniſh were of opinion, "that it was beſt to proceed by way of approach; be- "cauſe, the ground being very good, it would in a very "ſhort time be done; and ſince there was no army of the "enemy in a poſſibility to relieve it, the ſecureſt way "would be the beſt; whereas the works were ſo good, "that they muſt expect to loſe very many men; and, "if they were beaten off, all their ſummer hopes would "be deſtroyed; it not being eaſy, again to make up the "ſpirit of the army for a new action. Beſides, they "alleged, the well affected party in the city, which was "believed to be very great, would, after they had been "cloſely beſieged three or four days, have a greater "influence upon the ſoldier, and be able to do more "towards the ſurrender, than they could upon a ſtorm; "when they would be equally ſenſible of the diſorder of "the ſoldier, and their own damage by plunder, as the "other; and the too late example of the executed citi- "zens would keep men from offering at any inſurrec- "tion in the city."

On the other hand, Prince Rupert, and all the offi-

cers

ers of his army, very earneſtly deſired to aſſault it; alleged "the work to be eaſy, and the ſoldiers fitter "for any briſk attempt, than a dull patient deſign; "and that the army would be more weakened by the "latter than the former: that the city, not having yet "recovered the conſternation of Sir William Waller's "defeat, was ſo full of horror, that it would make a very "weak defence: that there was no ſoldier of experience "in the town, and the Governor himſelf not like to en-"dure the terror of a ſtorm: whereas, if they gave "them time to conſider, and to look long upon them "with a wall between, they would grow confirmed and "reſolute, and courage would ſupply the place of ſkill; "and having plenty of all kinds of proviſions within "the town, they would grow ſtrong and peremptory, "whilſt the beſiegers grew leſs vigorous, and diſheart-"ened." Theſe reaſons, and the Prince's importunity, with ſome inſinuations of knowing more than was fit to be ſpoken, as if ſomewhat would be done within the town, that muſt not be mentioned, and a glorious contempt of danger, prevailed ſo far, that it was conſented to, on all parts, to aſſault the town the next morning at three places on the Somerſetſhire ſide, and at three places on the Glouceſterſhire ſide, at the break of day. The truth is, both opinions, with regard to their different circumſtances, were in themſelves reaſonable. For the Glouceſterſhire ſide, where Prince Rupert was, might be ſtormed, the graff being ſhallow, and the wall, in ſome places, low and weak; which could not be eaſily approached, by reaſon the ground was rocky, and the redoubts high and very ſtrong, which overlooked the ground; on the other ſide the ground was very eaſy to approach, and as inconvenient and dangerous to ſtorm, by reaſon of a plain level before the line, and a broad

broad and deep graff, and the line throughout better flankered than the other.

The next morning, with little other proviſions fit for ſuch a work, than the courage of the aſſailants, both armies fell on. On the weſt ſide, where the Corniſh were, they aſſaulted the line in three places; one diviſion led by Sir Nicholas Slanning, aſſiſted with Colonel John Trevannion, Lieutenant Colonel Slingſby, and three more field officers; too great a number of ſuch officers to conduct ſo ſmall a party as five hundred men, if there had not been an immoderate diſdain of danger, and appetite of glory: another diviſion, on the right hand, was led by Colonel Buck, aſſiſted by Colonel Wagſtaffe, Colonel Bernard Aſhley, who commanded the regiment of the Lord Marquis Hertford, with other field officers: and the third diviſion, on the left hand, led by Sir Thomas Baſſet, who was Major General of the Corniſh. Theſe three diviſions fell on together with that courage and reſolution, as nothing but death could control; and though the middle diviſion got into the graff, and ſo near filled it, that ſome mounted the wall, yet by the prodigious diſadvantage of the ground, and the full defence the beſieged made within, they were driven back with a great ſlaughter; the common ſoldiers, after their chief officers were killed, or deſperately wounded, finding it a bootleſs attempt.

On Prince Rupert's ſide, it was aſſaulted with equal courage, and almoſt equal loſs, but with better ſucceſs; for though that diviſion led on by the Lord Grandiſon, Colonel General of the foot, was beaten off, the Lord Grandiſon himſelf being hurt; and the other, led by Colonel Bellaſis, likewiſe had no better fortune; yet Colonel Waſhington, with a leſs party, finding a place in the curtain (between the places aſſaulted by the other two)

weaker

weaker than the reſt, entered, and quickly made room for the horſe to follow. The enemy, as ſoon as they ſaw the line entered in one place, either out of fear, or by command of their officers, quit their poſts; ſo that the Prince entered with his foot and horſe into the ſuburbs; ſending for one thouſand of the Corniſh foot, which were preſently ſent to ſecond him; and marched up to Fromegate, loſing many men, and ſome very good officers, by ſhot from the walls and windows; inſomuch as all men were much caſt down to ſee ſo little gotten with ſo great a loſs; for they had ſtill a more difficult entrance into the town than they had yet paſſed, and where their horſe could be of no uſe to them; when, to the exceeding comfort of generals and ſoldiers, the city beat a parley; which the Prince willingly embracing, and getting their hoſtages into his hands, ſent Colonel Gerrard and another officer to the Governor to treat. The treaty began about two of the clock in the afternoon, and, before ten at night, theſe articles were agreed on, and ſigned by all parties.

It is ſurrendered upon articles.

1. "That the Governor, Nathaniel Fiennes, together "with all the officers both of horſe and foot, now "within and about the city of Briſtol, caſtle, and forts, "may march out to-morrow morning by nine of the "clock, with their full arms, bag and baggage, pro- "vided it be their own goods: and that the common "foot ſoldiers march out without arms, and the troopers "with their horſes and ſwords, leaving their other arms "behind them, with a ſafe convoy to Warmiſter; and "after, not to be moleſted in their march by any of the "King's forces, for the ſpace of three days.

2. "That there may be carriages allowed and pro- "vided to carry away their bag and baggage, and ſick "and hurt ſoldiers.

3. "That

3. " That the King's forces march not into the town, " till the Parliament forces are marched out; which is " to be at nine of the clock.

4. " That all priſoners in the city be delivered up; " and that Captain Eyres and Captain Cookein, who " were taken at the Devizes, be releaſed.

5. " That Sir John Horner, Sir John Seymour, Mr. " Edward Stevens, and all other knights, gentlemen, " citizens, and other perſons, that are now in the city, " may, if they pleaſe, with their goods, wives, and fa- " milies, bag and baggage, have free liberty to return " to their own homes, or elſewhere, and there to reſt in " ſafety, or ride, and travel with the Governor and " forces: and ſuch of them, and their families, as ſhall " be left behind, by reaſon of ſickneſs or other cauſe, " may have liberty, ſo ſoon as they can conveniently, to " depart this town with ſafety; provided that all gentle- " men, and other perſons, ſhall have three days' liberty " to reſide here, or depart with their goods, which they " pleaſe.

6. " That all the inhabitants of the city ſhall be " ſecured in their perſons, families, and eſtates, free " from plundering, and all other violence, or wrong " whatſoever.

7. " That the charters and liberties of this city may " be preſerved; and that the ancient government there- " of, and preſent governors and officers, may remain " and continue in their former condition, according to " his Majeſty's charters and pleaſure.

8. " That, for avoiding inconveniences and diſtrac- " tions, the quartering of ſoldiers be referred or left to " the Mayor, and Governor of the ſame city for the " time being.

9. " That all ſuch as have carried any goods into " the

" the caſtle may have free liberty to carry the ſame " forth.

10. " That the forces, that are to march out, are to " leave behind them all cannon, and ammunition, with " their colours, and ſuch arms as is before expreſſed."

The next morning, if not before, (for the truth is, from the time that the treaty was firſt offered, they in the town kept no guards, nor obſerved any order; but their ſoldiers run away to the Prince, and many of his ſoldiers went into the town), his Highneſs was poſſeſſed of Briſtol, the enemy then marching away. Here the ill example of Reading, in the breach of the articles, was remembered, and unhappily followed; for all that garriſon was now here. So that they, with ſome colour of right, or retaliation, and the reſt, by their example, uſed great licenſe to the ſoldiers, who ſhould have been ſafely conducted; which reflected much upon the Prince, though he uſed his utmoſt power to ſuppreſs it; and charged Colonel Fiennes to be acceſſary to his own wrong, by marching out of the town an hour before his appointment; and thereby his convoy was not ready; and at another gate than was appointed and agreed on. And as the articles were thus unhappily violated to thoſe who went away, ſo they were not enough obſerved to thoſe who ſtayed, and to the city itſelf: for many of Colonel Fiennes' ſoldiers taking conditions, and entering with the King's army, inſtructed their new friends, who were moſt diſaffected; ſo that one whole ſtreet upon the bridge, the inhabitants whereof lay under ſome brand of Malignity, though, no doubt, there were many honeſt men among them, was almoſt totally plundered; which, becauſe there was but little juſtice done upon the tranſgreſſors, was believed to be done by connivance from the officers, and more diſcredited the King's forces, and his

his cauſe, than was then taken notice of, or diſcovered. It was a noble attribute given to the brave Fabricius, *qui aliquid eſſe crederet et in hoſtem nefas.* I wiſh I could excuſe thoſe ſwervings from juſtice and right, which were too frequently practiſed againſt contracts, under the notion, that they, with whom they were made, were rebels, and could not be too ill uſed; when, as the cauſe deſerved, ſo it needed all the ingenuity and integrity, in the propugners of it, to keep deſpair from the guilty, who were by much too numerous for the innocent.

This reduction of Briſtol was a full tide of proſperity to the King, and made him maſter of the ſecond city of his kingdom, and gave him the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of one of the richeſt counties of the kingdom, (for the rebels had now no ſtanding garriſon, or the leaſt viſible influence upon any part of Somerſetſhire), and rendered Wales (which was before well affected, except ſome towns in Pembrokeſhire) more uſeful to him; being freed of the fear of Briſtol, and conſequently of the charge that always attends thoſe fears; and reſtored to the trade with Briſtol; which was the greateſt ſupport of thoſe parts. Yet the King might very well have ſaid, what King Pyrrhus heretofore did, after his ſecond battle, by the city of Aſculum, with the Romans, where he won the victory; "If we win another at this "price, we are utterly undone." And truly his Majeſty's loſs before this town was ineſtimable, and very hard to be repaired.* I am perſuaded there were ſlain, upon the ſeveral aſſaults, of common men, but ſuch as were tried and incomparable foot, about five hundred; and abundance of excellent officers, whereof many were of prime command and quality.

On the Corniſh ſide fell, beſides Major Kendall, and many

many other inferior officers, excellent in their degree, Colonel Buck, a modeſt and a ſtout commander, and of good experience in war; who having got over the graff, and even to the top of the wall, was knocked down with a halbert, and periſhed in the graff: Sir Nicholas Slanning, and Colonel John Trevannion, the life and ſoul of the Corniſh regiments, whoſe memories can never be enough celebrated; who being led by no impulſion, but of conſcience, and their own obſervation of the ill practices and deſigns of the great conductors, (for they both were of the Houſe of Commons), engaged themſelves with the firſt in the oppoſition; and as ſoon as Sir Ralph Hopton, and thoſe other gentlemen came into Cornwall, joined with them; and being both of ſingular reputation, and good fortunes there, the one in poſſeſſion, the other in reverſion after his father, they engaged their perſons and eſtates in the ſervice; rather doing great things, than affecting that it ſhould be taken notice of to be done by them; applying themſelves to all infirmities, and condeſcending to all capacities, for removing all obſtructions, which accidentally aroſe among thoſe, who could only proſper by being of one mind. Sir Nicholas Slanning was Governor of Pendennis Caſtle, upon the credit and ſecurity whereof, the King's party in that country firſt depended, and, by the command it had of the harbour of Falmouth, was, or might be, ſupplied with all that was neceſſary. He was indeed a young man of admirable parts, a ſharp and diſcerning wit, a ſtaid and ſolid judgment, a gentle and moſt obliging behaviour, and a courage ſo clear and keen, as, even without the other ornaments, would have rendered him very conſiderable: they were both young, neither of them above eight and twenty, of entire friendſhip to one another, and to Sir Bevil Greenvil, whoſe body was

not

not yet buried; they were both hurt almoſt in the ſame minute, and in the ſame place; both ſhot in the thigh with muſquet bullets; their bones broken, the one dying preſently, the other ſome few days after; and both had the royal ſacrifice of their Sovereign's very particular ſorrow, and the concurrence of all good men's; and, that which is a greater ſolemnity to their memories, as it fares with moſt great and virtuous men, whoſe loſs is better underſtood long afterwards, they were as often lamented, as the accidents in the public affairs made the courage and fidelity of the Corniſh of greateſt ſignification to the cauſe.

On the north ſide, of Prince Rupert's army, fell very many good officers, the chief of whom was Colonel Harry Lunsford, an officer of extraordinary ſobriety, induſtry, and courage; near whom, his excellent Lieutenant Colonel Moyle was likewiſe hurt, and died within few days, both ſhot out of a window after they had entered the ſuburbs. There were hurt, the Lord Viſcount Grandiſon, nephew to the great Duke of Buckingham, who was Colonel General of the King's foot; Colonel John Bellaſis, ſince Lord Bellaſis; Colonel Bernard Aſhley; Colonel Sir John Owen; and many other officers of name, of whom none of quality died of their wounds but the Lord Grandiſon; whoſe loſs can never be enough lamented. He was a young man of ſo virtuous a habit of mind, that no temptation or provocation could corrupt him; ſo great a lover of juſtice and integrity, that no example, neceſſity, or even the barbarity of this war, could make him ſwerve from the moſt preciſe rules of it; and of that rare piety and devotion, that the court, or camp, could not ſhew a more faultleſs perſon, or to whoſe example young men might more reaſonably conform themſelves. His perſonal valour,

and

and courage of all kinds, (for he had ſometimes indulged ſo much to the corrupt opinion of honour, as to venture himſelf in duels), was very eminent, inſomuch as he was accuſed of being too prodigal of his perſon; his affection, and zeal, and obedience to the King, was ſuch as became a branch of that family. And he was wont to ſay, "that if he had not underſtanding enough to "know the uprightneſs of the cauſe, nor loyalty enough "to inform him of the duty of a ſubject, yet the very "obligations of gratitude to the King, on the behalf of "his houſe, were ſuch, as his life was but a due ſacri-"fice;" and therefore, he no ſooner ſaw the war unavoidable, than he engaged all his brethren, as well as himſelf, in the ſervice; and there were then three more of them in command in the army, where he was ſo unfortunately cut off.

As ſoon as the news of the taking of Briſtol came to the King at Oxford, after a ſolemn thankſgiving to God for the ſucceſs, which was immediately and publicly performed, his Majeſty aſſembled his Privy Council, to conſider how this great bleſſing in war might be applied to the procuring a happy peace; and that this might be the laſt town he ſhould purchaſe at the price of blood. It was evident, that, as this laſt victory added great luſtre and beauty to the whole face of his affairs, ſo it would produce an equal paleneſs, and be an ominous preſage to the Parliament; where the jealouſies and apprehenſions between themſelves ſtill grew higher, and new remedies ſtill propoſed, which were generally thought worſe than the diſeaſe.

Upon the news of the Lord Fairfax's being defeated in the North, which came about this time, they reſolved to ſend a committee of the two Houſes into Scotland, "to deſire their brethren of that kingdom preſently to "advance

The two Houſes ſend Commiſſioners into Scotland for relief.

"advance with an army for their relief;" which was thought ſo deſperate a cure, that the Lords naming the Earl of Rutland, and Lord Grey of Warke, for that embaſſy, the Earl upon indiſpoſition of health procured a releaſe; and the other, who had never declined any employment they would confer on him, ſo peremptorily refuſed to meddle in it, that he was committed to the Tower; and, in the end, they were compelled to depute only Commoners to that ſervice: and ſo Sir William Armyne, young Sir Henry Vane, and two more, aſſiſted with Mr. Marſhall and Mr. Nye, two of their powerful clergy, were embarked in that negociation; upon which, they who ſent them were ſo far from being confident, and ſo little ſatisfied, that they ſhould be driven to bring in foreign forces, with the purpoſe whereof they had ſo long traduced the King, that there was, ſome few deſperate perſons only excepted, even a univerſal deſire of peace; and the Earl of Eſſex himſelf, writing to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, of the defects in his army, and of his wants of horſe, men, and money, adviſed, "that they would think of ſending ſome rea-"ſonable propoſitions to the King, for the procuring a "ſafe peace;" which being the firſt intimation he had ever given to that purpoſe, together with his familiarity and correſpondence with thoſe Lords, who were known paſſionately to deſire an accommodation, gave them ſad apprehenſions; which were increaſed by ſome ſevere meſſages they received from him, for his vindication from the foul aſperſions and calumnies, which were generally and publicly laid on him, for his unactivity after the winning Reading, whilſt the Queen marched ſecurely to Oxford, and Sir William Waller was deſtroyed; as if "he would think of ſome way of righting himſelf, if "they were not ſenſible on his behalf."

How

How to work upon theſe diſcompoſed humours, and to reduce them to ſuch temper, that they might conſent to the kingdom's peace, was the argument of the King's conſultations: but by what expedient to promote this, was the difficulty. After the breach of the laſt treaty, and when the King had in vain laboured to revive it, and could not procure any anſwer from them to his laſt meſſages; but inſtead thereof his meſſenger impriſoned, tried before a council of war for his life, and ſtill in cuſtody, and a declaration, "that whoſoever ſhould be "employed by his Majeſty, on any meſſage to them, "without their leave, ſhould be proceeded againſt as a "ſpy," (ſo that though they pretended to be his great council, they upon the matter now proteſted againſt any relation to his Majeſty), he adviſed with his council, "what might be fit for him to do, to leſſen the reverence "and reputation of them with the people:" for the ſuperſtition towards the name of a Parliament was ſo general, that the King had wiſely forborne to charge the two Houſes with the treaſon and rebellion which was raiſed, but imputed it to particular perſons, who were moſt viſibly and actually engaged in it. Some were of opinion, "that, all the members who ſtayed there, and "ſate in either Houſe, being guilty of ſo many treaſonable "acts, thereby the Parliament was actually diſſolved, "by the ſame reaſon as a corporation, by great miſ-"demeanour and crime, might forfeit their charter; "and therefore that the King ſhould, by his proclama-"tion, declare the diſſolution of it, and then conſider "whether it were fit to call another." But this opinion was generally diſliked, both "becauſe it was conceived "not to be juſt; for the treaſon of thoſe who were "preſent could not forfeit the right of thoſe who were "away; neither was it evident, that all that were

" preſent conſented to the ill that was done; and the " King's declaring a Parliament to be diſſolved, contrary " to an act of Parliament, was believed, would prove " an act ſo ungracious to the people, for the con- " ſequences of it, that the King would be an exceeding " loſer by ſuch an attempt; and that many, in ſuch a " caſe, would return thither, who out of conſcience had " withdrawn from that aſſembly."

In concluſion, the advice was unanimous, "that his " Majeſty ſhould declare the orders and proceedings of " one or both Houſes to be void, by reaſon the members " did not enjoy the freedom and liberty of Parliament; " and therefore ſhould require his good ſubjects, no " longer to be miſled by them:" and, to that purpoſe, the King had iſſued his proclamation ſix weeks before this happy turn in his affairs, ſo that he could not now ſend a meſſage to them, as to two Houſes of Parliament, leſt he might ſeem to retract his former judgment of them, which was concluded to be both regular and juſt. Upon the whole matter, leſt his Majeſty might be underſtood to be ſo much elated with his good ſucceſſes, and the increaſe of his ſtrength, that he aimed at no leſs than a perfect victory, and the ruin of thoſe who had incenſed him, (by which inſinuations they, who could not forgive themſelves, endeavoured to make all others deſperate), he was reſolved to publiſh ſuch a declaration to the whole kingdom, that both Houſes, and their army, could not but take notice of, and might, if they were inclined to it, thence take a riſe to make any overtures to him towards an atonement. To that purpoſe, the next day after he received the aſſurance of the taking of Briſtol, his Majeſty publiſhed this enſuing declaration; which I ſhall enter in his own words.

His

His Majeſty's Declaration to all his loving ſubjects, after his victories over the Lord Fairfax in the North, Sir William Waller in the Weſt, and the taking of Briſtol by his Majeſty's forces.

The King's declaration of late ſucceſſes.

"As the grievances and loſſes of no particular "perſons, ſince theſe miſerable bloody diſtempers have "diſquieted this poor kingdom, can be compared to "the loſs and damage we ourſelf have ſuſtained, there "having been no victory obtained but in the blood of "our own ſubjects, nor no rapine or violence committed, "but to the impoveriſhment and ruin of our own "people; ſo, a bleſſed and happy peace cannot be ſo "acceptable and welcome to any man, as to us. "Almighty God, to whom all the ſecrets of our heart "are open, who hath ſo often and ſo miraculouſly "preſerved us, and to whoſe power alone we muſt "attribute the goodneſs of our preſent condition, (how "unhappy ſoever it is with reference to the public "calamities), knows, with what unwillingneſs, with "what anguiſh of ſoul, we ſubmitted ourſelf to the "neceſſity of taking up defenſive arms. And the "world knows with what juſtice and bounty we have "repaired our ſubjects, for all the preſſures and "inconveniences they had borne, by ſuch excellent "laws, as would for ever have prevented the like; and "with what earneſtneſs and importunity we deſired to "add any thing, for the eſtabliſhment of the religion, "laws, and liberty of the kingdom. How all theſe "have been diſturbed, invaded, and almoſt deſtroyed, "by faction, ſedition, and treaſon, by thoſe, who have "neither reverence to God, nor affection to men, but "have ſacrificed both to their own ends and ambition, "is now ſo evident, that we hope, as God hath wonder-

" fully manifeſted his care of us, and his defence of his " and our moſt juſt cauſe; ſo he hath ſo far touched the " hearts of our people, that their eyes are at laſt opened " to ſee how miſerably they have been ſeduced, and to " abhor thoſe perſons, whoſe malice and ſubtlety had " ſeduced them to diſhonour him, to rebel againſt us, " and to bring much miſery and calamity upon their " native country.

" We well remember the Proteſtation voluntarily " made by us, in the head of that ſmall army we were " maſter of in September laſt, to defend and maintain " the true reformed Proteſtant religion: and if it ſhould " pleaſe God, by his bleſſing upon that army, to pre- " ſerve us from this rebellion, that we would maintain " the juſt privileges and freedom of Parliament, and " govern by the known laws of the land; for whoſe " defence, in truth, that army was only raiſed, and hath " been ſince kept. And there cannot be a more ſea- " ſonable time to renew that Proteſtation than now, " when God hath vouchſafed us ſo many victories and " ſucceſſes, and hath rendered the power of thoſe, who " ſeek to deſtroy us, leſs formidable than it hath been, " (ſo that we ſhall probably not fall under the ſcan- " dalous imputation, which hath uſually attended our " meſſages of peace, that they proceed from the weak- " neſs of our power, not love of our people), and when " there is more freedom in many counties, for our " good ſubjects to receive true information of their " own and our condition; the knowledge whereof hath " been, with equal induſtry and injuſtice, kept from " them, as other acts of cruelty have been impoſed " on them.

" We do therefore declare to all the world, in the " preſence of Almighty God, to whom we muſt give a " ſtrict

" ſtrict account of all our profeſſions and proteſtations,
" that we are ſo far from intending any alteration of the
" religion eſtabliſhed, (as hath been often falſely, ſcan-
" dalouſly, and againſt the conſcience of the contrivers
" themſelves of that rumour, ſuggeſted to our people),
" or from the leaſt thought of invading the liberty and
" property of the ſubject, or violating the juſt privi-
" leges of Parliament, that we call that God to witneſs,
" *who hath covered our head in the day of battle*, that
" we deſire from our ſoul, and ſhall always uſe our ut-
" moſt endeavour, to preſerve and advance the true Re-
" formed Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed in the Church
" of England; in which we were born, have faithfully
" lived, and, by the grace of God, ſhall reſolutely die:
" that the preſervation of the liberty and property of
" the ſubject, in the due obſervation of the known
" laws of the land, ſhall be equally our care, as the
" maintenance of our own rights; we deſiring to go-
" vern only by thoſe good laws, which, till they were op-
" preſſed by this odious rebellion, preſerved this nation
" happy. And we do acknowledge the juſt privileges
" of Parliament to be an eſſential part of thoſe laws,
" and ſhall therefore moſt ſolemnly defend and obſerve
" them. So that, in truth, if either religion, law, or
" liberty, be precious to our people, they will, by their
" ſubmiſſion to us, join with us in the defence of
" them; and thereby eſtabliſh that peace, by which
" only they can flouriſh, and be enjoyed.

" Whether theſe men, that be profeſſed enemies to
" the eſtabliſhed Eccleſiaſtical Government, who re-
" proach and perſecute the learned orthodox miniſters
" of the Church, and into their places put ignorant, ſe-
" ditious, and ſchiſmatical preachers, who vilify the
" Book of Common Prayer, and impiouſly profane

" God's worſhip with their ſcurrilous and ſeditious de-
" meanour, are like to advance that religion; whether
" thoſe men, who boldly, and without the leaſt ſhadow
" or colour of law, impoſe inſupportable taxes and
" odious exciſes upon their fellow ſubjects, impriſon,
" torment, and murder them, are like to preſerve the
" liberty and property of the ſubject: and whether
" thoſe men, who ſeize and poſſeſs themſelves of our
" own unqueſtionable revenue, and our juſt rights, have
" denied us our negative voice, have, by force and vio-
" lence, awed and terrified the members of both Houſes,
" and laſtly have, as far as in them lies, diſſolved the
" preſent Parliament, by driving away and impriſoning
" the members, and reſolving the whole power thereof,
" and more, into a committee of a few men, contrary
" to all law, cuſtom, or precedent, are like to vindicate
" and uphold the privileges of Parliament, all the
" world may judge.

" We do therefore once more conjure our good ſub-
" jects, by their memory of that excellent peace and
" firm happineſs, with which it pleaſed God to reward
" their duty and loyalty in time paſt; by their oaths
" of allegiance and ſupremacy, which no vow or cove-
" nant, contrived and adminiſtered to and by themſelves,
" can cancel or evade; by whatſoever is dear and pre-
" cious to them in this life, or hoped or prayed for in
" the life to come, that they will remember their duty,
" and conſider their intereſt, and no longer ſuffer them-
" ſelves to be miſled, their Prince diſhonoured, and
" their country waſted and undone by the malice and
" cunning of thoſe ſtate impoſtors; who, under pre-
" tence of reformation, would introduce whatſoever is
" monſtrous and unnatural both to religion and policy:
" but that they rather chooſe quietly to enjoy their re-
" ligion,

" ligion, property, and liberty, founded and provided " for by the wiſdom and induſtry of former times, and " ſecured and enlarged by the bleſſings upon the pre- " ſent age, than to ſpend their lives and fortunes to " purchaſe confuſion, and to make themſelves liable to " the moſt intolerable kind of ſlavery, that is, to be " ſlaves to their fellow ſubjects; who, by their pro- " digious, unheard of acts of oppreſſion and tyranny, " have given them ſufficient evidence what they are to " expect at their hands.

" And let not our good people, who have been miſ- " led, or, through want of underſtanding, or want of " courage, ſubmitted themſelves to unwarrantable and " diſloyal actions, be taught, by theſe ſeducers, that " their ſafety now conſiſts in deſpair; and that they can " only ſecure themſelves for the ills they have done, " by a reſolute and peremptory diſobedience. Revenge " and blood-thirſtineſs have never been imputed to us, " by thoſe, who have not left either our government, " or nature, unexamined, with the greateſt boldneſs " and malice. And all thoſe who, ſince thoſe bloody " diſtractions, out of conſcience have returned from " their evil ways to us, have found, that it was not ſo " eaſy for them to repent, as for us to forgive. And " whoſoever have been miſled by thoſe whoſe hearts " from the beginning have deſigned all this miſchief, " and ſhall redeem their paſt crimes by their preſent " ſervice and loyalty, in the apprehending or oppoſing " ſuch who ſhall continue to bear arms againſt us, and " ſhall uſe their utmoſt endeavours to reduce thoſe men " to their due obedience, and to reſtore this kingdom " to its wonted peace, ſhall have cauſe to magnify our " mercy, and to repent the treſpaſſes committed againſt " ſo juſt and gracious a Sovereign. Laſtly, we deſire

" all

" all our good ſubjects who have really aſſiſted, or really " wiſhed us well, now God hath done ſuch wonderful " things for us, vigorouſly to endeavour to put an end " to all theſe miſeries, by bringing in men, money, plate, " horſes, or arms, to our aid; that ſo we being not " wanting to ourſelves, may with confidence expect the " continuance of God's favour, to reſtore us all to that " bleſſed harmony of affections, which may eſtabliſh a " firm peace; without the ſpeedy obtaining of which, " this poor kingdom will be utterly undone, though not " abſolutely loſt."

What effect this declaration produced, at leaſt what accident fell out ſhortly after the publiſhing it, we ſhall have occaſion anon to remember, when we have firſt remembered ſome unfortunate paſſages, which accompanied this proſperity on the King's part; for the ſunſhine of his conqueſt was ſomewhat clouded, not only by the number and quality of the ſlain, but by the jealouſies and miſunderſtandings of thoſe who were alive. There was not, from the beginning, that conformity of humour and inclinations between the Princes and the Marquis of Hertford, as had been to be wiſhed between all perſons of honour, who were engaged in a quarrel that could never proſper but by the union of the undertakers. Prince Maurice, and, on his behalf, (or rather the other by his impulſion), Prince Rupert, taking to heart, that a nephew of the King's ſhould be Lieutenant General to the Marquis, who had neither been exerciſed in the profeſſion of a ſoldier, nor even now punctually ſtudied the office of a General: on the other hand, the Marquis, who was of the moſt gentle nature to the gentle, and as rough and reſolute to the imperious, it may be liked not the Prince's aſſuming to himſelf more than became a Lieutenant

Lieutenant General, and ſometimes croſſing acts of his with relation to the governing and diſpoſing the affairs of the country, in which he knew himſelf better verſed than the Prince; and when Briſtol was taken, where the Marquis took himſelf to command in chief, being a town particularly within his commiſſion, and of which he was beſides Lord Lieutenant, he thought himſelf not regardfully enough uſed, that Prince Rupert had not only entered into the treaty without his advice, but concluded the articles without ſo much as naming him, or taking notice that he was there. And therefore with as little ceremony to his Highneſs, or ſo much as communicating it to either of the Princes, the Marquis declared that he would give the government of that city to Sir Ralph Hopton. Prince Rupert on the other hand conceived the town won by him, being entered on that ſide in which he commanded abſolutely, and the Corniſh on the other part abſolutely repulſed; and therefore that the diſpoſition of the command and government of it wholly belonged to him. But when he heard the reſolution of the Marquis concerning Sir Ralph Hopton, who was not to be put into the ſcale with any private man, he gave over the deſign of conferring it upon any of the pretenders: and by the ſame meſſenger, by whom he advertiſed his Majeſty of the good ſucceſs, he deſired, "that he would beſtow the govern-"ment of that city, reduced by him, upon himſelf;" the which the King readily conſented to, not ſuſpecting any diſpute to be about it. And ſhortly after an expreſs arrived likewiſe from the Marquis, with an account of all particulars, and that his Lordſhip had deſigned Sir Ralph Hopton to be Governor of the new-got city.

Jealouſies ariſe among the King's principal officers about the government of Briſtol.

Then, and not before, the King underſtood what ſtrait he was in; and was exceedingly perplexed to find

find an expedient to compoſe the difference that he ſaw would ariſe. He had paſſed his word to his nephew, of whom he was very tender, and did in truth believe that his title to diſpoſe the government was very juſt: he had likewiſe a very juſt eſteem of the Marquis, who had ſerved him with all fidelity, and had clearly declared himſelf for him, when the doing otherwiſe would have been moſt prejudicial to his Majeſty: and, it could not be denied, no ſubject's affection and loyalty gave a greater luſtre to the King's cauſe, than that of the Marquis; and that which was a circumſtance of infinite moment, was the nominating Sir Ralph Hopton; who as he was a perſon of high merit from the King, ſo he was the moſt gracious and popular to that city, and the country adjacent; and after ſo great ſervice, and ſuffering in the ſervice, to expoſe him to a refuſal, was both againſt the kindneſs and goodneſs of the King's nature, and his politic foreſight into his affairs. And as a preſage how various the interpretation would be abroad, of whatſoever he ſhould determine, he found the minds and affections of his own court and council, with more paſſion than ordinary, ready to deliver their opinions. The Marquis was generally loved, and where he was not enough known to be ſo, his intereſt and reputation in the kingdom was thought of wonderful conſideration in the King's buſineſs: and many were very much troubled to ſee Prince Rupert, whoſe activity and courage in the field they thought very inſtrumental, incline to get the poſſeſſion of the ſecond city of the kingdom into his hands, or to engage himſelf ſo much in the civil government, as ſuch a command ſoberly executed muſt neceſſarily comprehend: and this as it were in contempt of one of the prime noblemen of the kingdom, to which order the Prince had not expreſſed himſelf very debonair.

And

And theſe thought "the King was, by counſel and "precept, to reform and ſoften the Prince's underſtanding "and humour; and to perſuade him, in compliance "with his ſervice, to decline the conteſt, and ſuffer the "Marquis to proceed in his diſpoſition, which, on all "parts, was acknowledged to be moſt fitly deſigned."

Others again were of opinion, "that the right of "diſpoſing the command to whomſoever he thought fit, "entirely belonged to Prince Rupert; and therefore "(beſides that the King had, by the ſame meſſenger "who brought the ſuit, returned his conſent) that he "could not be reaſonably refuſed, when he deſired it for "himſelf; which would take away all poſſible imagina-"tion of diſreſpect to Sir Ralph Hopton, who could "not take it ill, that the Prince himſelf had taken a "command, that was deſigned to him: that the eyes of "the army were upon his Highneſs, whoſe name was "grown a terror to the enemy, as his courage and "conduct had been very proſperous to the King; and "if, after ſo happy and glorious an achievement, he "ſhould now receive a repulſe in ſo reaſonable a pretence, "though it would not leſſen his own duty or alacrity in "the ſervice, it might have an unhappy influence upon "his reputation and intereſt in the army; which could "receive no diminution without apparent damage to his "Majeſty: and therefore, that ſome means ſhould be "uſed to the Marquis, to wave his title, and to conſent "that the Prince ſhould enjoy his deſires:" ſo that they who were only fit to be employed to perſuade and alter either, ſeemed, and indeed were, paſſionately engaged againſt the thing they were to perſuade. Whereupon the King diſcerned that all depended upon his own royal wiſdom; and therefore reſolved to take a journey in his own perſon to Briſtol, and there to give ſuch a rule

rule as he ſhould find moſt neceſſary; to which, he preſumed, both perſons would conform themſelves, as well cordially, as obediently.

The King goes to Briſtol to compoſe the difference.

That which the King propoſed to himſelf was, to gratify his nephew with the name, and the Marquis, by making Sir Ralph Hopton enjoy the thing; upon obliging whom the King's care was very particular. For though he knew his nature, as in truth it was, moſt exactly free from interrupting the leaſt public ſervice by private ends or thoughts, other men would be apt to conceive and publiſh a diſreſpect to be done to him, which himſelf apprehended not; and therefore his Majeſty was not only, in his own princely mind, to retain a very gracious ſenſe of his ſervice, but to give evidence to all men, that he did ſo. And ſo after he had made a joyful entrance into Briſtol, which was performed with all decent ſolemnity, and uſed all kind and obliging expreſſions to the Marquis, he deſired him in private to conſent, that he might perform his promiſe to his nephew, which he had paſſed before he had any imagination that his lordſhip otherwiſe had determined of it; without ſpeaking at all of any other title his Highneſs had to it, but by his Majeſty's promiſe. He eſtabliſhed Prince Rupert in the government of Briſtol, who immediately ſent a commiſſion to Sir Ralph Hopton, (who was now ſo well recovered, that he walked into the air), to be his Lieutenant Governor; ſignifying likewiſe to him, by a confident that paſſed between them, "that though he was now engaged for ſome time, "which ſhould not be long, to keep the ſuperior title "himſelf, he would not at all meddle in the government, "but that he ſhould be as abſolute in it, as if the "original commiſſion had been granted to him."

Sir Ralph Hopton, who was exceedingly ſorry that his name

name was at all uſed, and expoſed, as an argument of difference and miſunderſtanding between perſons of ſuch eminent influence upon the public, quickly diſcerned that this expedient, though it ſeemed plauſibly to leſſen the noiſe of the debate, did in truth object him to the full envy of one party. For the Marquis (who by the King's perſuaſions was rather quieted than ſatisfied) might, and he foreſaw would, be perſuaded to expect that he would refuſe the commiſſion from Prince Rupert, both, as he might be thought to comply in an injury done to the Marquis, to whom his devotion had been ancient, faſt, and unſhaken, and as the command now given him was inferior to what the Marquis, who had the power of diſpoſal, had conferred on him; and ſo that he ſhould vindicate the title, which the King himſelf was loath to give a judgment upon. He was the more troubled, becauſe he found that, by ſubmitting to this charge, he ſhould by ſome be thought to have deſerted the Marquis out of a kind of revenge for his having deſerted the enterpriſe, when he choſe, the laſt year, rather to go into Wales than Cornwall, and for his deſerting him again now, when he brought all new officers to command the army over their heads who had raiſed it, and made the way for the new to come to them. Whereas the firſt, as is before remembered, was done by his own advice, as well as his full conſent; and the latter, he well knew, was rather to be imputed to Prince Maurice than to his Lordſhip, whoſe kindneſs and eſteem had been ever very real to him. On the other hand, he ſaw plainly, that if he refuſed to receive this commiſſion, with what ſpecious circumſtances of duty and ſubmiſſion ſoever, it might produce (as without doubt unavoidably it would) notable diſturbances and interruptions in the King's affairs; and that the Marquis,

to

to common underſtandings, had, to obey the King, declined the conteſt, and therefore that the reviving it, and the miſchief that attended it, would be imputed to his particular account. Beſides that, he had always borne an avowed and declared reverence to the Queen of Bohemia and her children, whom he had perſonally and actively ſerved in their wars, whilſt they maintained any, and for whoſe honour and reſtitution he had been a zealous and known champion. And therefore he had no inclination to diſoblige a hopeful prince of that houſe, upon whom our own hopes ſeemed ſo much to depend. He therefore reſolved, according to his rare temper throughout this war, to let him whom he profeſſed to ſerve, chooſe in what kind he would be ſerved by him; and cheerfully received the commiſſion from Prince Rupert; upon which, all diſcourſe, or debate of difference, was for the preſent determined, what whiſperings or murmurings ſoever remained.

The King found it now high time to reſolve, to what action next to diſpoſe his armies, and that their lying ſtill ſo long there (for theſe agitations had kept the main work from going forward ten or twelve days, a time in that ſeaſon unfortunately loſt) had more weakened, than refreſhed them; having not loſt more men by ſtorming the city, than afterwards by plundering it: thoſe ſoldiers, who had warmed themſelves with the burden of pillage, never quietly again ſubmitting to the carriage of their arms.

The queſtion was firſt, "whether both armies ſhould "be united, and march in one upon the next deſign?" And then, "what that deſign ſhould be?" Againſt the firſt, there were many allegations.

1. "The condition of the Weſt: Dorſetſhire and "Devonſhire were entirely poſſeſſed by the enemy; for "though

" though Sir John Berkley with a daring party kept " Exeter, and Colonel John Digby the North part " (which was notoriouſly diſaffected) from joining with " Plymouth, which would elſe quickly have grown into " an army ſtrong enough to infeſt Cornwall, yet they " had no place to retire to upon diſtreſs; and all the ports " upon the weſtern coaſts were garriſoned by the Parlia- " ment, which, upon the fame of the approach of the " King's forces, and the loſs of Briſtol, might probably " be, without much reſiſtance, reduced.

2. " The Corniſh army was greater in reputation, than " numbers; having loſt many at Lanſdown, and the aſ- " ſault of Briſtol, and, by the death of their chief offi- " cers, very many were run away ſince: beſides they " pretended ſome promiſe made to their country (which " they conceived not to be enough ſecured againſt Ply- " mouth) of returning ſpeedily for the reduction of that " town; ſo that if they were compelled to march eaſt- " wards, to which they were not inclined, it was to be " doubted they would moulder away ſo faſt, that there " would be little addition of ſtrength by it. Whereas if " they marched weſtward, it would be no hard matter " to gather up thoſe who were returned, and to be ſtrong " enough in a very ſhort time, by new levies, for any en- " terpriſe ſhould be thought reaſonable to be undertaken." To which was added, " that having loſt thoſe officers, " whom they loved and feared, and whoſe reverence " reſtrained their natural diſtempers, they were too much " inclined to mutiny; and had expreſſed a peremptory " averſion to the joining, and marching with the King's " army." And the truth is, their humours then were not very gentle and agreeable, as being apt to think that their proweſs was not enough recompenſed, or valued. For though the King affected to make all poſſible de-

monſtrations to them, of an extraordinary high eſteem he had of their wonderful fidelity and courage, yet he was able to procure very little money for them; and they had then, by the diſcipline under which they had been trained, (which was moſt regular, and full of that ſobriety which promiſed good fortune), an honeſt pride in their own natures, a great diſdain of plundering, or ſupplying themſelves by thoſe vile arts, which they grew afterwards leſs tender to avoid.

3. "The great number of the King's horſe; which was "ſo brave a body, that when that part of it which was "joined to the Corniſh was away, he ſhould march with "at leaſt ſix thouſand horſe, which were as many as "would be able to live on any country within a due "diſtance of quartering.

4. "Laſtly, ſome correſpondence with the chief gen- "tlemen of Dorſetſhire, who were ready to join with any "conſiderable party for the King, and had ſome probable "hopes, that the ſmall garriſons upon the coaſt would "not make a tedious reſiſtance."

There was another reaſon, which was not given, that if both armies had been kneaded into one, Prince Maurice could have been but a private Colonel: but there were enough beſides to ſatisfy the King to keep them divided; and ſo he gave order to the Earl of Carnarvon to advance towards Dorcheſter (the chief town in that county, and one of the moſt malignant in England, where the rebels had a garriſon) with the horſe and dragoons, and the next day to Prince Maurice to march after with the foot and cannon; his Majeſty keeping with him the Marquis of Hertford to attend his own perſon; for though he well ſaw, he ſhould undergo ſome inconveniences by withdrawing the Marquis from that employment, the opinion of the ſoundneſs of his religion,

Prince Maurice ſent into the Weſt with an army.

religion, and integrity of his juſtice, rendering him by much the moſt popular man in thoſe parts, and was exceedingly tender of giving the leaſt umbrage and diſtaſte to his Lordſhip, upon whoſe honour and affection he relied entirely, and would as ſoon have truſted his crown upon his fidelity, as upon any man's in his three kingdoms, yet he diſcerned plainly that the Prince and the Marquis would never agree together; and that there were perſons about them, who would foment their indiſpoſitions to each other, with any hazard to his ſervice; and concluded, that he ſhould ſooner reduce his people by the power of his army, than by the perſuaſions of his counſel; and that the roughneſs of the one's nature might prevail more than the lenity and condeſcenſion of the other: and therefore he ſent the Prince on that employment; uſing all imaginable means to remove any trouble, or jealouſy of his favour from the Marquis's mind; his Majeſty freely and clearly communicating to him all his counſels, and the true grounds of his reſolution; and declaring to him, "that he would "make him a Gentleman of his Bedchamber, and "Groom of his Stole, and that he would always have "his company and advice about him;" with which the Marquis was ſatisfied, rather becauſe he reſolved not to diſobey him, than that he was well pleaſed with the price of the obligations.

And truly many wiſe and honeſt men were ſorry for the King's election; and though the Marquis's years, and a long indulgence to his eaſe, had ſuperinduced a kind of lazineſs and inactivity upon his nature, that was neither agreeable to his primitive conſtitution, nor the great endowments of his mind, (for he was a good ſcholar, and had a good judgment), and leſs to the temper of this time, and the office of a General, inſomuch

as he often reſigned an excellent underſtanding to thoſe who had a very indifferent one, and followed the advice, and concluded upon the information of thoſe, who had narrower and more vulgar thoughts than ſuited with his honour, and were not worthy of ſuch a truſt: yet they thought the Prince's inexperience of the cuſtoms and manners of England, and an averſion from conſidering them, muſt ſubject him to the information and advice of worſe counſellors than the other, and which would not be ſo eaſily controlled: and I am of opinion, that if the Prince had waited on his Majeſty in that army, and never interpoſed in any command, not purely martial, and the Marquis been ſent with thoſe forces into the Weſt with the Lord Hopton, (who was now to be left at Briſtol to intend his health, and to form that new garriſon; which was to be a magazine for men, arms, ammunition, and all that was wanted), and ſome other ſteady perſons, who might have been aſſigned to ſpecial provinces, a greater tide of good fortune had attended that expedition.

The next reſolution to be taken, was concerning the King's own motion with the other army. There was not a man, who did not think the reducing of Glouceſter, a city within little more than twenty miles of Briſtol, of mighty importance to the King, if it might be done without a great expence of time, and loſs of men: "It was the only garriſon the rebels had between "Briſtol and Lancaſhire, on the north part of England; "and if it could be recovered, his Majeſty would have "the river of Severn entirely within his command; "whereby his garriſons of Worceſter and Shrewſbury, "and all thoſe parts, might be ſupplied from Briſtol; "and the trade of that city thereby ſo advanced, that "the cuſtoms and duty might bring a notable revenue

"to

" to the King, and the wealth of the city increaſing, it " might bear the greater burden for the war: a rich " and populous county, which hitherto rather yielded " conveniences of quarter, than a ſettled contribution, " (that ſtrong garriſon holding not only the whole " Foreſt diviſion, which is a fourth part of the county " of Glouceſter, abſolutely in obedience, but ſo alarmed " all other parts, that none of the gentry, who for the " moſt part were well affected, durſt ſtay at their own " houſes), might be wholly the King's quarters; and by " how much it had offended and diſquieted the King, " more than other counties, by ſo much the more " money might be raiſed upon them." Beſides the general weekly contributions, the yeomanry, who had been moſt forward and ſeditious, being very wealthy, and able to redeem their delinquency at a high price, (and theſe arguments were fully preſſed by the well affected gentry of the county, who had carried themſelves honeſtly, and ſuffered very much by doing ſo, and undertook great levies of men, if this work were firſt done), there was another argument of no leſs, if not greater, moment than all the reſt: " if Glouceſter were " reduced, there would need no forces to be left in " Wales, and all thoſe ſoldiers might be then drawn to " the marching army, and the contributions and other " taxes aſſigned to the payment of it." Indeed the King would have had a glorious and entire part of his kingdom, to have contended with the reſt.

Yet all theſe motives were not thought worth the engaging his army in a doubtful ſiege; whilſt the Parliament might both recover the fear that was upon them, and conſequently allay and compoſe the diſtempers, (which, if they did not wholly proceed from, were very much ſtrengthened by, thoſe fears), and recruit their

army; and therefore that it was better to march into ſome of thoſe counties which were moſt oppreſſed by the enemy, and there wait ſuch advantage, as the diſtraction in and about London would adminiſter, except there could be ſome probable hope that Glouceſter might be got without much delay. And to that purpoſe there had been ſecret agitation, the effect whereof was hourly expected. The Governor of that garriſon was one Colonel Maſſy, a ſoldier of fortune, who had, in the late northern expeditions prepared by the King againſt Scotland, been an officer in the King's army, under the command of Colonel William Leg; and, in the beginning of theſe troubles, had been at York with inclination to ſerve the King; but finding himſelf not enough known there, and that there would be little gotten, but the comfort of a good conſcience, he went to London, where there was more money, and fewer officers; and was eaſily made Lieutenant Colonel to the Earl of Stamford; and being quickly found to be a diligent and ſtout officer, and of no ill parts of converſation to render himſelf acceptable among the common people, was by his lordſhip, when he went into the Weſt, left Governor of that city of Glouceſter, where he had behaved himſelf actively and ſucceſsfully. There was no reaſon to deſpair, that this man (not intoxicated with any of thoſe fumes which made men rave, and frantic in the cauſe) might not be wrought upon. And Will. Leg, who had the good opinion of moſt men, and the particular kindneſs of Prince Rupert, had ſent a meſſenger, who was like to paſs without ſuſpicion to Glouceſter, with ſuch a letter of kindneſs and overture to Maſſy, as was proper in ſuch a caſe from one friend to another. This meſſenger returned when the King's and the army's motion was under debate,

debate, and brought an anſwer from the Governor to Colonel Leg, in a very high ſtile, and ſeeming to take it much unkindly, "that he ſhould endeavour to "corrupt him in his honeſty and fidelity, and to "perſuade him to break a truſt, which, to ſave his life, "he would never do;" with much diſcourſe "of his "honour and reputation, which would be always dear "to him." But the meſſenger ſaid withal, "that, after "the Governor had given him this letter, and ſome "ſharp reproaches before company, he was brought "again, a back way, to a place where the Governor "was by himſelf; and then he told him, that it was "moſt neceſſary he ſhould write ſuch an anſwer as he "had done; which was communicated to thoſe, who "elſe would have been jealous what ſuch a meſſenger "ſhould come to him about; but that he ſhould tell "Will. Leg, that he was the ſame man he had ever "been, his ſervant; and that he wiſhed the King well; "that he heard Prince Rupert meant to bring the army "before that town; if he did, he would defend it as well "as he could; and his Highneſs would find another "work than he had at Briſtol; but if the King himſelf "came with his army, and ſummoned it, he would not "hold it againſt him: for it would not ſtand with his "conſcience to fight againſt the perſon of the King; "beſides that in ſuch a caſe, he ſhould be able to "perſuade thoſe of the town; which otherwiſe he could "not do."

This meſſage turned the ſcale; for though it might be without purpoſe of being honeſt, yet there was no great objection againſt the King's marching that way with his army; ſince it would be ſtill in his power to purſue any other counſel, without engaging before it.

And it was to ſome a ſign that he meant well, becauſe he had not hanged, or at leaſt impriſoned, the meſſenger who came to him on ſuch an errand. Hereupon the King reſolved for Glouceſter, but not to be engaged in a ſiege; and ſo ſent his army that way; and the next day (having firſt ſent Sir Ralph Hopton a warrant to create him Baron Hopton of Stratton, in memory of the happy battle fought there) with the remainder of his forces marched towards it. On Wedneſday the tenth of Auguſt, the King ranged his whole army upon a fair hill, in the clear view of the city, and within leſs than two miles of it; and then, being about two of the clock in the afternoon, he ſent a trumpet with this ſummons to the town.

The King marches towards Glouceſter, and ſummons it, Aug. 10, 1643.

" Out of our tender compaſſion to our city of Glou-
" ceſter, and that it may not receive prejudice by our
" army, which we cannot prevent if we be compelled to
" aſſault it, we are perſonally come before it to require
" the ſame; and are graciouſly pleaſed to let all the in-
" habitants of, and all other perſons within that city,
" as well ſoldiers as others, know, that if they ſhall im-
" mediately ſubmit themſelves, and deliver this our city
" to us, we are contented, freely and abſolutely to par-
" don every one of them, without exception; and do
" aſſure them, in the word of a King, that they, nor
" any of them ſhall receive the leaſt damage or preju-
" dice by our army in their perſons or eſtates; but
" that we will appoint ſuch a Governor, and a moderate
" garriſon to reſide there, as ſhall be both for the eaſe
" and ſecurity of that city, and that whole county.
" But if they ſhall neglect this proffer of grace and
" favour, and compel us, by the power of our army, to
" reduce that place, (which, by the help of God, we
" doubt

" doubt not, we ſhall be eaſily and ſhortly able to do), " they muſt thank themſelves for all the calamities and " miſeries muſt befal them. To this meſſage we expect " a clear and poſitive anſwer, within two hours after the " publiſhing hereof; and by theſe preſents do give leave " to any perſons, ſafely to repair to and return from us, " whom that city ſhall deſire to employ unto us in that " buſineſs: and do require all the officers and ſoldiers " of our army, quietly to ſuffer them to paſs accord- " ingly.".

Within leſs than the time preſcribed, together with the trumpeter returned two citizens from the town, with lean, pale, ſharp, and bad viſages, indeed faces ſo ſtrange and unuſual, and in ſuch a garb and poſture, that at once made the moſt ſevere countenances merry, and the moſt cheerful hearts ſad; for it was impoſſible ſuch ambaſſadors could bring leſs than a defiance. The men, without any circumſtances of duty, or good manners, in a pert, ſhrill, undiſmayed accent, ſaid, " they had brought " an anſwer from the godly city of Glouceſter to the " King;" and were ſo ready to give inſolent and ſeditious anſwers to any queſtion, as if their buſineſs were chiefly to provoke the King to violate his own ſafe conduct. The anſwer they brought was in writing, in theſe very words.

Auguſt 10*th*, 1643.

" We the inhabitants, magiſtrates, officers, and ſol- The citi-
" diers, within this garriſon of Glouceſter, unto his Ma- zens' and garriſon's
" jeſty's gracious meſſage return this humble anſwer: anſwer.
" That we do keep this city, according to our oaths and
" allegiance, to and for the uſe of his Majeſty, and his
" royal poſterity: and do accordingly conceive ourſelves
" wholly bound to obey the commands of his Majeſty,
" ſignified by both Houſes of Parliament: and are
" reſolved,

" reſolved, by God's help, to keep this city accord-
" ingly."

This paper was ſubſcribed by Wiſe the Mayor, and Maſſy the Governor, with thirteen of the Aldermen, and moſt ſubſtantial citizens, and eleven officers of the garriſon; and as ſoon as their meſſengers returned, who were quickly diſmiſſed, without attending to ſee what the King reſolved, all the ſuburbs of the city, in which were very large and fair buildings, well inhabited, were ſet on fire; ſo that there was no doubt, the King was to expect nothing there but what could not be kept from him. Now was the time for new debates, and new reſolutions; to which men came not ſo unbiaſſed, or unſwayed, as they had been at Briſtol. This indignity and affront to the King prompted thoughts of revenge; and ſome thought the King ſo far engaged, that in honour he could not do leſs than ſit down before the town, and force it: and theſe inclinations gave countenance and credit to all thoſe plauſible informations " of ſmall provi-
" ſions in the town, either of victual, or ammunition;
" that, where the town was ſtrongeſt, there was nothing
" but an old ſtone wall, which would fall upon an eaſy
" battery; that there were many well affected people in
" the town, who, with thoſe who were incenſed by the
" burning of the ſuburbs, and the great loſſes they muſt
" ſuſtain thereby, would make ſuch a party, that as ſoon
" as they were diſtreſſed, the ſeditious party would be
" forced to yield." It was alleged, " that the enemy
" had no army; nor, by all intelligence, was like to
" form any ſoon enough to be able to relieve it; and if
" they had an army, that it was much better for his
" Majeſty to force them to that diſtance from London,
" and to fight there, where he could be ſupplied with
" whatſoever he wanted, could chooſe his own ground,
" where

" where his brave body of horſe would be able to defeat " any army they could raiſe, than to ſeek them in their " own quarters."

Above all, the confidence of the ſoldiers of the beſt experience moved his Majeſty; who upon riding about the town, and taking a near view of it, were clear of opinion, that they ſhould be able in leſs than ten days by approach, for all thoughts of ſtorming were laid aſide upon the loſs at Briſtol, to win it. This produced a reſolution in his Majeſty, not one man in the council of war diſſuading it. So the King preſently ſent to Oxford for his General the Earl of Brentford " to come to him, with all the foot that could be ſpared " out of that garriſon, and his pieces of battery, to go- " vern that action:" Prince Rupert wiſely declining that province, and retiring himſelf into the Generalſhip of the Horſe, that he might not be thought accountable for any accidents which ſhould attend that ſervice. At the ſame inſtant, orders were diſpatched to Sir William Vavaſour, who commanded all the forces in South Wales, (the Lord Herbert having been perſuaded ſo far to comply with the indiſpoſition of that people, as to decline that command, or at leaſt for a time to diſſemble it), " to draw all his men to the Foreſt ſide of the " town;" where the bridges being broken down, a ſmall ſtrength would keep them in, and any from going to them, which within two days was done. Thus the King was engaged before Glouceſter; and thereby gave reſpite to the diſtracted ſpirits at London, to breathe, and compoſe themſelves; and, more methodically than they had hoped to have done, to prepare for their preſervation, and accompliſhing their own ends; which at that time ſeemed almoſt deſperate and incurable. The King beſieges the town.

The direful news of the ſurrender of Briſtol, which was

was brought to the two Houſes on the 31ſt of July, ſtruck them to the heart, and came upon them as a ſentence of death, after a vaſt conſumption of money, and confident promiſes of deſtroying all the King's forces by a day, every tax and impoſition being declared to be the laſt; and for finiſhing the work, the Earl of Eſſex was at the ſame time returned to Kingſton, within ten miles of them, with his broken and diſmayed troops, which himſelf would not endure ſhould have the title of an army. So that the war ſeemed to be even at an end in a ſenſe very contrary to what they had undertaken; their General talking more, and preſſing for reparation, and vindication of his honour from imputations and aſperſions, than for a recruit of forces, or providing an army to defend them. Every man reproached his neighbour with his want of inclination to peace, when good conditions might be had, and magnified his own wiſdom, for having feared "it would come to this." The King's laſt declaration had been read by all men, and was magnified "as a moſt gracious and undeniable inſtance of "his clemency and juſtice, that he was ſo far from being "elated with his good ſucceſſes, and power almoſt to have "what he would, that he renewed all thoſe promiſes, and "proteſtations for the religion, laws, and liberties of the "kingdom, and privileges of Parliament; which had "been out of their perverſeneſs diſcredited before, as pro-"ceeding from the low condition he was in; and whereas "they had been frighted with their repreſentation of "their own guilt, and the implacableneſs of the King's "nature, as if he meant an utter conqueſt of them, his "Majeſty had now offered all that could be honeſtly de-"ſired, and had expreſſed himſelf a Prince not delighted "with blood and revenge, but an indulgent father to the "moſt diſobedient children." In this reformation of under-

underſtanding, the Lords in their Houſe debated nothing but expedients for peace: there were not of that body above five, at the moſt, who had any inclination to continue the war; and the Earl of Eſſex had ſufficiently declared, "that he was weary of it," and held cloſeſt and ſtricteſt correſpondence with thoſe who moſt paſſionately preſſed an accommodation. So that, on the fifth of Auguſt, they deſired a conference with the Commons; and declared to them, "that they were reſolved to ſend "propoſitions to the King, and they hoped, they would "concur in them:" the particulars propoſed by them were,

Propoſitions for peace given by the Houſe of Lords to the Houſe of Commons in a conference.

1. "That both armies might be preſently diſbanded, "and his Majeſty be intreated to return to his Parliament, upon ſuch ſecurity as ſhould give him ſatisfaction.

2. "That religion might be ſettled with the advice "of a ſynod of divines, in ſuch a manner as his Majeſty, "with the conſent of both Houſes of Parliament, ſhould "appoint.

3. "That the militia, both by ſea and land, might "be ſettled by a bill; and the militia, forts, and ſhips "of the kingdom, put into ſuch hands as the King "ſhould appoint, with the approbation of both Houſes "of Parliament: and his Majeſty's revenue to be abſo-"lutely and wholly reſtored unto him; only deducting "ſuch part, as had been of neceſſity expended for the "maintenance of his children, and not otherwiſe.

4. "That all the members of both Houſes who had "been expelled only for abſenting themſelves, or mere "compliance with his Majeſty, and no other matter "of fact againſt them, might be reſtored to their "places.

5. "That all Delinquents, from before the tenth day "of

" of January 1641, ſhould be delivered up to the juſ-
" tice of Parliament, and a general pardon for all others
" on both ſides.

6. And laſtly, " That there might be an act of
" oblivion, for all by-gone deeds, and acts of hoſti-
" lity."

When this conference was reported in the Houſe of Commons, it begot a wonderful long and a hot debate, which laſted till ten of the clock that night, and continued a day or two more; the violent party (for there were yet many among them of more moderate conſtitutions, who did, and ever had heartily abhorred their proceedings, though out of fear, and indiſpoſition of health, or not knowing elſe well what to do, they continued there) inveighed furiouſly againſt the deſign itſelf of ſending to the King at all, and therefore would not have the particular propoſitions ſo much as conſidered: " They had received much prejudice by the laſt
" treaty at Oxford, and therefore muſt undergo more
" now their condition was much lower: the King had
" ſince that, upon the matter, declared them to be no
" Parliament; for if they were not free, they could not
" be a Parliament; ſo that till that point were vindi-
" cated, they could not treat in any ſafe capacity, but
" would be looked upon under the notion of rebels, as
" his Majeſty had declared them. They had ſent
" members into Scotland to require aſſiſtance, which
" that kingdom was preparing with all brotherly affec-
" tion and forwardneſs; and after ſuch a diſcovery, to
" treat for peace, without the privity of the Scots, was
" to betray them; and to forfeit all hopes hereafter of
" relief from thence, what neceſſities ſoever they might
" be reduced to. That the city of London had ex-
" preſſed all imaginable readineſs to raiſe forces for Sir
" William

" William Waller; and the counties near London were " ready to riſe as one man, whereby the Earl of Eſſex " would be ſpeedily enabled to march, with a better " army than ever he had, to give the King battle, except " this diſcourſe of peace did extinguiſh the zeal that was " then flaming in the hearts of the people."

But notwithſtanding theſe reaſons, and the paſſion in the delivery, the terror of the King's ſucceſſes ſuggeſted anſwers enough. " They had been puniſhed for break- " ing off the treaty of Oxford, when they might have " had better terms than now they could expect; and if " they omitted this opportunity, they ſhould fare much " worſe; that they were not ſure of aid from Scotland, nei- " ther was it almoſt poſſible it ſhould come time enough " to preſerve them from the ruin at hand. And for the " city of London, though the common and meaner ſort " of people, who might promiſe themſelves advantage " by it, deſired the continuance of the diſtractions, yet " it was evident the moſt ſubſtantial and rich men de- " ſired peace, by their refuſal to ſupply money for the " carrying on the war; and if they ſhould judge of the " common people by their forwardneſs to engage their " own perſons, they had reaſon to believe they had no " mind to the war neither; for their General was forced " to retire even under their own walls, for want of men " to recruit his army. However, the ſending reaſonable " propoſitions to the King would either procure a peace, " and ſo they ſhould have no more need of an army; " or, being refuſed, would raiſe more men and money " than all their ordinances without it." Theſe reaſons and arguments prevailed; and after the debate had laſted till ten of the clock at night, it was reſolved upon the queſtion, and carried by nine and twenty voices, " That " they

" they ſhould inſiſt upon the propoſitions, and ſend to " his Majeſty."

And without doubt, if they had then ſent, (as, if the power had been in the two Houſes of Parliament, they had done), a firm peace had immediately enſued: for beſides that if a treaty and ceſſation had been in that conjuncture entered upon, no extravagant demand would have been preſſed, only a ſecurity for thoſe who had been faulty, which the King would gladly have granted, and moſt religiouſly obſerved; the fourth propoſition, and conſent to reſtore all members to their places in Parliament, would have prevented the kindling any more fire in thoſe Houſes. But this was too well known to be ſuffered to paſs; and therefore the next day, being Sunday, the ſeditious preachers filled all the pulpits with alarms of " ruin and deſtruction to the city, if a peace " were now offered to the King;" and printed papers were ſcattered through the ſtreets, and fixed upon gates, poſts, and the moſt public places in the city and ſuburbs, requiring " all perſons well affected to riſe as one man, " and to come to the Houſe of Commons next morn- " ing; for that twenty thouſand Iriſh rebels were land- " ed;" which information was likewiſe given that day in many pulpits by their preachers; and in other papers likewiſe ſet up, it was declared, " that the malignant " party had over-voted the good, and, if not prevented, " there would be a peace."

When the minds of the people were thus prepared, Pennington, their own Lord Mayor, though on Sunday, (on which they before complained the King uſed to ſit in council), called a common council; where a petition was framed to the Houſe of Commons, taking notice " of propoſitions paſſed by the Houſe of Peers for " peace,

" peace, which if conſented to, and allowed, would be " deſtructive to religion, laws, and liberties; and there- " fore deſired that Houſe to paſs an ordinance, according " to the tenor of an act of their Common Council," (which they appointed to be annexed to their petition), " which was for the vigorous proſecuting the war, and " declining all thoughts of accommodation." With this petition, and ſuch an attendance as thoſe preparatives were like to bring, the Lord Mayor himſelf, who, from the time of his mayoralty, had forborne ſitting in the Houſe as a member, came to the Houſe of Commons, and delivered it, with ſuch farther inſinuations of the temper of the city, as were fit for the purpoſe; the people at the door behaving themſelves as imperiouſly, telling the members of both Houſes, as they paſſed by them, " that if they had not a good anſwer, they would " be there the next day with double the number." The Lords complained of the tumults, and ſent to the Commons to join with them in their ſuppreſſion; inſtead whereof the Commons (many of their body withdrawing for fear, and others by fear converted, or it may be by hope of prevailing) gave the city thanks " for their " petition, advice, and courage;" and rejected the propoſitions for peace.

A petition of the Common Council of London againſt peace.

whereupon the Houſe of Commons rejected the propoſitions of the Lords.

This raiſed a new conteſt in the city, which was not willing to lie under the perpetual brand of reſiſting and oppoſing peace, as they did of firſt raiſing the war. And therefore the wiſe and ſober part of it would gladly have diſcovered how averſe they were from the late act of the Common Council. But the late execution of Tomkins and Chaloner, and the advantage which was preſently taken againſt any man who was moderately inclined, frighted all men from appearing in perſon to deſire thoſe things upon which their hearts were moſt ſet.

In the end, the women expreſſed greater courage than the men; and having a precedent of a rabble of that ſex, appearing in the beginning of theſe diſtractions with a petition to the Houſe of Commons, to foment the diviſions, with acceptance and approbation, a great multitude of the wives of ſubſtantial citizens came to the Houſe of Commons with a petition for peace. Thereupon a troop of horſe, under the command of one Harvey, a decayed ſilkman, who from the beginning had been one moſt confided in, were ſent for; who behaved themſelves with ſuch inhumanity, that they charged among the ſilly women, as an enemy worthy of their courage, and killed and wounded many of them, and eaſily diſperſed the reſt. When they were by this means ſecured from farther vexation of this kind, ſpecial notice was taken of thoſe members who ſeemed moſt importunate, and deſirous of peace, that ſome advantage might be taken againſt them. Whereupon, they well diſcerning the danger they were in, many both of the Peers and the Commons firſt abſented themſelves from the Houſes, and then removed into thoſe quarters where they might enjoy the protection of the King; and ſome of them came directly to Oxford.

Having diverted this torrent, which would have brought peace upon them before they were aware, they conſidered their ſtrength, and applied themſelves to the recovery of the ſpirits of their General; whoſe indiſpoſition troubled them more than any other diſtreſs they were in. To this cure they applied remedies of contrary natures, which would yet work to the ſame end. Firſt they careſſed Sir William Waller with wonderful kindneſs and eſteem; and as he was met upon his return to London, after the moſt total defeat that could almoſt be imagined, (for though few of his horſe were

were killed upon the place, they were ſo ruinouſly diſperſed, that of above two thouſand, there were not three hundred gotten together again for their ſervice), with all the trained bands and militia of London, and received as if he had brought the King priſoner with him; ſo he was immediately choſen governor and commander in chief of the forces and militia of London, for the defence of the city; and it was now declared, "that they would forthwith ſupply him with a good "body of horſe and foot, to take the field again, and "relieve their diſtreſſed friends in the Weſt." Then another ordinance was paſſed to raiſe a great army, under the command of the Earl of Mancheſter, (who had been always ſteady to his firſt principles, and never a friend to any overture of accommodation), in order to oppoſing the Earl of Newcaſtle, and to take charge of all the aſſociated counties; which were Eſſex, Hertford, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntington, and (by a new addition) Lincoln; and for the ſpeedy raiſing men to join to thoſe who would voluntarily liſt themſelves under theſe two beloved Generals, there was an ordinance paſſed both Houſes for the preſſing of men; which ſeemed ſomewhat to diſcredit their cauſe, that, after ſo much pretence to the hearts of the people, they ſhould be now compelled to fight, whether they would or no; and was the more wondered at, becauſe they had themſelves procured the King's conſent to an act this Parliament, that declared it to be unlawful to preſs, or compel any of the freeborn ſubjects to march out of the county in which they lived, if he were not willing ſo to do; and direction was given by other ordinances to preſs great numbers of men, to ſerve both under the Earl of Mancheſter, and Sir William Waller; and having thus provided for the worſt, and let the Earl of

An ordinance for raiſing an army under the Earl of Mancheſter.

Eſſex diſcern, that they had another Earl to truſt to, and more Generals than one at their devotion, they ſent a formal committee of both Houſes to him, to uſe all imaginable art, and application to him, to recover him to his former vigour, and zeal in their cauſe. They told him "the high value the Houſes had of the ſervice "he had done, and the hazards, dangers, and loſſes he "had for their ſakes undergone: that he ſhould receive "as ample a vindication for the calumnies and aſperſions "raiſed on him, as he could deſire, from the full teſti- "mony and confidence of the two Houſes; and if the "infamous authors of them could be found, their pu- "niſhment ſhould be as notorious as their libels: that "no other forces ſhould be recruited till his were made "up; and that all his ſoldiers' arrears ſhould be paid, "and clothes preſently ſent for his foot."

Whether theſe reaſons, with the jealouſy of the Earl of Mancheſter, upon whom he plainly ſaw the violent party wholly depended, or the infuſions poured into him by the Lord Say and Mr. Pym, of the deſperateneſs of his own condition, with an opinion, upon the differences between the two Princes and the Marquis of Hertford, that the Marquis's ſervices were not enough valued by the King, (which many deſired ſhould be thought to have then ſome influence upon the Earl), or whether he had not ſteadineſs enough to engage in ſo hazardous an enterpriſe, he grew inſenſibly altered from his moderate inclinations, and deſire of peace; for it is moſt certain, that as the confidence in him gave many lords the ſpirit to appear champions for peace, who had been before as ſolicitous againſt it, ſo the deſign was then the ſame, which hath been ſince proſecuted, with effect, to a worſe purpoſe, that is, for the members of both Houſes who were of one mind, upon that ſignal riot, and com-

compelling the Houſe of Commons to renounce their former reſolution of propoſitions to the King, to have gone to the Earl of Eſſex, and there, under the ſecurity of their own army, to have proteſted againſt the violence which was offered, the breach of their privileges by the Common Council's taking notice of their counſels, and over-ruling their concluſions, and to have declared their want of freedom: by means whereof, they made no doubt to have drawn the Houſes to conſent to ſuch an agreement as the King would well have approved of; or to have entered upon ſuch a treaty themſelves with the King, as all the moderate part of the kingdom would have been glad to be comprehended under.

But this ſtaggering in their General fruſtrated that deſign, and put them to other reſolutions; and ſo, having rendered themſelves very ungracious in the Houſes, and poſſibly ſuſpecting the Earl of Eſſex might diſcover ſome of their overtures, many of the Lords left the town, and went either directly to Oxford, or into the King's quarters; the Earl of Portland, and the Lord Lovelace, (of whoſe good affections to his ſervice the King had always aſſurance, and who had only ſtayed there, as at a place where they might do him more ſervice, than any where elſe), directly to Oxford; and the Lord Conway ſhortly after them; the Earl of Clare into Worceſterſhire, and from thence, by the King's free acceptation, to Oxford; there being no other objection againſt his lordſhip, than his ſtaying ſo long at London; but his total differing with them in all their extravagances, he having no manner of relation to the Court, rendered him to his Majeſty's opinion under a very good character. The Earls of Bedford and Holland, not without ſome difficulty, their purpoſe being diſcovered or ſuſpected, got into the King's garriſon at Wallingford, from

The Earls of Bedford and Holland put themſelves

into the King's quarters, as likewife ſome other of the Parliament Lords.

from whence the Governor gave advertiſement of their arrival; the Earl of Northumberland, with the leave of the Houſe, retired for his health to his houſe at Petworth in Suſſex; which though it was in a county entirely then at the Parliament's devotion, yet it was near enough to be infeſted from ſome of the King's quarters, if he had not ſome aſſurance of being ſafe there.

The violent party carried now all before them, and were well contented with the abſence of thoſe who uſed to give them ſome trouble and vexation. For the better ſtrengthening themſelves with the people, they ordered the Divines of the Aſſembly to repair into the country to their cures, eſpecially in the counties of the aſſociation under the Earl of Mancheſter, to ſtir up the people, with all their eloquence, to riſe as one man againſt their Sovereign; and omitted nothing within their power, which might contribute to the raiſing men or money; being not a little joyed, when they underſtood the King had given them more time than they expected, to compoſe all diſorders and diviſions among themſelves, by his ſtaying with his army before Glouceſter; which they took to be the greater bleſſing, and preſervation to them, becauſe at the ſame time there were ſudden inſurrections in Kent againſt their ordinances and juriſdiction, in defence of the known laws, and eſpecially of the Book of Common Prayer; which, if the King's army had been at any diſtance to have countenanced, they would never have been able to ſuppreſs.

The fame of all theſe diſtractions and diſorders at London exceedingly diſpoſed men in all places to reproach his Majeſty's ſtay before Glouceſter; his friends at London deſiring that his Majeſty ſhould march directly thither, to take the advantage of thoſe diſtractions; and the Lords of the council at Oxford, upon the intelligence

telligence and advice from thence, were very ſolicitous that the King would take that reſolution, to which he was himſelf enough inclined. But his condition was believed to be, in both places, better than it was; and that he had now a victorious army, without an enemy to reſtrain his motion: whereas, in truth, his was a weak army, leſſened exceedingly by the loſſes it ſuſtained before Briſtol; and when that part of it was marched with Prince Maurice into the Weſt, and which could not have marched any other way, the King had not much above ſix thouſand foot to march with, though he left none at Briſtol, but obliged my Lord Hopton to garriſon it as he could, which he ſhortly did; and that would have appeared a very ſmall army to have marched towards London; though it is true the horſe was a noble body, and ſuperior in number to that of the foot.

There was likewiſe another circumſtance, that few men were then acquainted with: upon the firſt news of the taking of Briſtol, his Majeſty, before he left Oxford, had ſent an expreſs to the Earl of Newcaſtle, who was then engaged before Hull, "that if he found the "buſineſs of Hull to be more difficult than he expect-"ed, he ſhould leave it blocked up at a diſtance, which "might reſtrain excurſions into the country, and march "with his army into the aſſociated counties;" which comprehended Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeſhire, and Eſſex, &c. which had aſſociated themſelves, by ſome agreement, to ſerve the Parliament; though the better part of all thoſe counties, eſpecially of the two greater, were moſt affected to the King, and wiſhed for an opportunity to expreſs it; and if the Earl would bring his army through thoſe counties towards London, his Majeſty would then reſolve, with his own, to march towards it on the other ſide. And in the very time that his

Majeſty came before Glouceſter, and before he took the reſolution to ſit down before it, that expreſs returned from the Earl of Newcaſtle, who informed him, "that "it was impoſſible for him to comply with his com- "mands, in marching with his army into the aſſociated "counties, for that the gentlemen of the country, who "had the beſt regiments, and were among the beſt offi- "cers, utterly refuſed to march, except Hull were firſt "taken; and that he had not ſtrength enough to march "and to leave Hull ſecurely blocked up:" which adver- tiſement, with the conſideration before mentioned, of the enlarging his quarters by the taking of Glouceſter, and the concurrence of all the officers, that it would ſpeedily be taken, produced that reſolution of attempting it, notwithſtanding that the Queen herſelf writ ſo impor- tunately againſt it, that his Majeſty thought it neceſſary to make a journey himſelf to Oxford, to convince her Majeſty, and to compoſe ſome diſtempers which were riſen among his council there, upon the news of the arrival of ſome of the Lords mentioned before in thoſe quarters.

Debates in the Council at Oxford how thoſe Lords ſhould be received.

The King was newly ſet down before Glouceſter, when the Governor of Wallingford ſent notice to Oxford, of the arrival of thoſe two Earls; to whom the Lords of the council returned direction, "that they ſhould ſtay there, "till the King's pleaſure was underſtood;" to whom the Secretary had ſent the information, and deſired his Ma- jeſty's will concerning their reception. The King well knew, any order he ſhould give in it would be liable to many objections, and he had not ſo good an inclination to either of them, as to run any inconvenience for their ſakes; the Earl of Bedford having ſerved in perſon againſt him, as the General of the rebels' horſe; and the Earl of Holland, in the King's opinion, having done

done worſe. And therefore his Majeſty commanded, " that his Privy Council ſhould debate the matter among " themſelves, and preſent their opinion and advice to " him; and he would then determine what kind of en- " tertainment they ſhould have." The opinions at the board were ſeveral; ſome thought, " that his Majeſty " ſhould receive them very graciouſly, and with all out- " ward expreſſions of his acceptance of their return to his " ſervice; and that the demeanour of all others to them " ſhould be ſuch, as might make them think themſelves " very welcome, without the leaſt taking notice of any " thing formerly done amiſs by them; which would be " a great encouragement to others to come away too: ſo " that the numbers and quality of thoſe who ſtayed be- " hind would probably in a ſhort time be ſo ſmall, that " they would have no reputation in the kingdom to con- " tinue the war." Many differed diametrically from this; and were ſo far from thinking this advice agreeable to the dignity or ſecurity of the King, that they thought it not fit " to admit them preſently to the King's or " Queen's preſence, till, by their good carriage and de- " meanour, they ſhould give ſome teſtimony of their af- " fections: they had both taken the late Covenant, of " which one clauſe was, to aſſiſt the forces raiſed by the " Parliament, againſt the army raiſed by the King; with " many reproaches, and known ſcandals upon that army. " If they had felt a true remorſe of conſcience for the " ill they had done, they would have left that party, " when that Covenant was to be impoſed upon them; " which ſince they did not, that they came now was to be " imputed rather to the King's ſucceſs, and the weakneſs " of that power which they had hitherto ſerved, than to " any reformation of their underſtanding, or improve- " ment of their allegiance: and that it was great rea- " ſon,

" ſon, that they who had given ſuch arguments of juſt " jealouſy and ſuſpicion of themſelves, ſhould raiſe a " confidence in their loyalty and affection by ſome act " equal to the other; and therefore none who had taken " that Covenant, ſhould be admitted to the preſence of " the King, Queen, or Prince, before he had taken ſome " other oath or covenant, declaring an equal hatred and " abhorring of the rebellious arms which were taken up " againſt his Majeſty, and the counſels by which they " were taken up."

It was ſaid, " that the good or ill reception of theſe " lords could have no influence upon the actions or " deliberations at Weſtminſter, or London, or any " conſiderable perſons there: that they were but ſingle " men, without any conſiderable dependence upon them. " Whilſt they had reputation and intereſt enough to do " good or hurt, and the King's condition needed their " attendance, they choſe to be engaged againſt him; " but now, when they were able to do him no more " harm, they came to receive benefit and advantage " from him: that it was a common argument men uſed " to allege to themſelves for their compliance with, " and ſubmiſſion to, the commands of the Parliament; " that, if they did otherwiſe, their ſeverity and rigour " was ſo great, that they and their families were ſure to " be ruined; but, if the King prevailed, he was gracious " and merciful, and would remit their offences when- " ſoever they caſt themſelves at his feet; which pre- " ſumption if they ſhould ſee confirmed in this example, " it would make the obſervation of conſcience and " loyalty of no price, and encourage thoſe who were " riſen againſt him, and exceedingly diſhearten thoſe " who had been honeſt and faithful from the beginning: " that there could enſue no inconvenience from any

" reſerved-

" reſervedneſs and coldneſs towards them; for they durſt " not return to London, having now made themſelves " odious to that party, and having no hope but from " the acceptance of his Majeſty; which they ſhould " merit before they found." There was a third opinion between theſe extremes, " that they ſhould be neither " courted nor neglected, but be admitted to kiſs the " King's and Queen's hands, and to diſpoſe themſelves " as they thought fit; and ſo to leave the reſt to their " future demeanour:" and to reſolve which of theſe opinions to follow, was another motive for his Majeſty's ſudden journey to Oxford.

The King found greater alterations in the minds and ſpirits at Oxford, than he expected after ſo much ſucceſs as had befallen him; and that ſucceſs was it, that had made the alteration; it being the unlucky temper of that place, and that company, to be the ſooneſt and the moſt deſperately caſt down upon any misfortune or loſs, and to be again, upon any victory, the moſt elated, and the moſt apt to undervalue any difficulties which remained. The taking Briſtol had ſo poſſeſſed them with joy, that they thought the war even at an end, and that there was nothing left to be done, but to take poſſeſſion of London; which they were aſſured would be delivered to them upon demand. Many members of both Houſes were come to Oxford, which aſſured them, " the violent people there were even in " deſpair; and after the news came of the ſurrender of " Briſtol, that they had only kept up their ſpirits in " hopes that the King would engage his army in the " ſiege of Glouceſter, which ſome of them had ſeemed " to promiſe their friends would be the caſe:" from whence they would infer, " that the King was betrayed, " and that they who had perſuaded him to undertake

The King comes to Oxford to conſult about it.

" that

" that deſign, were corrupted by the Parliament." And the envy and jealouſy of all this fell upon Sir John Colepepper, who was indeed of the opinion for the ſiege, but, without doubt, how much ſoever he ſuffered at that time, and afterwards, under that reproach, he believed there was very good reaſon for that engagement, and was moſt free from any corrupt end, and of moſt ſincere fidelity.

This diſcourſe and imagination had made wonderful impreſſion upon the Queen; who was inflamed with a jealouſy that there was a deſign to leſſen her intereſt in the King, and that Prince Rupert was chief in that conſpiracy, and meant to bring it to paſs by keeping the King ſtill in the army, and by hindering his coming to Oxford: and out of this apprehenſion the Queen had written ſo warmly and concernedly to the King, who was the moſt incapable of any ſuch apprehenſions, and had her Majeſty in ſo perfect an adoration, that as ſoon as he received that letter, without delay he came to Oxford, and quickly compoſed thoſe miſtakes; though the being engaged before Glouceſter was ſtill very grievous, and reproaches were publicly caſt upon thoſe who gave the advice.

But that which took up moſt of the time of that one day that the King ſtayed at Oxford, was concerning the two lords who were retained at Wallingford; which had been agitated in the council with great paſſion before the King's coming. The King cauſed the council to meet the next morning, and aſked their advice, " whether " the Earls of Bedford and of Holland ſhould be " admitted to come into Oxford, or obliged to return " from whence they came? or, if admitted, how they " ſhould be received, or countenanced by their Ma- " jeſties?" And it cannot be enough wondered at, that there ſhould be any difference of opinion in that matter; but

but it cannot be expreſſed, with how much earneſtneſs and unreaſonableneſs the whole was debated, and how warmly even they, who in all other debates ſtill expreſſed all moderation and temper, did now oppoſe the receiving theſe lords with any grace, with more paſſion, and other reaſons, than had been offered in their former conferences; ſo that there was ſcarce known ſuch an union in opinion at that board, in any thing, where diſunion was very inconvenient.

All exaggerated "the carriage and foul ingratitude of "the Earl of Holland, from the beginning of the "Parliament; and the Earl of Bedford's being General "of the horſe in the Earl of Eſſex's army; and now "when the Parliament was low, and they had loſt their "credit and intereſt there, they were come to the King, "whom they had ſo much offended; and expected to "be as much, it may be, more made of, than they who "had borne the heat of the day; which would ſo much "reflect upon the King's honour, that men would be "exceedingly diſcouraged to ſerve him." Some moved, "that they might be detained, and kept priſoners of "war, ſince they came into the King's quarters without "any paſs;" others as plainly and more vehemently preſſed, "that they might not be ſuffered to come to "Oxford, or where the King or Queen ſhould be; but "permitted to live in ſome other place within the King's "quarters, until they ſhould manifeſt their affections by "ſome ſervice." They who thought this too ſevere and unpolitic, propoſed "that they might be ſuffered to come "to Oxford, that thereby they might be kept from re-"turning to the Parliament," (which appeared to moſt to be liable to many exceptions), "but that being at "Oxford, they ſhould not come to Court; and that no "Privy Counſellor ſhould viſit them."

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In this whole debate, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who ſeldom ſpoke without ſome earneſtneſs, was the only man (except another, who brought no credit to the opinion, the Lord Saville) who adviſed confidently, "that they might be very graciouſly received by both "their Majeſties, and civilly be viſited and treated by "every body; that other men might, by the entertain-"ment they received, be encouraged to deſert the "Parliament too." He ſaid, "it would be too great a "diſadvantage to the King, and to his cauſe, that whilſt "the Parliament uſed all the induſtry and artifices, to "corrupt the duty and affection of the ſubject, and had "their arms open to receive and embrace all, who would "come to them, his Majeſty ſhould admit none to "return to him, who had been faulty, or not come ſo "ſoon as they ought to have done; that if the King "had a mind to gratify and oblige the Parliament, he "could not do it more to their hearts' deſire, than by "rejecting the application of theſe lords, or ſuffering it "to paſs unregarded." There was one argument againſt their admiſſion urged very loudly, "that it would "diſturb the peace of the place;" the Earl of Bedford had commanded that part of the army, which infeſted the Marquis of Hertford, at his being at Sherborne, when the Marquis had ſent Harry Seymour, as is mentioned before, with a challenge to the Earl to fight with him; which the Earl reaſonably declined at that time; and ſaid, "he would be ready, when the buſineſs of the Parliament "ſhould be over, to wait upon the Marquis when he "ſhould require it." And ſome men, who were near enough to the Marquis's counſels, undertook to know, that if the Earl of Bedford ſhould be in Oxford, the Marquis, who was every day expected, would exact the performance of his promiſe; which ſure he was too wiſe to do.

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The King, during the whole debate, did not expreſs any thing of his own ſenſe, ſave that he ſeemed well pleaſed with any ſharpneſs that was expreſſed towards the Earl of Holland. He ſaid, "that he was bound to "his good behaviour, by being under the common "reproach of inclining too much to thoſe who had "uſed him worſt; of which he would not be guilty:" however, he did not think, at this time, that it would be good to make any perſons deſperate; and therefore gave order, "that the Governor of Wallingford ſhould "permit them to continue their journey to Oxford; "where all men might uſe what civilities they pleaſed "to them; and that himſelf and the Queen would do "that towards them, which, upon their application and "addreſs, they ſhould think fit:" and though this determination was given, without the leaſt diſcovery of grace towards the perſons of thoſe lords, and not without ſome reflections of prejudice towards them, it was not grateful to the table; which was evident enough by their countenance. The next morning the King returned to the army.

There had been, as is ſaid, very great diviſions in the counſels at Weſtminſter, from the time of the treaty, and the very abrupt breaking it off; and the Earl of Northumberland, reſenting the affront done to him by Martin, had increaſed thoſe diviſions; and the ill ſucceſſes afterwards in the defeat of Waller, and the taking of Briſtol, had given every man courage to ſay what he would. And then the proceeding upon Mr. Waller's diſcovery, and obliging all men to take a deſperate engagement, which they durſt not refuſe, for fear of being declared guilty of the plot, as many of them were, incenſed very many: but above all, the proſperity of the King's affairs made every body wiſh to come

come into his quarters. A great number of the Houſe of Commons, who were known always to wiſh well, came to Oxford: and of the Peers, the Earl of Portland, who was always very faithful to the King, and had ſtayed in the Houſe of Peers by his Majeſty's leave, and had been accuſed by Mr. Waller to be privy to that deſign, upon which he had endured a long impriſonment, came at this time to Oxford, as is ſaid before, together with the Lord Conway, and the Lord Lovelace; the former of which had been likewiſe queſtioned, and impriſoned, and the latter had been as knowing of the matter, and of conſtant duty to the King; and all three had gotten liberty and opportunity to come away by ſwallowing that vow, and oath, which could only ſet them free, and which they made haſte to anſwer for to the King. The return of the Earl of Eſſex to London in ill humour, had given opportunity to the Earl of Holland, and the reſt, who were weary of the work in hand, to inflame him to reſentment of the neglects which had been put upon him, and the jealouſies which were entertained of him. The Earl of Bedford had given up his commiſſion of General of the horſe, and quitted the ſervice, and never had any affection to their ways in his judgment. The Earl of Clare had been with the King at York, and had his leave to return to London, to intend his own particular affairs; and, during his ſtay, had never concurred in any malicious counſel againſt the King, but was looked upon as a man, not only firm to the principles of monarchy, but of duty to the perſon of the King. He was a man of honour, and of courage, and would have been an excellent perſon, if his heart had not been ſet too much upon the keeping and improving his eſtate; he was weary of the company he kept, and eaſily hearkened to the Earl of Holland, in any conſulta-

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tion how to recover the King's authority, and to put an end to the war. The Earl of Eſſex was, as is ſaid before, enough provoked, and incenſed, and willingly heard all the Lords, and others, who inveighed againſt the violent proceedings of thoſe who ſwayed the Parliament, and differed not with them in his judgment of the men, and the matter: ſo that they believed that he would as readily be diſpoſed to agree upon the remedy, as he did upon the diſeaſe.

Their end and deſign was, as I ſaid, if they could draw him to a concurrence, that they, and all the reſt of thoſe who were accounted moderate men, that is who deſired a peace, and to return to their duty to the King, (which were much the major part of both Houſes that remained at Weſtminſter, after ſo many of both were gone to the King), might all go to the army; and thereupon the General, and they, to write to the Parliament together, and to ſend ſuch propoſitions to them, as the Parliament ſhould tranſmit to the King, as the conditions of peace. If the King ſhould refuſe to conſent to them, it would be an infallible way to unite all people to compel him to it: but if the Parliament would refuſe to tranſmit thoſe propoſitions to the King, or to conſent to a peace upon thoſe conditions, they would then declare againſt them, for not adhering to the grounds upon which the war was firſt begun, and would join themſelves to the King to force them to it. If this had been done in that conjuncture, when the authority and credit of the Earl of Eſſex was not yet eclipſed, and before an independent army was raiſed, which was ſhortly after done, it could not probably have failed of the ſucceſs deſired. But the Earl was too ſcrupulous and too punctual to that which he called a truſt; and this was too barefaced a ſeparation for him to engage in: beſides that

he did believe, that he ſhould be able to ſuppreſs that violent party by the Parliament itſelf, and he thought that would bring all about which he deſired; and ſo he did not only reject what was propoſed to him, but expreſſed ſuch a diſlike of the Earl of Holland for propoſing it, that he thought it high time to get himſelf out of his reach. The Earl of Holland, who always conſidered himſelf in the firſt place, had, from the time of the Queen's landing, privately made offer of his ſervice to the Queen, and renewed his old confidence and friendſhip with Mr. Jermyn; and knowing well to enhance the value of his own ſervice, made great promiſes of notable ſervice; and Mr. Jermyn eaſily perſuaded her Majeſty, "that it was much better for her to reſtore an "old ſervant, whom ſhe knew ſo well, to her confidence, "(though he had ſtepped out of the way), than to rely "upon the fidelity of any of thoſe who were now about "the King, and who were all upon the matter ſtrangers "to her, at leaſt not enough known by her;" and then, "that, by laying hold upon this opportunity, ſhe would, "at her firſt coming to the King, carry his reſtoration "with her, poſſeſs herſelf of the whole frame of his "buſineſs, becauſe all other deſigns would be laid aſide; "and ſo all the good, that would redound to the King "and kingdom from this new negociation, muſt, by the "conſent of all the world, be attributed to her Majeſty's "wiſdom and conduct." This appearing hopeful to her Majeſty, and all that had any thing of hope was by the other always looked upon as certain, the correſpondence was embraced; and the Earl aſſured not only to be reſtored to his former ſtation in all reſpects, but to a title to new intereſts. And upon this encouragement and obligation, when he found he could not prevail with the Earl of Eſſex, that the King's affairs proſpered, and that Briſtol

Briſtol was now taken, and the Queen come to Oxford, he reſolved himſelf to go thither, and prevailed with the Earls of Bedford and Clare to do the like; he aſſuring them, that they ſhould be very well received. The Earl of Clare made his journey by himſelf, out of the common road, and came without any interruption into Oxford, at the time appointed: the Earls of Bedford and Holland came together to Wallingford, as is mentioned. The Earl of Northumberland, who was naturally ſuſpicious, went to his own houſe at Petworth in Suſſex; by which he thought he ſhewed averſion enough to the counſels at Weſtminſter, and would keep it in his own power to return, if he found that the reception of the other Lords at Oxford was not anſwerable to their expectation; beſides that he would expect the reſult of the Lord Conway's negociation, who was more truſted by him than any other.

The leave for the two Earls to come from Wallingford to Oxford, was declared but the night before the King returned to the army; and was not ſent thither till the next day. So that the Lords came not to Oxford till two days after, much mortified with the time they had been forced to ſpend at Wallingford, and with the diſputation they heard had been held concerning them; of which they had received ſo particular information, that the Earl of Holland writ a very civil letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer before he came to Oxford, taking notice of "the affection he had ſhewed to him in "his advice to the King." Both of them had friends enough there to provide for their accommodation in convenient lodgings: ſo that the one had a lodging at Magdalen College in Oxford, of which houſe he had formerly been a member; the other lay in Balliol College, where he had a daughter, who ſpared him part of

her lodgings. But for any application to them by the Lords, or perſons in authority there, they had no reaſon to think themſelves very welcome. They went, in the firſt place, to do their duties to the Queen; who received them coldly enough, not out of diſinclination, or unwillingneſs to ſhew them any countenance, but pure compliance with the ill humour of the town, which ſhe deteſted: nor did Mr. Jermyn, who ſtill valued himſelf upon the impoſſible faculty to pleaſe all, and diſpleaſe none, think fit to deal clearly with them in that point, (having, probably, ſaid more in his letters of correſpondence and advice, than he had authority to do; it being his cuſtom to write and ſpeak what was moſt grateful to the perſons); ſo that the Earl of Holland, with whom alone the correſpondence had been, began to think himſelf betrayed, and invited to Oxford only to be expoſed to contempt. He came one morning to viſit the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when there were the Lord Cottington, and two or three other Privy Counſellors with him, who all went preſently away, without ſo much as ſaluting him: which offended the Chancellor as much as it did him, and in truth obliged the Chancellor to more ceremony and civility, than, it may be, he would otherwiſe have practiſed; ſo that he did viſit him again, and made all profeſſions and offers of kindneſs and ſervice to him; which he did very heartily; and complied therein, not only with his own inclinations, but with his judgment, as very important to the King's ſervice; and did all he could to induce others to be of the ſame opinion; in which he had no great ſucceſs.

The intelligence from London brought, every day, the reſolution of the Parliament, "to relieve Glouceſter;" and that, if their levies did not ſupply them with men ſoon enough, the Trained Bands of the city would march

march out with the General for that ſervice; whereupon the three Earls, Bedford, Holland, and Clare, after ſome days ſtay in Oxford, thought it neceſſary to offer their ſervice to the King in the army, and to bear their part in any danger that might happen by an engagement between the armies; and ſo went together to Glouceſter; where the King received them without any diſreſpect, and ſpoke with them as they gave him occaſion.

The King's affairs in the Weſt.

Whilſt the King continued before Glouceſter, his forces in the Weſt moved with a full gale and tide of ſucceſs. The Earl of Carnarvon marched with the horſe and dragoons, being near two thouſand, into Dorſetſhire, two days before Prince Maurice moved with his foot and cannon from Briſtol, and had made a fair entrance upon the reduction of that whole county, before his Highneſs overtook him; and it was thought then, that, if the Prince had marched more ſlowly, the Earl had perfected that work. Upon the ſurrender of Briſtol, many of the gentlemen, and others of that county, who were engaged in that city for the Parliament, had viſited their houſes and friends, in their journey to London, whither by their ſafe conduct they went, and had made ſuch prodigious diſcourſes of the fierceneſs and courage of the Cavaliers, (as moſt men who run away, or are beaten, extol the power of the enemy which had been too hard for them), that reſiſting them begun to be thought a matter impoſſible. One Mr. Strode, a man much relied on in thoſe parts, and of a good fortune, after he had viſited his houſe, took Dorcheſter in his way to London, and being deſired by the magiſtrates, "to view their works and for-"tifications, and to give his judgment of them;" after he had walked about them, he told them, "that thoſe "works might keep out the Cavaliers about half an "hour;" and then told them ſtrange ſtories of the man-

ner of aſſaulting Briſtol; "and that the King's ſoldiers "made nothing of running up walls twenty foot high, "and that no works could keep them out;" which he ſaid not out of any purpoſe to betray them, (for no man wiſhed the King's army worſe ſucceſs), but had really ſo much horror and conſternation about him, and the dreadful image of the ſtorm of Briſtol imprinted in his mind, that he did truly believe, they had ſcaled all thoſe forts and places which were delivered to them; and he propagated this fear and trepidation ſo fruitfully where he came, that the Earl of Carnarvon came no ſooner near Dorcheſter with his horſe and dragoons, (which, it may be, was underſtood to be the van of the victorious army which had taken Briſtol), but the town ſent commiſſioners to him to treat; and upon articles of indemnity, that they ſhould not be plundered, and not ſuffer for the ill they had done, delivered up the town, (which was ſtrongly ſituated, and might very well have been defended by the ſpirits of theſe people, if they had courage equal to their malice; for a place more entirely diſaffected to the King, England had not), with all their arms, ammunition, and ordnance. The fame of the Earl's coming had before frighted Sir Walter Earl, who had for a long time beſieged Corfe caſtle, (the houſe of the Lord Chief Juſtice Banks, defended by his Lady with her ſervants, and ſome few gentlemen, and tenants, who betook themſelves thither for her aſſiſtance, and their own ſecurity), from that ſiege; and he making more haſte to convey himſelf to London, than generals uſe to do, who have the care and charge of others, his forces were preſently diſperſed. And now the ſurrender of Dorcheſter (the magazine from whence the other places were ſupplied with principles of rebellion) infuſed the ſame ſpirit into Weymouth, a very convenient

Dorcheſter ſurrendered.

convenient harbour and haven: and that example again prevailed on the iſland and caſtle of Portland, (a place not enough underſtood, but of wonderful importance). to all which the Earl granted fair conditions, and received them into his Majeſty's protection.

Weymouth and Portland ſurrendered to the King's forces.

Hither Prince Maurice came now up with foot and cannon, and neglecting to follow the train of the enemy's fears to Lyme and Poole, the only two garriſons then left in their poſſeſſion, ſtayed with his army about Dorcheſter and Weymouth ſome days, under the notion of ſettling and diſpoſing the government of thoſe garriſons. Here the ſoldiers, taking advantage of the famous malignity of thoſe places, uſed great licenſe; neither was there care taken to obſerve thoſe articles which had been made upon the ſurrender of the towns; which the Earl of Carnarvon, who was full of honour and juſtice upon all contracts, took ſo ill, that he quitted the command he had with thoſe forces, and returned to the King before Glouceſter; which publiſhed the injuſtice with the more ſcandal. Whether this licenſe, which was much ſpoken of, and, no doubt, given out to be greater than it was, alienated the affections of thoſe parts; or whether the abſence of the Marquis of Hertford from the army, which was not till then taken notice of, begot an apprehenſion that there would not be much lenity uſed towards thoſe who had been high and pertinacious offenders; or whether this army, when it was together, ſeemed leſs formidable than it was before conceived to be, or that the terror, which had poſſeſſed and ſeized upon their ſpirits, was ſo violent that it could not continue, and ſo men grew leſs amazed, I know not: but thoſe two ſmall towns, whereof Lyme was believed inconſiderable, returned ſo peremptory a refuſal to the Prince's ſummons, that his Highneſs reſolved not to

Prince Maurice comes before Exeter with his army.

attack them; and ſo marched to Exeter, where he found all things in better order, and that city more diſtreſſed, than he had reaſon to expect, by the diligence and dexterity of Sir John Berkley, who being ſent from Wells by the Marquis of Hertford, as is before remembered, to govern the affairs of Devonſhire, with one regiment of horſe, and another of new levied and half-armed foot, had ſo increaſed his numbers by the concurrence of the gentlemen of that county, that he fixed ſtrong quarters within leſs than a mile of the city, and kept his guards even to the gates; when the Earl of Stamford was within, with a ſtrength, at leaſt equal in number to the beſiegers.

The Parliament commended the relief of this place, by ſpecial inſtructions, to their Admiral, the Earl of Warwick; after whoſe having made ſhew of landing men in ſeveral places upon the coaſt, and thereby compelled Sir John Berkley to make quick and weariſome marches with horſe and dragoons from place to place, the wind coming fair, the fleet left thoſe who attended their landing about Totneſs, turned about, and with a freſh gale made towards the river, that leads to the walls of Exeter; and having the command of both ſides of the river, upon a flat, by their cannon, the Earl preſumed that way he ſhould be able to ſend relief into the city: but the diligence and providence of Sir John Berkley had fortunately caſt up ſome ſlight works upon the advantageous nooks of the river, in which his men might be in ſome ſecurity from the cannon of the ſhips; and made great haſte with his horſe to hinder their landing; and ſo this attempt was not only without ſucceſs, but ſo unfortunate, that it diſcouraged the ſeamen from endeavouring the like again. For after three or four hours pouring their great ſhot, from their

ſhips

ſhips, upon the land forces, the tide falling, the Earl of Warwick fell off with his fleet, leaving three ſhips behind him, of which one was burnt, and the other two taken from the land, in view of his whole fleet; which no more looked after the relief of Exeter that way.

The Earl of Warwick with his fleet attempts the relief of it, but ſucceeds not.

Whilſt all the King's forces were employed in the blocking up the town, and attending the coaſt, to wait upon the Earl of Warwick, the garriſon of Plymouth increaſed very faſt, into which the fleet diſburdened themſelves of all they could ſpare; and the north parts of Devonſhire gathered apace into a head for the Parliament; Barnſtable and Bediford being garriſoned by them; which having an uninterrupted line of communication with Plymouth, reſolved to join their whole ſtrength, and ſo to compel the enemy to draw off from the walls of Exeter, which had been very eaſy to have been done, if they in the city had been as active for their own preſervation. Sir John Berkley having notice of this preparation and reſolution, ſent Colonel John Digby (who had, from their firſt entrance into Cornwall, commanded the horſe) with his own regiment of horſe, and ſome looſe troops of dragoons, into the north of Devon, to hinder the joining of the rebels' forces. He choſe Torrington for his quarter, and within few days drew to him a troop of new-raiſed horſe, and a regiment of foot, raiſed by his old friends in Cornwall; ſo that he had with him above three hundred horſe, and ſix or ſeven hundred foot. Thoſe of Bediford and Barnſtable, being ſuperior in number, and apprehending that the King's ſucceſſes eaſtward might increaſe his ſtrength and power there, and weaken theirs, reſolved to try their fortunes; and joining themſelves together, to the number of above twelve hundred foot, and three hundred horſe, under the command of Colonel Bennet, hoped to ſurpriſe Colonel John Digby at Torrington;

rington: and he was upon the matter ſurpriſed: for albeit he had notice in the night from Barnſtable, "that "the forces drew out thence to Bediford in the night, "and that they intended to fall on his quarters early in "the morning;" and thereupon put himſelf into a poſture to receive them, and drew up all his forces together out of the town, upon ſuch a piece of ground, as, in that incloſed county, could be moſt advantageous for his horſe, having, through all the little incloſure, cut gaps, through which his horſe might enter; yet, after he had attended their coming till noon, and heard no more of them, and his ſmall parties, which were ſent out to enquire, returned with aſſurance, that there was no appearance of an enemy, he believed they had given over their deſign; and ſo diſmiſſed his horſe to their ſeveral quarters, reſerving only one hundred and fifty upon their guard, and returned himſelf into the town with the foot.

But, within leſs than an hour, he received the alarm, "that the enemy was within half a mile of the town." The confuſion was very great, ſo that he reſolved not to draw the foot out of the town; but having placed them in the beſt manner he could, upon the avenues, himſelf went to the horſe out of the town, reſolving to wait upon the rear of the enemy; who were drawn up on the ſame piece of ground, on which he had expected them all the morning. The Colonel, whoſe courage, and vivacity upon action, was very eminent, and commonly very fortunate, intended rather to look upon them, than to engage with them, before his other troops came up; but having divided his ſmall party of horſe, the whole conſiſting but of one hundred and fifty, into ſeveral parties, and diſtributed them into ſeveral little cloſes, out of which there were gaps into the larger ground,

upon

upon which the enemy ſtood, a forlorn hope of fifty muſqueteers advanced towards that ground where himſelf was; and if they had recovered the hedge, they would eaſily have driven him thence. And therefore, as the only expedient left, himſelf, taking four or five officers into the front with him, charged that forlorn hope; which immediately threw down their arms, and run upon their own body, and carried ſo infectious a fear with them, that without making a ſtand, or their horſe offering once to charge, the whole body routed themſelves, and fled; Colonel Digby following the execution with his horſe, till their ſwords were blunted with ſlaughter, and his numbers overburdened with priſoners; though the foot out of the town haſtened to the chaſe, as ſoon as they ſaw what terror had poſſeſſed their enemies.

Sir John Digby routs the Parliament's forces at Torrington.

In this action (for it cannot be called a battle; hardly a ſkirmiſh; where no reſiſtance was made) there were near two hundred killed, and above two hundred taken priſoners; and thoſe that fled contributed more to the victory, than the priſoners, or the ſlain, for they were ſcattered and diſperſed over all the country, and ſcarce a man without a cut over the face and head, or ſome other hurt; that wrought more upon the neighbours towards their converſion, than any ſermon could be preached to them. Some of the principal officers, and of their horſe, got into Bediford and Barnſtable; and not conſidering the inconvenience of acknowledging, that God was extraordinary propitious to the Cavaliers, told ſtrange ſtories of "the horror and fear that ſeized upon them, "and that nobody ſaw above ſix of the enemy, that "charged them;" which proved a greater diſmay to their friends, than their defeat.

At this time came Prince Maurice to Exeter, the fame of whoſe arrival brought a new terror, ſo that the fort at Appledore,

Appledore, which commanded the river to Barnſtable and Bediford, being delivered to Colonel Digby, within two or three days after his victory, thoſe two towns ſhortly after ſubmitted to his Majeſty, upon promiſe of pardon, and ſuch other articles as were of courſe; which Colonel Digby ſaw preciſely obſerved, as far as concerned the towns in point of plunder, or violence towards the inhabitants. And this ſucceſs ſo wrought upon the ſpirits and temper of that people, that all the perſons of eminent diſaffection withdrawing themſelves, according to their liberty by the articles; Colonel Digby, within very few days, increaſed his ſmall party to the number of three thouſand foot, and eight hundred horſe; with which he was by Prince Maurice ordered to march to Plymouth, and to block up that place from making incurſions into the country.

Barnſtable and Bediford yielded to him.

The loſs of all their garriſons on the north coaſt, and deſpair of ſuccour or relief from any other place, prevailed with the Earl of Stamford, and that committee in Exeter, (to whom the Earl was not ſuperior), to treat with the Prince; and thereupon articles were agreed to; and that rich and pleaſant city was delivered on the fourth of September, which was within fourteen or ſixteen days after Prince Maurice came thither, into the King's protection, after it had ſuffered no other diſtreſs, or impreſſion from the beſiegers, than the being kept from taking the air without their own walls, and from being ſupplied from the country markets.

Exeter delivered to the Prince upon articles, September 4.

There was an accident fell out a little before this time, that gave new argument of trouble to the King, upon a difference between Prince Maurice and the Marquis. It hath been ſaid, that the Earl of Carnarvon, who was General of the horſe of the weſtern army, had marched from Briſtol the day before the Prince, and had taken Dorcheſter

Dorcheſter and Weymouth, before his Highneſs came up to the army, both conſiderable places, and the ſeats of great malignity. The former was not thought neceſſary to be made a garriſon; but the latter was the beſt port town of that country, and to be kept with great care. The Marquis had made ſome promiſe of the government thereof, when it ſhould be taken, (of which they made no doubt), to Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, a young gentleman of that country, of a fair and plentiful fortune, and one, who in the opinion of moſt men, was like to advance the place by being Governor of it, and to raiſe men for the defence of it, without leſſening the army; and had, in expectation of it, made ſome proviſion of officers and ſoldiers, when it ſhould be time to call them together. Prince Maurice, on the other ſide, had ſome other perſon in his view, upon whom he intended to confer that charge, when it ſhould fall. In the moment that the town was taken, and before the Prince came thither, Sir Anthony, hearing that the Marquis came not with the army, but remained ſome time at Briſtol, made all the haſte he could to him, and came thither the ſame day the King left it; and applied himſelf to the Marquis, who remembered his promiſe, and thought himſelf obliged to make it good, and that it was in his power ſo to do, ſince it appeared, that the town was taken before the King had declared to him, that he ſhould not go to the army; till when he ought to be looked upon as General of it. He conferred with the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon it, as a matter in which his honour was concerned, and on which his heart was ſet. Sir Anthony came likewiſe to him, who was of his acquaintance, and deſired his aſſiſtance, "that, "after ſo much charge he had been put to, in the ex- "pectation of it, and to prepare for it, he might not be

"expoſed

" expoſed to the mirth and contempt of the country." It was evident, that if he returned with the commiſſion from the Marquis, (which he was moſt inclined to give him), both he and the commiſſion would be affronted, and the town would not be ſuffered to ſubmit to him. Therefore the Chancellor was of opinion, that there was no way but to appeal to the King, and deſire his favour, as well as his juſtice, in giving his commiſſion to the perſon deſigned by the Marquis; which would remove that part of the exception, which would moſt trouble the Prince; and he offered to write himſelf very earneſtly to the King. Beſides his deſire to gratify the Marquis, he did in truth believe it of great importance to his Majeſty's ſervice, to engage a perſon of ſuch a fortune and intereſt, ſo throughly in his quarrel, as he then believed ſuch an obligation muſt needs do; the flexibility and inſtability of that gentleman's nature not being then underſtood, or ſuſpected.

He did write, with all the ſkill and importunity he could uſe, to the King; and writ to the Lord Falkland, " to take Sir John Colepepper with him, if he found " any averſion in the King, that they might together " diſcourſe, and prevail with him." But his Majeſty poſitively and obſtinately refuſed to grant it; and ſaid, " he would not, to pleaſe the Marquis in an unjuſt " pretence, put a public diſobligation and affront upon " his nephew." So the expreſs returned without effect, and the Marquis was as ſenſibly touched as could be imagined; and ſaid, " that he was fallen from all credit " with the King, and was made incapable of doing him " farther ſervice; that his fidelity ſhould never be leſ- " ſened towards him," (as in truth he was incapable of a diſloyal thought), " but ſince he was become ſo totally " uſeleſs to the King, and to his friends, he hoped his

" Majeſty

"Majeſty would give him leave to retire to his own "houſe; where, he doubted not, he ſhould be ſuffered "to live privately and quietly, to pray for the King." The Chancellor knew well the nature of the Marquis, that would never give him leave to purſue any reſolution which he found might prove inconvenient to his Majeſty, for whom he had all poſſible duty; yet he knew too, that the miſchief was not ſmall, from the obſervation that the Marquis thought himſelf ill uſed, and that there were too many who would take the opportunity to foment thoſe jealouſies and diſcontents; and therefore reſolved (having diſpatched all things which were incumbent on him at Briſtol, and uſed all freedom with the Marquis, for the diſpelling all troubleſome imaginations) to go himſelf to the King, and to repreſent that affair to him, and the probable conſequences of it, with new inſtances. And at laſt, with very great difficulty, he did ſo far prevail with his Majeſty, that he gave a commiſſion to Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, to be Governor of Weymouth; which he was the more eaſily perſuaded to, out of ſome prejudice he had to the perſon, who, he underſtood, was deſigned to that government. However, the Marquis received it as a ſeaſonable act of favour to himſelf, and, in a ſhort time after, came from Briſtol to Oxford, to attend upon his Majeſty according to his command.

The proſecution of the ſiege of Glouceſter.

At Glouceſter the buſineſs proceeded very ſlowly: for though the army increaſed wonderfully there, by the acceſs of forces from all quarters, yet the King had neither money nor materials requiſite for a ſiege, and they in the town behaved themſelves with great courage and reſolution, and made many ſharp and bold ſallies upon the King's forces, and did more hurt commonly than they received; and many officers of name, beſides com-

mon

mon ſoldiers, were ſlain in the trenches and approaches; the Governor leaving nothing unperformed that became a vigilant commander. Sometimes, upon the ſallies, the horſe got between the town and them, ſo that many priſoners were taken, who were always drunk; and, after they were recovered, they confeſſed, "that the Governor "always gave the party that made the ſally, as much wine "and ſtrong water as they deſired to drink:" ſo that it ſeems their mettle was not purely natural; yet it is very obſervable, that, in all the time the King lay there with a very glorious army, and after the taking of a city of much greater name, there was no one officer run from the town to him, nor above three common ſoldiers, which is a great argument, the diſcipline within was very good. Beſides the loſs of men before the town, both from the walls, and by ſickneſs, (which was not greater than was to be reaſonably expected), a very great licenſe broke into the army, both among officers and ſoldiers; the malignity of thoſe parts being thought excuſe for the exerciſe of any rapine, or ſeverity among the inhabitants. Inſomuch as it is hardly to be credited, how many thouſand ſheep were in a few days deſtroyed, beſides what were brought in by the commiſſaries for a regular proviſion; and many countrymen impriſoned by officers without warrant, or the leaſt knowledge of the King's, till they had paid good ſums of money, for their delinquency; all which brought great clamour upon the diſcipline of the army, and juſtice of the officers, and made them likewiſe leſs prepared for the ſervice they were to expect.

In the mean time nothing was left at London unattempted, that might advance the preparation for the relief of Glouceſter. All overtures of peace were ſuppreſſed, and the city purely at the devotion of thoſe who were

were moſt violent, who put one compliment upon them at this time, that is not to be paſſed over. It is remembered before, that, at the beginning of theſe diſtractions, before the King's going into the North, his Majeſty had, upon the reiterated importunity of the two Houſes, made Sir John Coniers Lieutenant of the Tower of London; who was a ſoldier of very good eſtimation, and had been the Lieutenant General of his horſe in that laſt preparation againſt the Scots, and Governor of Berwick. The Parliament thought, by this obligation, to have made him their own creature, and deſired to have engaged him in ſome active command in their armies, having the reputation of one of the beſt officers of horſe of that time. But he warily declined that engagement, and contained himſelf within the limits of that place, which, by the multitude of priſoners, ſent to the Tower by the two Houſes, and the exceſſive fees they paid, yielded him a vaſt profit; in the adminiſtration whereof he was ſo impartial, that thoſe priſoners who ſuffered moſt for his Majeſty, found no more favour or indulgence from him than the reſt. About this time, either diſcerning that they grew to confide leſs in him than they had done, and that he muſt engage himſelf in their ſervice, or ſhould ſhortly loſe the benefit of their good opinion, or really abhorring to be ſo near thoſe actions he ſaw every day committed, and to lie under the ſcandal of keeping his Majeſty's only fort which he could not apply to his ſervice, he deſired leave from the Houſes, "to go into "Holland," where his education had been, and his fortune was, without obliging himſelf to a time of return. The propoſition was not unwelcome to the Houſes; and thereupon they immediately committed that charge, the cuſtody of the Tower of London, to the Lord Mayor Pennington; that the city might ſee they were truſted to

The cuſtody of the Tower committed

by the two Houſes to the Lord Mayor Pennington.

to hold their own reins, and had a juriſdiction committed to them which had always juſtled with their own. This compliment ſerved to a double purpoſe; for thereby, as they made the city believe they had put themſelves under their protection, ſo they were ſure they had put the city under the power, or under the apprehenſion of the power of him, who would never forſake them out of an appetite to peace.

The Earl of Eſſex now declared, that he would himſelf undertake the relief of Glouceſter, whereas before Sir William Waller was deſigned to it, and, whenceſoever it proceeded, was returned to his old full alacrity againſt the King, and recovered thoſe officers and ſoldiers again to him, who had abſented by his connivance, or upon an opinion that he would march no more; yet his numbers increaſed not ſo faſt as the occaſion required: for Colonel Maſſy found means to ſend many meſſengers out of the town, to advertiſe the ſtraits he was in, and the time that he ſhould be able to hold out. Their ordinance of preſſing, though executed with unuſual rigour, inſomuch as perſons of good fortunes, who had retired to London, that they might be leſs taken notice of, were ſeized on, and detained in cuſtody, till they paid ſo much money, or procured an able man to go in their places, brought not in ſuch a ſupply as they expected; and ſuch as were brought in, and delivered to the officers, declared ſuch an averſeneſs to the work to which they were deſigned, and ſuch a peremptory reſolution not to fight, that they only increaſed their numbers, not their ſtrength, and run away upon the firſt opportunity. In the end, they had no other reſort for men, but to thoſe who had ſo conſtantly ſupplied them with money, and prevailed with their true friends, the city, which they ſtill alarmed with the King's irrecon-

irreconcileableneſs to them, to ſend three or four of their trained-band regiments, or auxiliaries, to fight with the enemy at that diſtance, rather than to expect him at their own walls, where they muſt be aſſured to ſee him as ſoon as Glouceſter ſhould be reduced; and then they would be as much perplexed with the malignants within, as with the enemy without their city.

Upon ſuch arguments, and the power of the Earl of Eſſex, ſo many regiments of horſe and foot as he deſired were aſſigned to march with him; and ſo, towards the end of Auguſt, he marched out of London; and having appointed a rendezvous near Aylesbury, where he was met by the Lord Grey, and other forces of the aſſociated counties, from thence he marched by eaſy journeys towards Glouceſter, with an army of above eight thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe. It would not at firſt be credited at the leaguer, that the Earl of Eſſex could be in a condition to attempt ſuch a work; and therefore they were too negligent upon the intelligence, and ſuſpected rather that he would give ſome alarm to Oxford, where the Queen was, and thereby hope to draw the army from Glouceſter, than that in truth he would venture upon ſo tedious a march, where he muſt paſs over a campaign near thirty miles in length, where half the King's body of horſe would diſtreſs, if not deſtroy his whole army, and through a country eaten bare, where he could find neither proviſion for man nor horſe; and if he ſhould, without interruption, be ſuffered to go into Glouceſter, he could neither ſtay there, nor poſſibly retire to London, without being deſtroyed in the rear by the King's army, which ſhould nevertheleſs not engage itſelf in the hazard of a battle. Upon theſe concluſions they proceeded in their works before Glouceſter, their galleries being near finiſhed, and viſibly a great want of

The Earl of Eſſex marches out of London to relieve Glouceſter.

ammunition in the town; yet the Lord Wilmot was appointed, with a good party of horſe, to wait about Banbury, and to retire before the enemy, if he ſhould advance towards Glouceſter, and to give ſuch impediments to their march, as in ſuch a country might be eaſy to do; Prince Rupert himſelf ſtaying with the body of horſe, upon the hills above Glouceſter, to join, if the Earl of Eſſex ſhould be ſo hardy as to venture.

The Earl came to Brackley, and having there taken in from Leiceſter and Bedford the laſt recruits upon which he depended, he marched ſteadily over all that campaign, which they thought he feared, towards Glouceſter; and though the King's horſe were often within view, and entertained him with light ſkirmiſhes, he purſued his direct way; the King's horſe ſtill retiring before him, till the foot was compelled to raiſe the ſiege, in more diſorder and diſtraction than might have been expected; and ſo with leſs loſs, and eaſier ſkirmiſhes, than can be imagined, the Earl, with his army and train, marched to Glouceſter; where he found them reduced to one ſingle barrel of powder; and all other proviſions anſwerable. And it muſt be confeſſed, that governor gave a ſtop to the career of the King's good ſucceſs, and from his pertinacious defence of that place, the Parliament had time to recover their broken forces, and more broken ſpirits; and may acknowledge to this riſe the greatneſs to which they afterwards aſpired.

The ſiege of Glouceſter raiſed.

The Earl of Eſſex ſtayed in that joyful town (where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of honour) three days; and in that time, which was as wonderful as any part of the ſtory, cauſed all neceſſary proviſions to be brought in to them, out of thoſe very quarters in which the King's army had been ſuſtained, and which they conceived to be entirely ſpent: ſo ſoli-

citous

citous were the people to conceal what they had, and to reſerve it for them; which, without a connivance from the King's commiſſaries, could not have been done. All this time the King lay at Sudley Caſtle, the houſe of the Lord Chandois, within eight miles of Glouceſter, watching when that army would return; which, they conceived, ſtayed rather out of deſpair than election, in thoſe eaten quarters; and, to open them a way for their retreat, his Majeſty removed to Eſham, hoping the Earl would chooſe to go back the ſame way he came; which, for many reaſons, was to be deſired; and thereupon the Earl marched to Tewkeſbury, as if he had no other purpoſe. The King's horſe, though bold, and vigorous upon action and execution, were always leſs patient of duty and ill accommodation than they ſhould be; and at this time, partly with wearineſs, and partly with the indiſpoſition that poſſeſſed the whole army upon this relief of the town, were leſs vigilant towards the motion of the enemy: ſo that the Earl of Eſſex was marched with his whole army and train from Tewkeſbury, four and twenty hours before the King heard which way he was gone: for he took the advantage of a dark night, and having ſure guides, reached Cirenceſter before the breaking of the day; where he found two regiments of the King's horſe quartered ſecurely; all which, by the negligence of the officers, (a common and fatal crime throughout the war, on the King's part), he ſurpriſed, to the number of above three hundred; and, which was of much greater value, he found there a great quantity of proviſions, prepared, by the King's commiſſaries, for the army before Glouceſter, and which they neglected to remove after the ſiege was raiſed, and ſo moſt ſottiſhly left it for the relief of the enemy, far more apprehenſive of hunger than

The Earl of Eſſex in his return ſeizes upon Cirenceſter

of the ſword; and indeed this wonderful ſupply ſtrangely exalted their ſpirits, as ſent by the ſpecial care and extraordinary hand of Providence, even when they were ready to faint.

From hence the Earl, having no farther apprehenſion of the King's horſe, which he had no mind to encounter upon the open campaign, and being at the leaſt twenty miles before him, by eaſy marches, that his ſick and wearied ſoldiers might overtake him, moved, through that deep and incloſed county of North Wiltſhire, his direct way to London. As ſoon as the King had ſure notice which way the enemy was gone, he endeavoured, by expedition and diligence, to recover the advantage, which the ſupine negligence of thoſe he truſted had robbed him of; and himſelf, with matchleſs induſtry, taking care to lead up the foot, Prince Rupert, with near five thouſand horſe, marched day and night over the hills, to get between London and the enemy before they ſhould be able to get out of thoſe incloſed deep countries, in which they were engaged between narrow lanes, and to entertain them with ſkirmiſhes till the whole army ſhould come up. This deſign, purſued and executed with indefatigable pains, ſucceeded to his wiſh; for when the van of the enemy's army had almoſt marched over Awborne Chaſe, intending that night to have reached Newbury, Prince Rupert, beyond their fear or expectation, appeared with a ſtrong body of horſe ſo near them, that before they could put themſelves in order to receive him, he charged their rear, and routed them with good execution; and though the enemy performed the parts of good men, and applied themſelves more dexterouſly to the relief of each other, than on ſo ſudden and unlooked for an occaſion was expected, yet with ſome difficulty, and the

the loſs of many men, they were glad to ſhorten their journey, and the night coming on, took up their quarters at Hungerford.

In this conflict, which was very ſharp for an hour or two, many fell of the enemy, and of the King's party none of name, but the Marquis of Vieu Ville, a gallant gentleman of the French nation, who had attended the Queen out of Holland, and put himſelf as a volunteer upon this action, into the Lord Jermyn's regiment. There were hurt many officers, and among thoſe the Lord Jermyn received a ſhot in his arm with a piſtol; owing the preſervation of his life from other ſhots to the excellent temper of his armour; and the Lord Digby a ſtrange hurt in the face, a piſtol being diſcharged at ſo near a diſtance upon him, that the powder fetched much blood from his face, and for the preſent blinded him, without farther miſchief; by which it was concluded, that the bullet had dropped out before the piſtol was diſcharged: and may be reckoned among one of thoſe eſcapes, of which that gallant perſon hath paſſed a greater number, in the courſe of his life, than any man I know.

By this expedition of Prince Rupert, the enemy was forced to ſuch delay, that the King came up with his foot and train, though his numbers, by his exceeding long and quick marches, and the licence which many officers and ſoldiers took whilſt the King lay at Eſham, were much leſſened, being above two thouſand fewer, than when he raiſed his ſiege from Glouceſter. And when the Earl, the next day, advanced from Hungerford, hoping to recover Newbury, which Prince Rupert with his horſe would not be able to hinder him from; when he came within two miles of the town, he found the King poſſeſſed of it; for his Majeſty, with his

whole army, was come thither two hours before: this put him to a neceſſity of ſtaying upon the field that night; it being now the ſeventeenth day of September.

It was now thought by many, that the King had recovered whatſoever had been loſt by former overſights, omiſſions, or neglects, and that by the deſtroying the army which had relieved Glouceſter, he ſhould be fully recompenſed for being diſappointed of that purchaſe. He ſeemed to be poſſeſſed of all advantages to be deſired, a good town to refreſh his men in, whilſt the enemy lodged in the field, his own quarters to friend, and his garriſon of Wallingford at hand, and Oxford itſelf within diſtance for ſupply of whatſoever ſhould be wanting; when the enemy was equally tired with long marches, and from the time that the Prince had attacked them, the day before, had ſtood in their arms, in a country where they could not find victual. So that it was conceived, that it was in the King's power, whether he would fight or no, and therefore that he might compel them to notable diſadvantages, who muſt make their way through, or ſtarve; and this was ſo fully underſtood, that it was reſolved over night, not to engage in battle, but upon ſuch grounds as ſhould give an aſſurance of victory. But, contrary to this reſolution, when the Earl of Eſſex had, with excellent conduct, drawn out his army in battalia, upon a hill called Bigg's Hill, within leſs than a mile of the town, and ordered his men in all places to the beſt advantage, by the precipitate courage of ſome young officers, who had good commands, and who unhappily always undervalued the courage of the enemy, ſtrong parties became ſucceſſively ſo far engaged, that the King was compelled to put the whole to the hazard of a battle, and to give the enemy at leaſt an equal game to play.

It

It was diſputed, on all parts, with great fierceneſs and courage; the enemy preſerving good order, and ſtanding rather to keep the ground they were upon, than to get more; by which they did not expoſe themſelves to thoſe diſadvantages, which any motion would have offered to the aſſailants. The King's horſe, with a kind of contempt of the enemy, charged with wonderful boldneſs, upon all grounds of inequality; and were ſo far too hard for the troops of the other ſide, that they routed them in moſt places, till they had left the greateſt part of their foot without any guard at all of horſe. But then the foot behaved themſelves admirably on the enemy's part, and gave their ſcattered horſe time to rally, and were ready to aſſiſt and ſecure them upon all occaſions. The London Trained Bands, and auxiliary regiments, (of whoſe inexperience of danger, or any kind of ſervice, beyond the eaſy practice of their poſtures in the Artillery Garden, men had till then too cheap an eſtimation), behaved themſelves to wonder; and were, in truth, the preſervation of that army that day. For they ſtood as a bulwark and rampire to defend the reſt; and when their wings of horſe were ſcattered and diſperſed, kept their ground ſo ſteadily, that, though Prince Rupert himſelf led up the choice horſe to charge them, and endured their ſtorm of ſmall ſhot, he could make no impreſſion upon their ſtand of pikes, but was forced to wheel about: of ſo ſovereign benefit and uſe is that readineſs, order, and dexterity in the uſe of their arms, which hath been ſo much neglected. The battle of Newbury.

It was fought all that day without any ſuch notable turn, as that either party could think they had much the better. For though the King's horſe made the enemy's often give ground, yet the foot were ſo immoveable, that little was gotten by the other; and the firſt entrance

entrance into the battle was ſo ſudden, and without order, that, during the whole day, no uſe was made of the King's cannon, though that of the enemy was placed ſo unhappily, that it did very great execution upon the King's party, both horſe and foot. The night parted them, when nothing elſe could; and each party had then time to revolve the overſights of the day. The enemy had fared at leaſt as well as they hoped for; and therefore, in the morning early, they put themſelves in order of marching, having an obligation in neceſſity to gain ſome place, in which they might eat and ſleep. On the King's ſide there was not that caution which ſhould have been the day before; and though the number of the ſlain was not ſo great, as, in ſo hot a day, might have been looked for, yet very many officers and gentlemen were hurt: ſo that they rather choſe to take advantage of the enemy's motion, than to charge them again upon the old ground, from whence they had been, by order, called off the night before, when they had recovered a poſt, the keeping of which would much have prejudiced the adverſary. The Earl of Eſſex finding his way open, purſued his main deſign of returning to London, and took that way by Newbury, which led towards Reading; which Prince Rupert obſerving, ſuffered him, without interruption or diſturbance, to paſs, till his whole army was entered into the narrow lanes; and then with a ſtrong party of horſe, and one thouſand muſqueteers, followed his rear with ſo good effect, that he put them into great diſorder, and killed many, and took many priſoners. However the Earl, with the groſs of his army, and all his cannon, got ſafe into Reading; and, after a night or two ſpent there to refreſh and reſt his men, he moved in a flow and orderly march to London, leaving Reading

The Earl of Eſſex gets into Reading; thence to London.

ding to the King's forces; which was preſently poſſeſſed by Sir Jacob Aſhley, with three thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, and made again a garriſon for the King: his Majeſty and Prince Rupert, with the remainder of the army, retiring to Oxford, and leaving a garriſon under the command of Colonel Boys in Donnington Caſtle (a houſe of John Packer's, but more famous for having been the ſeat of Geoffery Chaucer, within a mile of Newbury) to command the great road, through which the Weſtern trade was driven to London.

At this time Sir William Waller was at Windſor, with above two thouſand horſe, and as many foot, as unconcerned for what might befal the Earl of Eſſex, as the Earl had formerly been on his behalf at Roundway Hill: otherwiſe, if he had advanced upon the King to Newbury (which was not above twenty miles) when the Earl was on the other ſide, the King had been in great danger of an utter defeat; and the apprehenſion of this was the reaſon, or was afterwards pretended to be, for the haſty engagement in battle.

The Earl of Eſſex was received at London with all imaginable demonſtrations of affection and reverence; public and ſolemn thankſgiving was appointed for his victory, for ſuch they made no ſcruple to declare it. Without doubt, the action was performed by him with incomparable conduct and courage; in every part whereof very much was to be imputed to his own perſonal virtue; and it may be well reckoned among the moſt ſoldierly actions of this unhappy war. For he did the buſineſs he undertook, and, after the relief of Glouceſter, his next care was to retire with his army to London; which, conſidering the length of the way, and the difficulties he was to contend with, he did with leſs

loſs

loſs than could be expected; on the other hand, the King was not without ſigns of a victory. He had followed, and compelled the enemy to fight, by overtaking him, when he deſired to avoid it. He had the ſpoil of the field, and purſued the enemy the next day after the battle, and had a good execution upon them, without receiving any loſs; and, which ſeemed to crown the work, fixed a garriſon again at Reading, and thereby ſtraitened their quarters as much as they were in the beginning of the year; his own being enlarged by the almoſt entire conqueſt of the Weſt, and his army much ſtronger, in horſe and foot, than when he firſt took the field. On which ſide ſoever the marks and public enſigns of victory appeared moſt conſpicuous, certain it is, that, according to the unequal fate that attended all ſkirmiſhes and conflicts with ſuch an adverſary, the loſs on the King's ſide was in weight much more conſiderable and penetrating; for whilſt ſome obſcure, unheard of Colonel or officer was miſſing on the enemy's ſide, and ſome citizen's wife bewailed the loſs of her huſband, there were, on the other, above twenty officers of the field, and perſons of honour, and public name, ſlain upon the place, and more of the ſame quality hurt.

The Earl of Sunderland ſlain in this battle;

Here fell the Earl of Sunderland, a lord of great fortune, tender years, (being not above three and twenty years of age), and an early judgment; who, having no command in the army, attended upon the King's perſon, under the obligation of honour; and putting himſelf that day in the King's troop a volunteer, before they came to charge, was taken away by a cannon bullet.

and the Earl of Carnarvon; his character.

This day alſo fell the Earl of Carnarvon, who, after he had charged, and routed a body of the enemy's horſe, coming careleſsly back by ſome of the ſcattered troopers,

troopers, was, by one of them who knew him, run through the body with a ſword; of which he died within an hour. He was a perſon, with whoſe great parts and virtue the world was not enough acquainted. Before the war, though his education was adorned by travel, and an exact obſervation of the manners of more nations, than our common travellers uſe to viſit, (for he had, after the view of Spain, France, and moſt parts of Italy, ſpent ſome time in Turkey, and thoſe eaſtern countries), he ſeemed to be wholly delighted with thoſe looſer exerciſes of pleaſure, hunting, hawking, and the like; in which the nobility of that time too much delighted to excel. After the troubles begun, having the command of the firſt or ſecond regiment of horſe, that was raiſed for the King's ſervice, he wholly gave himſelf up to the office and duty of a ſoldier; no man more diligently obeying, or more dexterouſly commanding; for he was not only of a very keen courage in the expoſing his perſon, but an excellent diſcerner and purſuer of advantage upon his enemy. He had a mind and underſtanding very preſent in the article of danger, which is a rare benefit in that profeſſion. Thoſe infirmities, and that licence, which he had formerly indulged to himſelf, he put off with ſeverity, when others thought them excuſeable under the notion of a ſoldier. He was a great lover of juſtice, and practiſed it then moſt deliberately, when he had power to do wrong: and ſo ſtrict in the obſervation of his word and promiſe as a commander, that he could not be perſuaded to ſtay in the Weſt, when he found it not in his power to perform the agreement he had made with Dorcheſter and Weymouth. If he had lived, he would have proved a great ornament to that profeſſion, and an excellent ſoldier,

dier, and by his death the King found a ſenſible weakneſs in his army.

And the Lord Viſcount Falkland; his character.

But I muſt here take leave a little longer to diſcontinue this narration: and if the celebrating the memory of eminent and extraordinary perſons, and tranſmitting their great virtues, for the imitation of poſterity, be one of the principal ends and duties of hiſtory, it will not be thought impertinent, in this place, to remember a loſs which no time will ſuffer to be forgotten, and no ſucceſs or good fortune could repair. In this unhappy battle was ſlain the Lord Viſcount Falkland; a perſon of ſuch prodigious parts of learning and knowledge, of that inimitable ſweetneſs and delight in converſation, of ſo flowing and obliging a humanity and goodneſs to mankind, and of that primitive ſimplicity and integrity of life, that if there were no other brand upon this odious and accurſed civil war, than that ſingle loſs, it muſt be moſt infamous, and execrable to all poſterity.

Turpe mori, poſt te, ſolo non poſſe dolore.

Before this Parliament, his condition of life was ſo happy that it was hardly capable of improvement. Before he came to be twenty years of age, he was maſter of a noble fortune, which deſcended to him by the gift of a grandfather, without paſſing through his father or mother, who were then both alive, and not well enough contented to find themſelves paſſed by in the deſcent. His education for ſome years had been in Ireland, where his father was Lord Deputy; ſo that, when he returned into England, to the poſſeſſion of his fortune, he was unentangled with any acquaintance or friends, which uſually grow up by the cuſtom of converſation; and therefore was to make a pure election of his company;

pany; which he choſe by other rules than were preſcribed to the young nobility of that time. And it cannot be denied, though he admitted ſome few to his friendſhip for the agreeableneſs of their natures, and their undoubted affection to him, that his familiarity and friendſhip, for the moſt part, was with men of the moſt eminent and ſublime parts, and of untouched reputation in point of integrity; and ſuch men had a title to his boſom.

He was a great cheriſher of wit, and fancy, and good parts in any man; and, if he found them clouded with poverty or want, a moſt liberal and bountiful patron towards them, even above his fortune; of which, in thoſe adminiſtrations, he was ſuch a diſpenſer, as, if he had been truſted with it to ſuch uſes, and if there had been the leaſt of vice in his expence, he might have been thought too prodigal. He was conſtant and pertinacious in whatſoever he reſolved to do, and not to be wearied by any pains that were neceſſary to that end. And therefore having once reſolved not to ſee London, which he loved above all places, till he had perfectly learned the Greek tongue, he went to his own houſe in the country, and purſued it with that indefatigable induſtry, that it will not be believed in how ſhort a time he was maſter of it, and accurately read all the Greek hiſtorians.

In this time, his houſe being within little more than ten miles of Oxford, he contracted familiarity and friendſhip with the moſt polite and accurate men of that Univerſity; who found ſuch an immenſeneſs of wit, and ſuch a ſolidity of judgment in him, ſo infinite a fancy, bound in by a moſt logical ratiocination, ſuch a vaſt knowledge, that he was not ignorant in any thing, yet ſuch an exceſſive humility, as if he had known nothing, that they frequently reſorted, and dwelt with him, as in a college ſituated

ſituated in a purer air; ſo that his houſe was a univerſity in a leſs volume; whither they came not ſo much for repoſe as ſtudy; and to examine and refine thoſe groſſer propoſitions, which lazineſs and conſent made current in vulgar converſation.

Many attempts were made upon him by the inſtigation of his mother (who was a lady of another perſuaſion in religion, and of a moſt maſculine underſtanding, allayed with the paſſion and infirmities of her own ſex) to pervert him in his piety to the Church of England, and to reconcile him to that of Rome; which they proſecuted with the more confidence, becauſe he declined no opportunity or occaſion of conference with thoſe of that religion, whether prieſts or laics; having diligently ſtudied the controverſies, and exactly read all, or the choiceſt of the Greek and Latin Fathers, and having a memory ſo ſtupendous, that he remembered, on all occaſions, whatſoever he read. And he was ſo great an enemy to that paſſion and uncharitableneſs, which he ſaw produced, by difference of opinion, in matters of religion, that in all thoſe diſputations with prieſts, and others of the Roman Church, he affected to manifeſt all poſſible civility to their perſons, and eſtimation of their parts; which made them retain ſtill ſome hope of his reduction, even when they had given over offering farther reaſons to him to that purpoſe. But this charity towards them was much leſſened, and any correſpondence with them quite declined, when, by ſiniſter arts, they had corrupted his two younger brothers, being both children, and ſtolen them from his houſe, and tranſported them beyond ſeas, and perverted his ſiſters: upon which occaſion he writ two large diſcourſes againſt the principal poſitions of that religion, with that ſharpneſs of ſtile,

ſtile, and full weight of reaſon, that the Church is deprived of great jewels in the concealment of them, and that they are not publiſhed to the world.

He was ſuperior to all thoſe paſſions and affections which attend vulgar minds, and was guilty of no other ambition than of knowledge, and to be reputed a lover of all good men; and that made him too much a contemner of thoſe arts, which muſt be indulged in the tranſactions of human affairs. In the laſt ſhort Parliament, he was a burgeſs in the Houſe of Commons; and, from the debates which were there managed with all imaginable gravity and ſobriety, he contracted ſuch a reverence to Parliaments, that he thought it really impoſſible they could ever produce miſchief or inconvenience to the kingdom; or that the kingdom could be tolerably happy in the intermiſſion of them. And from the unhappy and unſeaſonable diſſolution of that convention, he harboured, it may be, ſome jealouſy and prejudice to the Court, towards which he was not before immoderately inclined; his father having waſted a full fortune there, in thoſe offices and employments by which other men uſe to obtain a greater. He was choſen again this Parliament to ſerve in the ſame place, and, in the beginning of it, declared himſelf very ſharply and ſeverely againſt thoſe exorbitances, which had been moſt grievous to the ſtate; for he was ſo rigid an obſerver of eſtabliſhed laws and rules, that he could not endure the leaſt breach or deviation from them; and thought no miſchief ſo intolerable as the preſumption of miniſters of ſtate to break poſitive rules, for reaſons of ſtate; or judges to tranſgreſs known laws, upon the title of conveniency, or neceſſity; which made him ſo ſevere againſt the Earl of Strafford and the Lord Finch, contrary to his natural gentleneſs and temper: inſomuch as they who did not know

his compoſition to be as free from revenge, as it was from pride, thought that the ſharpneſs to the former might proceed from the memory of ſome unkindneſſes, not without a mixture of injuſtice, from him towards his father. But without doubt he was free from thoſe temptations, and in both caſes was only miſled by the authority of thoſe, who, he believed, underſtood the laws perfectly; of which himſelf was utterly ignorant; and if the aſſumption, which was then ſcarce controverted, had been true, "that an endeavour to overthrow the fundamental "laws of the kingdom was treaſon," a ſtrict underſtanding might make reaſonable concluſions to ſatisfy his own judgment, from the exorbitant parts of their ſeveral charges.

The great opinion he had of the uprightneſs and integrity of thoſe perſons who appeared moſt active, eſpecially of Mr. Hambden, kept him longer from ſuſpecting any deſign againſt the peace of the kingdom; and though he differed from them commonly in concluſions, he believed long their purpoſes were honeſt. When he grew better informed what was law, and diſcerned in them a deſire to control that law by a vote of one or both Houſes, no man more oppoſed thoſe attempts, and gave the adverſe party more trouble by reaſon and argumentation; inſomuch as he was, by degrees, looked upon as an advocate for the Court, to which he contributed ſo little, that he declined thoſe addreſſes, and even thoſe invitations which he was obliged almoſt by civility to entertain. And he was ſo jealous of the leaſt imagination that he ſhould incline to preferment, that he affected even a moroſeneſs to the Court, and to the courtiers; and left nothing undone which might prevent and divert the King's or Queen's favour towards him, but the deſerving it. For when the King ſent for him once or twice to ſpeak with

with him, and to give him thanks for his excellent comportment in thoſe councils, which his Majeſty graciouſly termed "doing him ſervice," his anſwers were more negligent, and leſs ſatisfactory, than might be expected; as if he cared only that his actions ſhould be juſt, not that they ſhould be acceptable, and that his Majeſty ſhould think that they proceeded only from the impulſion of conſcience, without any ſympathy in his affections; which, from a ſtoical and ſullen nature, might not have been miſinterpreted; yet, from a perſon of ſo perfect a habit of generous and obſequious compliance with all good men, might very well have been interpreted by the King as more than an ordinary averſeneſs to his ſervice: ſo that he took more pains, and more forced his nature to actions unagreeable, and unpleaſant to it, that he might not be thought to incline to the Court, than moſt men have done to procure an office there. And if any thing but not doing his duty could have kept him from receiving a teſtimony of the King's grace and truſt at that time, he had not been called to his council; not that he was in truth averſe from receiving public employment; for he had a great devotion to the King's perſon, and had before uſed ſome ſmall endeavour to be recommended to him for a foreign negociation, and had once a deſire to be ſent ambaſſador into France; but he abhorred an imagination or doubt ſhould ſink into the thoughts of any man, that, in the diſcharge of his truſt and duty in Parliament, he had any bias to the Court, or that the King himſelf ſhould apprehend that he looked for a reward for being honeſt.

For this reaſon, when he heard it firſt whiſpered, "that "the King had a purpoſe to make him a Privy Coun-"ſellor," for which there was, in the beginning, no other ground, but becauſe he was known ſufficient, (*haud ſem-*

per errat fama, aliquando et eligit), he reſolved to decline it; and at laſt ſuffered himſelf only to be over-ruled, by the advice and perſuaſions of his friends, to ſubmit to it. Afterwards, when he found that the King intended to make him Secretary of State, he was poſitive to refuſe it; declaring to his friends, "that he was "moſt unfit for it, and that he muſt either do that "which would be great diſquiet to his own nature, or "leave that undone which was moſt neceſſary to be "done by one that was honoured with that place; for "the moſt juſt and honeſt men did, every day, that "which he could not give himſelf leave to do." And indeed he was ſo exact and ſtrict an obſerver of juſtice and truth, that he believed thoſe neceſſary condeſcenſions and applications to the weakneſs of other men, and thoſe arts and inſinuations which are neceſſary for diſcoveries, and prevention of ill, would be in him a declenſion from his own rules of life: though he acknowledged them fit, and abſolutely neceſſary to be practiſed in thoſe employments. He was, in truth, ſo preciſe in the practic principles he preſcribed himſelf, (to all others he was as indulgent), as if he had lived *in Republica Platonis, non in fæce Romuli.*

Two reaſons prevailed with him to receive the ſeals, and but for thoſe he had reſolutely avoided them. The firſt, the conſideration that his refuſal might bring ſome blemiſh upon the King's affairs, and that men would have believed, that he had refuſed ſo great an honour and truſt, becauſe he muſt have been with it obliged to do ſomewhat elſe not juſtifiable. And this he made matter of conſcience, ſince he knew the King made choice of him, before other men, eſpecially becauſe he thought him more honeſt than other men. The other was, leſt he might be thought to avoid it out of fear to do

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an ungracious thing to the Houſe of Commons, who were ſorely troubled at the diſplacing Sir Harry Vane, whom they looked upon as removed for having done them thoſe offices they ſtood in need of; and the diſdain of ſo popular an incumbrance wrought upon him next to the other. For as he had a full appetite of fame by juſt and generous actions, ſo he had an equal contempt of it by any ſervile expedients: and he ſo much the more conſented to and approved the juſtice upon Sir Harry Vane, in his own private judgment, by how much he ſurpaſſed moſt men in the religious obſervation of a truſt, the violation whereof he would not admit of any excuſe for.

For theſe reaſons, he ſubmitted to the King's command, and became his Secretary, with as humble and devoted an acknowledgment of the greatneſs of the obligation, as could be expreſſed, and as true a ſenſe of it in his heart. Yet two things he could never bring himſelf to, whilſt he continued in that office, that was to his death; for which he was contented to be reproached, as for omiſſions in a moſt neceſſary part of his place. The one, employing of ſpies, or giving any countenance or entertainment to them. I do not mean ſuch emiſſaries, as with danger would venture to view the enemy's camp, and bring intelligence of their number, or quartering, or any particulars that ſuch an obſervation can comprehend; but thoſe, who by communication of guilt, or diſſimulation of manners, wind themſelves into ſuch truſts and ſecrets, as enable them to make diſcoveries. The other, the liberty of opening letters, upon a ſuſpicion that they might contain matter of dangerous conſequence. For the firſt, he would ſay, "ſuch inſtruments muſt be void of all ingenuity, and common honeſty, before they could be of uſe; and afterwards

" they could never be fit to be credited: and that no " ſingle preſervation could be worth ſo general a wound, " and corruption of human ſociety, as the cheriſhing " ſuch perſons would carry with it." The laſt, he thought " ſuch a violation of the law of nature, that no qualifi- " cation by office could juſtify him in the treſpaſs;" and though he was convinced by the neceſſity, and iniquity of the time, that thoſe advantages of information were not to be declined, and were neceſſarily to be practiſed, he found means to put it off from himſelf; whilſt he confeſſed he needed excuſe and pardon for the omiſſion; ſo unwilling he was to reſign any part of good nature to an obligation in his office.

In all other particulars he filled his place with great ſufficiency, being well verſed in languages, to underſtand any that are uſed in buſineſs, and to make himſelf again underſtood. To ſpeak of his integrity, and his high diſdain of any bait that might ſeem to look towards corruption, *in tanto viro, injuria virtutum fuerit.* Some ſharp expreſſions he uſed againſt the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and his concurring in the firſt bill to take away the votes of Biſhops in the Houſe of Peers, gave occaſion to ſome to believe, and opportunity to others to conclude, and publiſh, " that he was no friend to the " Church, and the eſtabliſhed government of it;" and troubled his very friends much, who were more confident of the contrary, than prepared to anſwer the allegations.

The truth is, he had unhappily contracted ſome prejudice to the Archbiſhop; and having obſerved his paſſion, when, it may be, multiplicity of buſineſs, or rather indiſpoſition, had poſſeſſed him, did wiſh him leſs entangled and engaged in the buſineſs of the Court, or State: though, I ſpeak it knowingly, he had a ſingular eſtimation

eſtimation and reverence of his great learning, and confeſſed integrity; and really thought his own letting himſelf looſe to thoſe expreſſions, which implied a diſeſteem of the Archbiſhop, or at leaſt an acknowledgment of his infirmities, would enable him to ſhelter him from part of the ſtorm he ſaw raiſed for his deſtruction; which he abominated with his ſoul.

The giving his conſent to the firſt bill for the diſplacing the Biſhops, did proceed from two grounds: the firſt, his not underſtanding then the original of their right and ſuffrage there: the other, an opinion, that the combination againſt the whole government of the Church by Biſhops, was ſo violent and furious, that a leſs compoſition than the diſpenſing with their intermeddling in ſecular affairs, would not preſerve the order. And he was perſuaded to this by the profeſſion of many perſons of honour, who declared, "they did deſire the "one, and would not then preſs the other;" which, in that particular, miſled many men. But when his obſervation and experience made him diſcern more of their intentions, than he before ſuſpected, with great frankneſs he oppoſed the ſecond bill that was preferred for that purpoſe; and had, without ſcruple, the order itſelf in perfect reverence; and thought too great encouragement could not poſſibly be given to learning, nor too great rewards to learned men. He was never in the leaſt degree ſwayed or moved by the objections which were made againſt that government in the Church, (holding them moſt ridiculous), or affected to the other, which thoſe men fancied to themſelves.

He had a courage of the moſt clear and keen temper, and ſo far from fear, that he ſeemed not without ſome appetite of danger; and therefore, upon any occaſion of action, he always engaged his perſon in thoſe troops,

which he thought, by the forwardneſs of the commanders, to be moſt like to be fartheſt engaged; and in all ſuch encounters he had about him an extraordinary cheerfulneſs, without at all affecting the execution that uſually attended them, in which he took no delight, but took pains to prevent it, where it was not, by reſiſtance, made neceſſary: inſomuch that at Edgehill, when the enemy was routed, he was like to have incurred great peril, by interpoſing to ſave thoſe who had thrown away their arms, and againſt whom, it may be, others were more fierce for their having thrown them away: ſo that a man might think, he came into the field chiefly out of curioſity to ſee the face of danger, and charity to prevent the ſhedding of blood. Yet in his natural inclination he acknowledged he was addicted to the profeſſion of a ſoldier; and ſhortly after he came to his fortune, before he was of age, he went into the Low Countries, with a reſolution of procuring command, and to give himſelf up to it, from which he was diverted by the complete inactivity of that ſummer: ſo he returned into England, and ſhortly after entered upon that vehement courſe of ſtudy we mentioned before, till the firſt alarm from the North; then again he made ready for the field, and though he received ſome repulſe in the command of a troop of horſe, of which he had a promiſe, he went a volunteer with the Earl of Eſſex.

From the entrance into this unnatural war, his natural cheerfulneſs and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of ſadneſs and dejection of ſpirit ſtole upon him, which he had never been uſed to; yet being one of thoſe who believed that one battle would end all differences, and that there would be ſo great a victory on one ſide, that the other would be compelled to ſubmit to any conditions from the victor, (which ſuppoſition and concluſion

ſion generally ſunk into the minds of moſt men, and prevented the looking after many advantages, that might then have been laid hold of), he reſiſted thoſe indiſpoſitions, *et in luctu, bellum inter remedia erat.* But after the King's return from Brentford, and the furious reſolution of the two Houſes not to admit any treaty for peace, thoſe indiſpoſitions, which had before touched him, grew into a perfect habit of uncheerfulneſs; and he, who had been ſo exactly eaſy and affable to all men, that his face and countenance was always preſent, and vacant to his company, and held any cloudineſs, and leſs pleaſantneſs of the viſage, a kind of rudeneſs or incivility, became, on a ſudden, leſs communicable; and thence, very ſad, pale, and exceedingly affected with the ſpleen. In his clothes and habit, which he had minded before always with more neatneſs, and induſtry, and expence, than is uſual to ſo great a ſoul, he was not now only incurious, but too negligent; and in his reception of ſuitors, and the neceſſary or caſual addreſſes to his place, ſo quick, and ſharp, and ſevere, that there wanted not ſome men, (ſtrangers to his nature and diſpoſition), who believed him proud and imperious, from which no mortal man was ever more free.

It is true, that as he was of a moſt incomparable gentleneſs, application, and even ſubmiſſion to good, and worthy, and entire men, ſo he was naturally (which could not but be more evident in his place, which objected him to another converſation and intermixture, than his own election would have done) *adverſus malos injucundus*; and was ſo ill a diſſembler of his diſlike and diſinclination to ill men, that it was not poſſible for ſuch not to diſcern it. There was once, in the Houſe of Commons, ſuch a declared acceptation of the good ſervice

ſervice an eminent member had done to them, and, as they ſaid, to the whole kingdom, that it was moved, he being preſent, "that the Speaker might, in the name of "the whole Houſe, give him thanks; and then, that "every member might, as a teſtimony of his particular "acknowledgment, ſtir or move his hat towards him;" the which (though not ordered) when very many did, the Lord Falkland, (who believed the ſervice itſelf not to be of that moment, and that an honourable and generous perſon could not have ſtooped to it for any recompenſe), inſtead of moving his hat, ſtretched both his arms out, and claſped his hands together upon the crown of his hat, and held it cloſe down to his head; that all men might ſee, how odious that flattery was to him, and the very approbation of the perſon, though at that time moſt popular.

When there was any overture or hope of peace, he would be more erect and vigorous, and exceedingly ſolicitous to preſs any thing which he thought might promote it; and ſitting among his friends, often, after a deep ſilence and frequent ſighs, would, with a ſhrill and ſad accent, ingeminate the word *Peace, Peace*; and would paſſionately profeſs, "that the very agony of the "war, and the view of the calamities and deſolation the "kingdom did and muſt endure, took his ſleep from "him, and would ſhortly break his heart." This made ſome think, or pretend to think, "that he was ſo much "enamoured on peace, that he would have been glad "the King ſhould have bought it at any price;" which was a moſt unreaſonable calumny. As if a man, that was himſelf the moſt punctual and preciſe in every circumſtance that might reflect upon conſcience or honour, could have wiſhed the King to have committed a treſpaſs againſt either. And yet this ſenſeleſs ſcandal

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made ſome impreſſion upon him, or at leaſt he uſed it for an excuſe of the daringneſs of his ſpirit; for at the leaguer before Glouceſter, when his friend paſſionately reprehended him for expoſing his perſon unneceſſarily to danger, (for he delighted to viſit the trenches, and neareſt approaches, and to diſcover what the enemy did), as being ſo much beſide the duty of his place, that it might be underſtood rather to be againſt it, he would ſay merrily, "that his office could not take "away the privilege of his age; and that a ſecretary in "war might be preſent at the greateſt ſecret of dan-"ger;" but withal alleged ſeriouſly, "that it concerned "him to be more active in enterpriſes of hazard, than "other men; that all might ſee, that his impatiency for "peace proceeded not from puſillanimity, or fear to ad-"venture his own perſon."

In the morning before the battle, as always upon action, he was very cheerful, and put himſelf into the firſt rank of the Lord Byron's regiment, then advancing upon the enemy, who had lined the hedges on both ſides with muſqueteers; from whence he was ſhot with a muſquet in the lower part of the belly, and in the inſtant falling from his horſe, his body was not found till the next morning; till when, there was ſome hope he might have been a priſoner; though his neareſt friends, who knew his temper, received ſmall comfort from that imagination. Thus fell that incomparable young man, in the four and thirtieth year of his age, having ſo much diſpatched the true buſineſs of life, that the eldeſt rarely attain to that immenſe knowledge, and the youngeſt enter not into the world with more innocency: whoſoever leads ſuch a life, needs be the leſs anxious upon how ſhort warning it is taken from him.

Now

The Earl of Eſſex returns to London.

Now to go on with the courſe of our hiſtory: the Earl of Eſſex entered into London on the 25th of September, (a day we ſhall have occaſion to remember upon another ſolemnity), and was the next day viſited, at Eſſex Houſe, by the Speaker and the whole Houſe of Commons, who declared to him, "that they came "to congratulate his notable ſucceſs, and to render the "thanks of the kingdom to him, for his incomparable "conduct and courage; and that they had cauſed their "acknowledgment to be entered in their Journal Book, "as a monument and record of his virtue, and their "gratitude." A day or two after, ſolemn thanks were rendered to thoſe members of both Houſes, who had command in the army, and ſome extraordinary ſignification of reſpect derived to the ſuperior officers throughout the army. A gaudy letter of kindneſs and value was ſent to Colonel Maſſy, and, which made the letter of more value, a thouſand pounds was ſent him as a gratuity or preſent for his ſervice, over and above what was due to him for his pay, and ſome largeſs to all the inferior officers, and a month's pay, over and above their arrears, to the ſoldiers of that garriſon.

Leſt the diſcourſe and apprehenſion of the jealouſy between the Earl of Eſſex and Sir William Waller, might adminiſter hope or ſuſpicion, that ſome diviſion might grow amongſt themſelves, and, from thence, that the King might receive any advantage, great care was taken to make, and greater to publiſh, a reconciliation between them; in which Sir William was all ſubmiſſion and humility, and his Excellence full of grace and courteſy. The paſſion and animoſity, which difference of opinion had produced between any members, was totally laid aſide and forgotten, and no artifice omitted to make the world believe, that they were a

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people newly incorporated, and as firmly united to one and the ſame end, as their brethren the Scots; of whoſe concurrence and aſſiſtance they were now aſſured, and ſatisfied that it would come ſoon enough for their preſervation; of which they had not before a full confidence.

Though the King's army had all the trophies of victory in and after this battle, as is before related, (it kept the field, and had the ſpoil of it; it took ſome pieces of the enemy's cannon, who marched off in the night, and were purſued with ſome conſiderable loſs beyond Reading, where a garriſon was again placed for his Majeſty, under the command of Sir Jacob Aſhley, Major General of the army, an excellent officer; ſo that the Parliament was in ſo much a worſe ſtate than they were in the ſpring, as the loſs of Briſtol and moſt of the Weſt amounted to; for by this time Exeter was likewiſe reduced by Prince Maurice), yet, notwithſtanding all this, the Earl of Eſſex, as is ſaid before, was received at London with all imaginable gratulation and triumph; he had done all that was expected from him, with many circumſtances of great, ſoldierly, and notable courage, and the heart and ſpirit of the Parliament was viſibly much exalted, and their impatience for peace quite abated.

The temper of the army and the Court at Oxford, upon the return of the King thither.

On the contrary, upon the King's return to Oxford, there appeared nothing but dejection of mind, diſcontent, and ſecret mutiny in the army, anger and jealouſy among the officers, every one accuſing another of want of courage and conduct in the actions of the field; and they who were not of the army, blaming them all for their ſeveral failings and groſs overſights. The ſiege of Glouceſter was not believed to have been well conducted, and that it might have been taken in half the time

time they were before it, if it had been ſkilfully gone about. The not engaging the Earl of Eſſex in all the march over ſo open a country, was thought unexcuſable, and was imputed to the want of courage in Wilmot, whom Prince Rupert did in no degree favour: nor was the Prince himſelf without ſome reproaches, for ſuffering the Earl of Eſſex, after all the horſe was joined, to march down a long ſteep hill into the vale of Glouceſter, without any diſturbance; and that the whole army, when it was found neceſſary to quit the ſiege, had not been brought to fight in that vale, and at ſome diſtance from the town, when the King's men were freſh, and the other ſide tired with ſo long a march.

But then all men renewed their execrations againſt thoſe, who adviſed the ſitting down before Glouceſter; the officers, who had been preſent, and conſenting to all the counſels, diſclaiming, as much as any, the whole deſign; and all conſpired to lay the whole reproach upon the Maſter of the Rolls, who ſpoke moſt in thoſe debates, and was not at all gracious to the ſoldiers; and this clamour againſt that engagement was ſo popular and univerſal, that no man took upon himſelf to ſpeak in defence of it; though, beſides the reaſons which have been formerly alleged for it, what happened in this laſt action, in the relief of Glouceſter, might well ſeem to juſtify it; for ſince it appeared, that the city was ſo much united to the Parliament, that it ſupplied their army with ſuch a body of their Trained Bands, (without which it could never have marched), with what ſucceſs could his Majeſty have approached London, after the taking of Briſtol, with his haraſſed army? and would not the whole body of the Trained Bands have defended that, when ſo conſiderable a part of them could be perſuaded to undertake a march of two hundred miles?

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for leſs they did not march, from the time they went out, to that in which they returned. But no reaſon could ever convert thoſe, who looked upon that undertaking at Glouceſter, as the ruin of the King's affairs.

The temper of the Court was no better than that of the army: and the King was ſo much troubled with both, that he did not enjoy the quiet his condition required. They who had forborn to be importunate for honours, or offices, becauſe they knew they ſhould not be able to obtain their deſires from the King, made their modeſty an argument of their merit to the Queen; and aſſured her, "that they had forborn to aſk any thing in "her abſence, becauſe they had always reſolved never to "receive any thing, but by her bounty." Many pretended former promiſes and engagements for creations of honour, as ſoon as any thing ſhould be done of that kind. And it is true enough, that both their Majeſties had given themſelves eaſe from preſent importunities, by making promiſes, with reference to a time, which they imagined, and, at that time, reſolved, ſhould not be ſoon: and now there was no ſooner mention of conferring honour upon one or two whom they had a mind to gratify, but the reſt, who had that promiſe, were very importunate and clamorous for the ſame juſtice. By this means they were, upon the matter, compelled to gratify ſome men to whom they bore no good will; and ſo, they who received the favours were no more pleaſed, than they were who conferred them; and they who were without ambition before, when they ſaw honours and offices conferred upon men, who, they thought, did not merit them better than themſelves, thought their ſervice undervalued if they did not receive the ſame reward. And it was a uſual prologue to ſuits of that kind, "that "they did not deſire it out of their own ambition, but

"purely

" purely to ſatisfy their friends; who withdrew their " kindneſs from them, out of an opinion that they had " offended the King, who would not otherwiſe put ſo " great a difference between them and other men." Whence it may be obſerved, that princes ſhould not confer public rewards in a ſeaſon when they can only gratify a few, and ſo many ſtand upon the ſame level in pretences, that they are apt to reſent the preferring of one, as an affront and diſobligation to the reſt.

There was no particular that gave the King more unquietneſs, than the pretence of my Lord of Holland. The three Earls I before mentioned, had attended the King before he roſe from Glouceſter, and had waited upon him throughout that march, and had charged the enemy, in the King's regiment of horſe, at the battle of Newbury, very bravely; and had behaved themſelves, throughout, very well; and returned to Oxford with his Majeſty; and now expected to be well looked upon: and the other two had no cauſe to complain; the King, upon all occaſions, ſpoke very graciouſly to them, and particularly ſent the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Earl of Clare, " that he had liberty, and might be " preſent at the councils of war;" where the Peers uſually were, and where the general matters of contribution, and ſuch things as concerned the country, were uſually debated. But the Earl of Holland was not pleaſed; he thought nothing of former miſcarriages ought to be remembered; that all thoſe were cancelled by the merit of coming to the King now, and bringing ſuch conſiderable perſons with him, and diſpoſing others to follow; and expected, upon his firſt appearance, to have had his key reſtored to him; to have been in the ſame condition he was in the Bedchamber, and in the Council, and in the King's grace and countenance; of all

all which he had aſſurance from the Queen before he came, at leaſt from Mr. Jermyn, who, no doubt, did exceed his commiſſion; and the very deferring of this was grievous to him; and the more, becauſe he found the ſame diſreſpect from all others, as he had done when he came firſt to Oxford.

He came frequently in the afternoon to Merton College; where the Queen lay, and where the King was for the moſt part at that time of the day, and both their Majeſties looked well upon him, and ſpoke to him in public as occaſion was adminiſtered. Sometimes the King went aſide with him to the window, in the ſame room, where they ſpoke a quarter or half an hour together, out of the hearing of any body; which the Queen did often in the ſame manner; and Mr. Jermyn, who was about this time made a Baron, was very frequently with him. The King was always upon his guard towards him, and did not, in truth, abate any thing of his former rigour or prejudice, and continued firm to his former reſolutions. But the Queen, whether from her inclination, or promiſe, or diſlike of moſt other people, who were not ſo good courtiers, (as ſure none was equal to him in that function and myſtery), did in truth heartily deſire, that he might receive ſatisfaction in all things, according to his own deſire; and would have truſted him herſelf as much as formerly: yet ſhe complied ſo far with the King's averſion, that ſhe yet forbore to preſs it, or to own the encouragement ſhe had given him; nor had ſhe a willingneſs to oppoſe ſo great a torrent of prejudice, as ſhe ſaw evidently run againſt him; ſo that ſhe appeared not to wiſh, what without doubt ſhe would have been very glad of. However the Marquis of Hertford was now come to Oxford, and expected the performance of the King's promiſe to him, and to be

admitted into the office of Groom of the Stole; of which the King took not the leaſt notice to him ſince his return; which made it the more ſuſpected, that the intention was to readmit the old officer; and this apprehenſion was confirmed by the Queen's looking leſs graciouſly upon the Marquis, than ſhe had uſed to do. And it is true, though it may be ſhe did not intend to make any ſuch diſcovery by her looks, ſhe was not pleaſed that any ſuch promiſe was made, both becauſe it was without her conſent, and as it croſſed what ſhe deſigned; and much deſired that the Marquis could have been perſuaded to have releaſed it; towards which the Lord Jermyn, with ſome paſſion, ſpoke to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "how unreaſonable a "thing it was for the Marquis, who was maſter of ſo "great a fortune, to affect ſuch a low preferment," (as he termed it), "and how generous a thing it would be "to quit his pretence:" but he quickly diſcovered him not to be willing to engage in any ſuch propoſition. All this wonderfully indiſpoſed the other lords, and the perſons of quality in the town, who did not wiſh to ſee the Court juſt filled as it had been, or the Queen herſelf poſſeſſed of ſo abſolute a power, as ſhe had been formerly; though they looked upon her perſon with all duty and reverence.

The Earl of Holland did not act his own part with that art and dexterity, which might have been expected from his cunning and experience; nor had ever made the leaſt apology to the King for any thing he had formerly done; nor appeared to have the leaſt ſenſe that he had committed any error, as his Majeſty himſelf declared to thoſe, who he knew were his friends; and ſaid, "that he behaved himſelf with the ſame confidence "and aſſurance, as he had done when he was moſt in

"his

" his favour; and that he retained ſtill the old artifice " at Court, to be ſeen to whiſper in the King's and " Queen's ear, by which people thought there was ſome " ſecret, when the matter of thoſe whiſpers was nothing " but what might be ſaid in the open Court; and that " the Earl of Holland had ſeveral times ſeemed to de- " ſire to ſay ſomewhat in private to him, upon which " he had withdrawn from the company to the end or " corner of the room, and, at firſt, expected and ap- " prehended, that he would ſay ſomewhat in his own " excuſe; but that he had never then ſaid one word, " but what he might have ſpoke in the circle; with " which," the King ſaid, " he was the better pleaſed; " and that he believed, he had not been more particular " in his diſcourſe with the Queen, ſave that he uſed to " entertain her with the wiſdom and power of the Par- " liament, and what great things they would be able to " do, and how much they were reſpected in foreign " parts; which," his Majeſty ſaid, " was a ſtrange diſ- " courſe for a man to make, who had ſo lately left " them, becauſe he thought the King's condition to be " the better of the two."

The Earl had a friend, who did heartily deſire to do him all the offices and ſervices that would conſiſt with the King's honour, and always apprehended the ill conſequence of diſcouraging ſuch converſions, and who ſpoke often to the Earl of his own affairs. And when he complained of his uſage, and repeated what promiſes and encouragement he had received to come to the King, and of what importance his good reception would have been; " that there were many of conſiderable re- " putation and intereſt in the Houſe of Commons," (whom he named), " who intended to have followed, " and that the Earl of Northumberland expected only

" his advice;" his friend aſked him, " whether he had " done all things, ſince he came to the King, which " might reaſonably be expected from him?" He ſaid, " he thought he had done all could be expected from " him, in bringing himſelf to the King; and, ſince his " coming to him, in venturing his life for him; and in " lieu thereof he had not received thanks, or one gra- " cious word; and now, after his office had been kept " unbeſtowed near two years, and a promiſe made to " him, that he ſhould be reſtored to it, it was to be be- " ſtowed upon another, to make his diſgrace the more " notorious; which he thought would not prove for his " Majeſty's honour or advantage."

His friend aſked him, " whether he had aſked it of " the King, or informed him of the promiſe that was " made to him?" He ſaid, " he had done neither, nor " ever would; he expected it of the King's grace, and " would not extort it by a promiſe, which, it might " be, his Majeſty was not privy to." The other re- plied very plainly to him, " that if he thought he had " never committed any fault againſt the King, he had " no reaſon to acknowledge it, or make excuſe for it; " but if he were conſcious of any ſuch, how unwarily " ſoever it had been done, or how unmaliciouſly ſoever " it had been intended, he ought to make ſome con- " feſſion and apology to his Majeſty; nor could his " Majeſty, with the ſafety of his honour, avow the re- " ceiving him into any truſt without it; nor was he ca- " pable of receiving any offices from his friends, or the " Queen's own declared interpoſition on his behalf, " till he had performed that neceſſary introduction." He told him, " if he would follow his advice, he be- " lieved he might receive ſome effect of it;" which was, " that he ſhould ſend to deſire a private audience

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" of his Majeſty in ſome room, where nobody might " be preſent; which would not be refuſed him; and " then he ſhould (with all the excuſes upon the terror " the Parliament gave to all men, who had exceeded " the common rules, in their adminiſtration of the truſt " they had from his Majeſty; as he could not deny he " had done in many particulars for the advancement of " his Majeſty's ſervice) confeſs, that he had not been " hardy enough to contemn that power, but had been " ſo much in awe of it, that he choſe rather to preſume " upon his Majeſty's goodneſs, than to provoke their " jealouſy and diſpleaſure; and ſo had complied with " them more, than in his duty and gratitude to his " Majeſty he ought to have done; for which he beg- " ged his pardon upon his knees; and if he might ob- " tain it, he made no doubt, he ſhould wipe out the " memory of paſt offences by ſome new ſervices, which " ſhould be beneficial to his Majeſty;" and he added, " that he would do very well, if he would ſue out his " pardon, as the Earl of Bedford had done; who had " aſked it of the King when he firſt kiſſed his hand, " and had ſince wiſely taken it out under the great " ſeal of England."

The Earl of Holland ſeemed not at all pleaſed with this advice; ſaid, " He did not think, though he " would not juſtify all that he had done, his tranſ- " greſſions were of that magnitude, that they required " ſuch a formality of aſking pardon; that his caſe was " very different from that of the Earl of Bedford, who " had been in arms, and a general officer in the field " againſt the King; whereas he had only ſat in the " Parliament, as lawfully he might do; and if he had " failed in his attendance upon his Majeſty, and other- " wiſe deſerved his diſpleaſure, he had received ſo many

" marks of it before he deſerved it, that might well " tranſport a very faithful ſervant into a diſcontent. " That as ſoon as he found himſelf reſtored to any pro- " portion of his Majeſty's grace and confidence, his " own inclination would carry him to as humble apo- " logies, and as deep acknowledgments of all his tranſ- " greſſions, as could be expected from him, and ſuch " as he believed would reconcile the King's goodneſs " to him: but to make the firſt advance by ſuch a " kind of ſubmiſſion, he did not think he could prevail " over himſelf to do it." However, he took his advice very kindly, and ſpoke often with him after upon the ſame ſubject.

Being, upon conference with ſome other friends, adviſed the ſame, eſpecially by his daughter, (whom he loved and eſteemed exceedingly), he ſeemed reſolved to do it; but whether he thought worſe of the King's affairs, or liked the Court the leſs, becauſe he ſaw the poverty of it, and that whatever place or favour he might obtain, he could not expect a ſupport from it to defray his expences, (nor could he draw it from any other place), he delayed it ſo long, that the King found it reaſonable to confer the office he had before promiſed, upon the Marquis of Hertford.

Upon which he withdrew himſelf, for his convenience, to a neighbour village, where he had a private lodging; and, after a few days, with the help of a dark night and a good guide, he got himſelf into the enemy's quarters, and laid himſelf at the feet of the Parliament; which, after a ſhort impriſonment, gave him leave to live in his own houſe, without farther conſidering him, than as a man able to do little good or harm. And yet he did endeavour to render himſelf as grateful to them as he could, by an act very unſuitable

The Earl of Holland returns into the Parliament's quarters.

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to his honour, or his own generous nature: for he publiſhed a declaration in print of the cauſe of his going to, and returning from, Oxford; in which he endeavoured to make it believed, "that his compaſſion and "love to his country had only prevailed with him to "go to the King, in hope to have been able, upon the "long knowledge his Majeſty had of his fidelity, to "perſuade him to make a peace with his Parliament; "which, from the time of his coming thither, he had "laboured to do; but that he found the Court ſo in-"diſpoſed to peace, and that the Papiſts had ſo great a "power there," (uſing many expreſſions diſhonourable towards the King and his Council), "that he reſolved "to make what haſte he could back to the Parliament, "and to ſpend the remainder of his life in their ſer-"vice:" which action, ſo contrary to his own natural diſcretion and generoſity, loſt him the affection of thoſe few who had preſerved ſome kindneſs for him, and got him credit with nobody; and may teach all men how dangerous it is to ſtep aſide out of the path of innocence and virtue, upon any preſumption to be able to get into it again; ſince ſuch men uſually ſatisfy themſelves in doing any thing to mend the preſent exigent they are in, rather than think of returning to that condition of innocence, from whence they departed with a purpoſe, perhaps, of returning.

However, this unhappy ill carriage of the Earl doth not abſolve the Court from overſight in treating him no better; which was a great error; and made the King, and all thoſe about him, looked upon as implacable; and ſo diverted all men from farther thoughts of returning to their duty by ſuch application, and made thoſe who abhorred the war, and the violent counſels in the carrying it on, chooſe rather to acquieſce, and ex-

pect a conjuncture when a general peace might be made, than to expoſe themſelves by unſeaſonable and unwelcome addreſſes. The Earl of Northumberland, who was gone to Petworth, as is ſaid before, with a purpoſe of going to the King, if by the Lord Conway's negociation, and the Earl of Holland's reception, he found encouragement, returned to the Parliament, where he was received with great reſpect, all men concluding, that he had never intended to do, what he had not done. And the other members, who had entertained the ſame reſolutions, changed their minds with him, and returned to their former ſtation: and the two Earls who yet remained at Oxford, ſhortly after found means to make their peace at Weſtminſter; and returned again to their own habitation in London, without farther mark of diſpleaſure, than a reſtraint, for a time, from coming to the Houſe of Peers, or being truſted in their counſels.

And likewiſe the Earls of Bedford and Clare.

The tranſactions of the committee of the two Houſes in Scotland.

The committee from the two Houſes of Parliament, which was ſent into Scotland in July before, in the diſtraction of their affairs, when Sir William Waller was defeated, and the Earl of Eſſex's army unſerviceable, as is remembered, found that kingdom in ſo good and ready a poſture for their reception, that they had called an Aſſembly of their Kirk, and a Convention of their Eſtates, without, and expreſsly againſt, the King's conſent, and without any colour of law; for the time, when, by their late Act of Parliament, they might of right challenge thoſe meetings, was not come by almoſt a year; and the King had refuſed to convene them ſooner. That kingdom was at unity and peace amongſt themſelves, and ſo at the more leiſure to help their neighbours; and the government of all affairs in their hands who were to be confided in; and they again ruled

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and diſpoſed by a few, who were throughly engaged in the counſels and diſcompoſures in England; for all thoſe who were viſibly affected to the King's ſervice, or diſaffected eminently to the perſons in authority there, were fled the kingdom: and they who ſtayed behind, either had, or pretended to have, the ſame affections; of which a full declared zeal, and good will to the Parliament of England, was a common evidence.

So that the committee found as good a welcome as they could wiſh, and all men diſpoſed to gain their good opinion: a committee was appointed, both out of the Convention of Eſtates, and the Aſſembly, "to "treat with them, and to make ſuch concluſions, as "might be thought neceſſary to advance the peace and "happineſs of both kingdoms." Theſe men complied with them, in their full ſenſe of the ſad condition of the affairs of England, and in their own concernment in the misfortunes which ſhould befal them: they ſaid, "they "well underſtood how much the fate of Scotland was "involved in what ſhould befal the Parliament of Eng-"land; and that if the King prevailed by force, and, "by the power of his army, oppreſſed thoſe friends, "who had expreſſed a tenderneſs formerly towards "them, they had reaſon to expect the ſame army "ſhould be applied to the revenge of thoſe indignities "they would eaſily perſuade his Majeſty, he had ſuf-"fered from that his native kingdom: and therefore "they needed no arguments to perſuade them to com-"miſerate the eſtate of their brethren of England; or to "convince them, that their caſe was their own, and "their mutual ſafety bound up together: but that "thoſe politic arguments and conſiderations would have "no influence upon the people, who had ſuch a natural "affection and loyalty to their Sovereign, as no earthly

"con-

" conſideration would be able to prevail with them to " leſſen their obedience towards his Majeſty; and that, " albeit there was no viſible party and faction, that ap- " peared in the kingdom for the King, yet that there " were many well wiſhers to him, and maligners, in " their hearts, of the preſent reformation; who, as ſoon " as there ſhould be any preparation for an army to " march into England, would be ready, upon the ſpe- " cious arguments of duty to his Majeſty, and of peace " to their country, and might be able to give great diſ- " turbance to the expedition, or to diſquiet the realm, " when the moſt eminently affected were marched to- " wards the relief of their diſtreſſed neighbours; except " ſome obligation of conſcience were laid upon the " people; who only preferred what they called their " piety to God, before their inclination to their Prince, " and the ſetting up the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, be- " fore the vindication of a temporal juriſdiction."

A Covenant propoſed by the Scots between the two kingdoms, and agreed to.

For ſuch an expedient, therefore, they propoſed, " that a Covenant might be agreed upon between the " two kingdoms, for the utter extirpation of prelacy, " which that kingdom was ſatisfied to be a great ob- " ſtruction to the reformation of religion; and the two " Houſes of Parliament had diſcovered a ſufficient aver- " ſion from that government, by having paſſed a bill " for their utter abolition, and in the place thereof to " erect ſuch a government, as ſhould be moſt agreeable " to God's word, which they doubted not would be " their own preſbytery; and that the people being ce- " mented together by ſuch an obligation, would never " be ſevered and diſjoined by any temptation."

There was an eaſy conſent, from the committee of the Engliſh, to any expedient that might throughly engage the other nation; and ſo a form of words was quickly

agreed

agreed on between them, for a perfect combination and marriage between the Parliament and the Scots, in all ſuch particulars, as were moſt like to be unacceptable to the King; and this form being preſently communicated to the Convention of Eſtates, and the Aſſembly, as ſoon found an approbation and concurrence there, with as much ſolemnity, as was neceſſary to ſhew their temper and reſolution, and to gain the conſent of the two Houſes at Weſtminſter, whither it was diſpatched with all imaginable celerity, and a ſignification, "that "that people were in ſuch a forwardneſs to advance, "that they would be in England as ſoon as they could "be reaſonably expected." And it was indeed apparent enough, that, upon their diſcipline ſince the late commotions, and the cunning preſage and foreſight of that people, there was nothing requiſite to their march, but the calling them together.

Many were of opinion, that this engagement was propoſed "rather to decline being engaged in the "quarrel, than out of hope or imagination that the "two Houſes would concur with them; for though "there had been a bill paſſed, before the laſt treaty "with the King, to that purpoſe, yet they well knew "that moſt of the Peers, and perſons of quality and in-"tereſt in the other Houſe, were willing to depart from "that overture. Beſides, amongſt thoſe who raged "jointly againſt epiſcopacy, there were ſo many opi-"nions, that it would be no leſs difficult to eſtabliſh "their preſbytery, than to root out the other govern-"ment, to which they intended by their Covenant "equally to oblige them: ſo that upon this propoſi-"tion, which was according to the known temper of "that nation, they ſhould preſerve themſelves plauſi-"bly, and without ſeeming to deſert their confederates,

"from

" from bearing any part in the preſent troubles. How-
" ever, it would viſibly take up ſo much time, that if
" there were no ebb in the King's proſperity and ſucceſs,
" he might well finiſh his work, and this interpoſition
" be interpreted for a politic ſtratagem to amuſe the
" Engliſh." But if this was their ſtratagem, they met with people too frank hearted, and not ſcrupulous to contribute towards it: for the draught of the Covenant no ſooner came to Weſtminſter, but they ſhewed a marvellous inclination to it. Yet as well becauſe it was not yet known what ſucceſs the Earl of Eſſex would have in the relief of Glouceſter, which was like to have a ſhrewd influence upon men's affections and conſciences, as that they might ſeem to uſe all neceſſary deliberation and caution, for the information of their judgments in a new caſe, that concerned the religion and eccleſiaſtical fabric of the kingdom, they tranſmitted it to their Aſſembly of Divines, to return their opinion " of the lawfulneſs of
" taking it in point of conſcience."

The Aſſembly, beſides that it was conſtituted of members who had all renounced their obedience to their King, and ſubmiſſion to the Church of England, by their appearance and preſence in that Convention, had been lately taught how dangerous it was to diſſent from the current opinion of the Houſe of Commons: for Doctor Featly, (upon whoſe reputation in learning they had raiſed great advantages to themſelves), having made many ſpeeches in the Aſſembly in the behalf of "the
" order of Biſhops, and their function, and againſt the
" alienation of church-lands, as ſacrilege," and eſpecially inveighed againſt " the liberty that was taken in matter
" of religion, by which ſo many ſects were grown up to
" the ſcandal and reproach of the Proteſtant doctrine, if
" not of Chriſtianity itſelf," had ſo far incurred their diſpleaſure,

diſpleaſure, and provoked their jealouſy, that an ordinary fellow (ſo well confirmed in ſpirit, that they feared not his failing or converſion) was directed to make application to him in caſes of conſcience, and after he had gotten ſufficient credit with him, (which was no hard matter), to intimate to him, "that he had a ſure and "unqueſtionable conveyance to Oxford, or that he was "to go thither himſelf, and if he had any occaſions to "uſe his ſervice thither, he would faithfully execute his "commands." The Doctor, believing the meſſenger to be ſincere, and the King's affairs ſtanding then proſperous, gave him letters for the Archbiſhop of Armagh, Primate of Ireland, who waited on his Majeſty; and by this artifice, the ſame inſtrument received two or three letters from him, pretending they were ſtill ſent by infallible hands; and brought them always to thoſe perſons by whom he was entruſted in the work of his impoſture.

The letters contained many apologies for himſelf, "for "being engaged in ſuch a congregation, to which he "ſubmitted purely out of conſcience, and for the ſervice "of the King and Church, in hope that he might be "able to prevent many extravagancies, and to contain "thoſe unruly ſpirits within ſome bounds of regularity "and moderation;" of his endeavours that way, he gave many inſtances; and ſent copies of what he had ſaid in juſtification of epiſcopacy, the liturgy, and the eſtabliſhed government, and concluded with a deſire to his Grace, "to procure a good opinion from the King towards him, "and ſome biſhopric or deanery for his recompenſe." About the time that this agitation was in Scotland, and very little before this Covenant was tranſmitted, theſe letters were produced, and a charge againſt that Doctor, "for betraying the truſt repoſed in him, and adhering "to the enemy;" and thereupon the poor man was expelled

expelled the Aſſembly of Divines, both his livings (for he had two within a very ſmall diſtance of London) ſequeſtered, his ſtudy of books and eſtate ſeized, and himſelf committed to a common gaol, where he continued to his death; which befel him the ſooner, through the extreme wants he underwent; ſo ſolicitous was that party to remove any impediment that troubled them, and ſo implacable to any who were weary of their journey, though they had accompanied them very far in their way.

This freſh example the *Aſſembly of godly and learned Divines* had before their eyes when this Covenant was ſent to them for their conſideration, and ſpeedy reſolution; and according to the haſte it required, that clergy returned within two days their full approbation of it; there having been but two miniſters who made any pauſe or ſcruple of it, and they again ſoon confeſſing "they had received full ſatisfaction to their doubts in "the debate, and that they were fully convinced of the "lawfulneſs and piety of it." Having received ſo abſolute an approbation and concurrence, and the battle of Newbury being in that time likewiſe over, (which cleared and removed more doubts, than the Aſſembly had done), it ſtuck very few hours with both Houſes; but being at once judged convenient and lawful, the Lords and Commons, and their Aſſembly of Divines, met together at the Church, with great ſolemnity to take it, on the five and twentieth day of September; a double holyday, by the Earl of Eſſex's return to London, and this religious exerciſe.

It is taken and ſubſcribed by the Lords and Commons and their Aſſembly of Divines, Sept. 25.

There, two or three of their divines went up into the pulpit ſucceſſively, not to preach, but to pray; others, according to their ſeveral gifts, to make orations upon the work of the day. They were by them told, "that "this

" this oath was ſuch, and in the matter and conſe-
" quence of it of ſuch concernment, as it was truly
" worthy of them, *yea* of thoſe kingdoms, *yea* of all the
" kingdoms of the world: that it could be no other,
" but the reſult and anſwer of ſuch prayers and tears, of
" ſuch ſincerity and ſufferings, that three kingdoms
" ſhould be thus born, or rather new born, in a day:
" that they were entering upon a work of the greateſt
" moment and concernment to themſelves, and to their
" poſterities after them, that ever was undertaken by
" any of them, or any of their forefathers before them.
" That it was a duty of the firſt commandment, and
" therefore of the higheſt and nobleſt order and rank of
" duties; therefore muſt come forth attended with
" choiceſt graces, fear, humility, and in the greateſt
" ſimplicity, and plainneſs of ſpirit, and reſpect of thoſe
" with whom they covenanted. That it was to advance
" the kingdom of Chriſt here upon earth, and make
" Jeruſalem once more the praiſe of the whole earth,
" notwithſtanding all the contradictions of men;" with
many ſuch high expreſſions, as can hardly be conceived,
without the view of the records and regiſtry that is kept
of them.

It will be here moſt neceſſary, that poſterity may be informed of the rare concluſion, in which two nations, with ſuch wonderful unanimity, did agree, and which was calculated alſo for the meridian of a third kingdom, (for Ireland is likewiſe comprehended in it), to inſert this League and Covenant in the preciſe terms in which it was received, and entered into; which was in theſe words.

A ſolemn

A ſolemn League and Covenant for reformation and defence of religion, the honour and happineſs of the King, and the peace and ſafety of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

A copy of the Covenant.

" We Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgeſſes, Miniſters of the Goſpel, and Commons of all ſorts, in the kingdom of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by the providence of God living under one King, and being of one reformed religion, having before our eyes the glory of God, and the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, the honour and happineſs of the King's Majeſty and his poſterity, and the true public liberty, ſafety, and peace of the kingdoms, wherein every one's private condition is included; and calling to mind the treacherous and bloody plots, conſpiracies, attempts, and practices of the enemies of God, againſt the true religion, and profeſſors thereof, in all places, eſpecially in theſe three kingdoms, ever ſince the reformation of religion, and how much their rage, power, and preſumption are of late, and at this time, increaſed and exerciſed, (whereof the deplorable eſtate of the church and kingdom of Ireland, the diſtreſſed eſtate of the church and kingdom of England, and the dangerous eſtate of the church and kingdom of Scotland, are preſent and public teſtimonies), we have now at laſt, (after other means of ſupplication, remonſtrance, proteſtations, and ſufferings), for the preſervation of ourſelves and our religion from utter ruin and deſtruction, according to the commendable practice of theſe kingdoms in former times, and the example of God's people in other nations, after mature deliberation, reſolved and determined

" mined to enter into a mutual and ſolemn League and " Covenant, wherein we all ſubſcribe, and each one of " us for himſelf, with our hands lifted up to the moſt " high God, do ſwear,

1. " That we ſhall ſincerely, really, and conſtantly, " through the grace of God, endeavour, in our ſeveral " places and callings, the preſervation of the reformed " religion in the church of Scotland, in doctrine, wor- " ſhip, diſcipline, and government, againſt our com- " mon enemies; the reformation of religion in the king- " doms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worſhip, " diſcipline, and government, according to the word of " God, and the example of the beſt reformed churches; " and we ſhall endeavour to bring the churches of " God in the three kingdoms, to the neareſt conjunc- " tion and uniformity in religion, confeſſion of faith, " form of church-government, directory for worſhip, " and catechiſing; that we, and our poſterity after us, " may, as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord " may delight to dwell in the midſt of us.

2. " That we ſhall, in like manner, without reſpect " of perſons, endeavour the extirpation of popery, pre- " lacy, (that is, church-government by Archbiſhops, " Biſhops, their Chancellors and Commiſſaries, Deans, " Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other ec- " cleſiaſtical officers depending on that hierarchy), ſu- " perſtition, hereſy, ſchiſm, profaneneſs, and whatſoever " ſhall be found to be contrary to ſound doctrine, and " the power of godlineſs, leſt we partake in other men's " ſins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their " plagues; and that the Lord may be one, and his " name one in the three kingdoms.

3. " We ſhall, with the ſame ſincerity, reality, and " conſtancy, in our ſeveral vocations, endeavour, with

" our eſtates and lives, mutually to preſerve the rights " and privileges of the Parliaments, and the liberties of " the kingdoms, and to preſerve and defend the King's " Majeſty's perſon and authority, in the preſervation " and defence of the true religion, and liberties of the " kingdoms; that the world may bear witneſs, with our " conſciences, of our loyalty; and that we have no " thoughts or intentions to diminiſh his Majeſty's juſt " power and greatneſs.

4. " We ſhall alſo, with all faithfulneſs, endeavour " the diſcovery of all ſuch as have been, or ſhall be, " incendiaries, malignants, or evil inſtruments, by hin- " dering the reformation of religion, dividing the King " from his people, or one of the kingdoms from an- " other, or making any factions or parties among the " people, contrary to this League and Covenant; that " they may be brought to public trial, and receive con- " dign puniſhment, as the degree of their offences ſhall " require or deſerve, or the ſupreme judicatories of both " kingdoms reſpectively, or others having power from " them for that effect, ſhall judge convenient.

5. " And whereas the happineſs of a bleſſed peace " between theſe kingdoms, denied in former times to " our progenitors, is by the good providence of God " granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded and " ſettled by both Parliaments, we ſhall, each one of us, " according to our places and intereſt, endeavour, that " they may remain conjoined in a firm peace and union " to all poſterity, and that juſtice may be done upon " the wilful oppoſers thereof, in manner expreſſed in the " precedent articles.

6. " We ſhall alſo, according to our places and call- " ings, in this common cauſe of religion, liberty, and " peace of the kingdoms, aſſiſt and defend all thoſe " that

" that enter into this League and Covenant, in the " maintaining and purſuing thereof; and ſhall not ſuf- " fer ourſelves, directly or indirectly, by whatſoever " combination, perſuaſion, or terror, to be divided, and " withdrawn from this bleſſed union and conjunction, " whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to " give ourſelves to a deteſtable indifference or neu- " trality in this cauſe, which ſo much concerneth the " glory of God, the good of the kingdoms, and the " honour of the King; but ſhall, all the days of our " lives, zealouſly and conſtantly continue therein, againſt " all oppoſition, and promote the ſame according to " our power, againſt all lets and impediments whatſo- " ever. And what we are not able ourſelves to ſup- " preſs or overcome, we ſhall reveal and make known, " that it may be timely prevented or removed; all " which we ſhall do as in the ſight of God.

" And becauſe theſe kingdoms are guilty of many " ſins, and provocations againſt God, and his Son Jeſus " Chriſt, as is too manifeſt by our preſent diſtreſſes " and dangers, the fruits thereof; we profeſs and de- " clare, before God and the world, our unfeigned de- " ſire to be humbled for our own ſins, and for the ſins " of theſe kingdoms; eſpecially, that we have not, as " we ought, valued the ineſtimable benefit of the Goſ- " pel, that we have not laboured for the purity and " power thereof; and that we have not endeavoured to " receive Chriſt in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of " him in our lives, which are the cauſes of other ſins " and tranſgreſſions ſo much abounding amongſt us: " and our true and unfeigned purpoſe, deſire, and en- " deavour for ourſelves, and all others under our power " and charge, both in public and in private, in all du " ties we owe to God and man, to amend our lives,

" and each one to go before another in the example of " a real reformation; that the Lord may turn away his " wrath and heavy indignation, and eſtabliſh theſe " churches and kingdoms in truth and peace. And " this Covenant we make in the preſence of Almighty " God, the ſearcher of all hearts, with a true intention " to perform the ſame, as we ſhall anſwer at that great " day, when the ſecrets of all hearts ſhall be diſcloſed; " moſt humbly beſeeching the Lord to ſtrengthen us " by his holy Spirit, for this end; and to bleſs our de- " ſires and proceedings with ſuch ſucceſs, as may be a " deliverance and ſafety to his people, and encourage- " ment to other Chriſtian churches, groaning under, " or in danger of, the yoke of Antichriſtian tyranny, to " join in the ſame, or like aſſociation and covenant, to " the glory of God, the enlargement of the kingdom " of Jeſus Chriſt, and the peace and tranquillity of " Chriſtian kingdoms and commonwealths."

As ſoon as this ſolemnity was over, which was concluded by Mr. Henderſon, (the ſole eccleſiaſtical commiſſioner from the kingdom of Scotland), who magnified what they had done, and aſſured them " of great " ſucceſs after it, by the experience of that nation, " who, from their union in their firſt Covenant, found " nothing hard they propoſed to themſelves;" and told them, " that were that Covenant now painted upon " the wall within the Pope's palace, it would doubtleſs " put him into Belſhazzar's quaking condition;" the Speaker and Commons (having firſt ſet their hands to the Covenant, after they had taken it) returned to their Houſe; and obſerving that many of their members were that day abſent, the cauſe whereof was eaſy to be gueſſed, they ordered, " that, as ſoon as they came " into the Houſe, the Covenant ſhould be tendered to " them;

" them; and whoſoever refuſed to take it, ſhould be " proceeded againſt, as a diſaffected perſon, in ſuch " manner as the Houſe ſhould think fit."

They farther made a ſpecial order, "that all the min- The Cove-
" iſters of pariſh-churches within London and Weſt- nant or-
" minſter, the ſuburbs, and the whole line of commu- dered to be
" nication, ſhould read and explain the Covenant to taken by
" their ſeveral congregations, and ſtir them up, the ſpecially by
" next faſt day, to the cheerful taking of it:" and par- the city.
ticular care was taken, that all the ſtudents of the Inns of Court ſhould be perſuaded to receive it. But, over and above theſe general directions, there was a particular ceremony and application to recommend this Covenant to the city and corporation of London, and another uſe to be made of it. The Covenant was not only to bring, but to keep men together, and the taking it had only inclined the Scots to march to their aſſiſtance; they were to have one hundred thouſand pounds advanced to them, and paid at Edinburgh, before they could ſtir; and how to advance this great ſum, was not eaſy to reſolve. All their ordinances for levying of money were expired; their iſſues and diſburſements ſo vaſt, that no income was ſufficient; their exchequer was exhauſted, and even their public faith bankrupt: ſuch anticipations upon all kind of receipts, for monies borrowed and already ſpent, that they had no capital for future ſecurity.

The judicature of the Houſe of Peers (though their number was but ten, for there was no more at the ſentence of Juſtice Berkley) had helped them all they could. Juſtice Berkley, who had been committed by them to the Tower, ſhortly after the beginning of the Parliament, upon a charge of high treaſon, and ſince the beginning of the war, permitted to ſit as ſole Judge

in the King's Bench one whole term, was now brought to judgment; and by their Lordſhips fined the ſum of twenty thouſand pounds, and made incapable of any place of judicature; and upon abatement of half, and his liberty, he paid the other ten thouſand pounds together, to thoſe perſons they appointed to receive it; which, ſince all fines are due to the King alone, and cannot be diſpoſed but by him, many thought a greater crime than that for which he was ſentenced. Baron Trevor, who was fined for the ſame offence, and ſuffered ſtill to continue the ſame office, in which he had committed his miſdemeanor, yielded them as much more. But theſe petty ſums were diſpoſed before they were received, and were but ſmall drops to quench the great drought they ſuſtained: ſo that the reputation and ſecurity of this Covenant was, amongſt other uſes, to bring in money too.

To that purpoſe, a committee of Lords and Commons, with ſome of their Divines of the Aſſembly, was ſent to the Guildhall, where the Mayor had called a Common Council for their reception, to recommend to them "the wonderful advantage and ſtrength their party "ſhould gain by taking, and being united in, this "Covenant; and the deſperate condition they were like to "be in without it: if the Scots came not to their "aſſiſtance, which, without this obligation, they could "not do, they were in danger to be overwhelmed by the "enemy; or at leaſt to make a diſadvantageous and "diſhonourable peace with them; which yet they could "not tell how it would be obſerved and kept. On the "other hand, by this famous acceſſion of ſtrength of a "whole nation, they ſhould undoubtedly be able to "maſter the war, and to make thoſe who had been the "cauſers of it, defray the charge; and ſo all the public "debts

" debts being diſcharged out of the eſtates of Delinquents " and Malignants, the kingdom would not be at all im- " poveriſhed, and the peace, which ſhould hereafter be " made with the King, would be ſure to be inviolably " obſerved by the ſtrength of this union; and therefore " that it could not be purchaſed at too dear a rate.

" It was," they ſaid, " neither covetouſneſs, nor want " of affection and zeal to their relief, that the Scots, " who took their cauſe to heart as their own, deſired an " advance of money before they drew their army into " England, but pure neceſſity, and the poverty of that " kingdom, already exhauſted by their late expeditions, " and keeping their ſoldiers together for the good of this. " And if there had been money enough in that country " to have been procured upon the public ſtock and " revenue, or the mortgage of private eſtates, to which " all men were forward for the public good, their love to " their brethren here was ſuch, that they would neither " have aſked nor received money for their aſſiſtance, " after it had proved effectual; much leſs, before the " yielding it. For evidence of which frank and brotherly " inclination, they freely offered the engagement of their " own eſtates, for the repayment of the money that " ſhould be advanced:" which was the firſt time that ever land in Scotland had been offered for ſecurity of money, borrowed in the city of London. In the end, they very devoutly extolled the Covenant, magnified the Scottiſh nation with all imaginable attributes of eſteem and reverence, " a nation, that had engaged itſelf to God " in a higher way, in a more extraordinary way, than " any nation this day upon the face of the earth had " done; a nation, that had reformed their lives for ſo " ſmall a time, more than ever any people, that they " knew of, in the world had done; a nation, that God

" had honoured by giving as glorious ſucceſs unto, as " ever he did unto any :" and very earneſtly deſired the loan of a hundred thouſand pounds. The rhetoric and the zeal prevailed; a hundred thouſand pounds was promiſed, and ſhortly provided, and ſent to Edinburgh; and the aſſurance of the Scots coming ſo full, that they were looked upon as maſters of Newcaſtle already. With ſuch an alacrity all theſe things were tranſacted.

That violent party in the Parliament, which never intended any peace with the King, and had more deſperate mutations in their purpoſes, than they avowed, even amongſt thoſe who concurred with them in all they deſired, did not think themſelves ſecure in the affection of the people, nor in thoſe who had the greateſt truſt in their affairs. They had ſeen the great changes in the Houſes, in the city, and in the country, upon their late ill ſucceſſes, the defeat of Waller, and the loſs of Briſtol: and though the Earl of Eſſex ſtill adhered to them, yet they ſaw he was not pleaſed, nor favoured one of thoſe men upon whom they moſt depended; but, on the contrary, all who were countenanced by him, or in his confidence, were men of ſuch principles as they liked not, or who deſired no other alterations in the court or government, but only of the perſons who acted in it: therefore they had taken an opportunity, in the greateſt dejection of ſpirit, and when they looked upon themſelves as near ſwallowed up by the King's power, to move, " that they might ſend into Scotland to their " brethren there, to join with them, and to aſſiſt them " with an army, that they might, by ſuch a conjunc- " tion, have a ſupport, to make them ſo conſiderable, " as to be treated with, and to receive conditions which " might preſerve them from ruin :" which propoſition, being for ſo common an intereſt and benefit, had received

ceived a general concurrence; and ſo that committee of both Houſes had been ſent into Scotland, to put them in mind "of their joint concernment, and how impoſſi-"ble it would be for the Scots long to enjoy the great "conceſſions they had obtained from the King, when "the Parliament of England, by whoſe friendſhip, "power, and authority they had obtained them, ſhould "be oppreſſed, and forced to yield to ſuch conditions "for their particular preſervations, as the King would "think fit to give them." But they were not a little ſtartled, when they found this meſſage had obliged them to a preſent expence of a hundred thouſand pounds, before there was any viſible relief given them; and ſaw themſelves involved in new obligations of guilt, and to purpoſes they really never intended.

There hath been ſcarce any thing more wonderful throughout the progreſs of theſe diſtractions, than that this Covenant did with ſuch extraordinary expedition paſs the two Houſes, when all the leading perſons in thoſe councils were at the ſame time known to be as great enemies to Preſbytery, (the eſtabliſhment whereof was the main end of this Covenant), as they were to the King or the Church. And he who contributed moſt to it, and, in truth, was the principal contriver of it, and the man by whom the committee in Scotland was entirely and ſtupidly governed, Sir Harry Vane the younger, was not afterwards more known to abhor the Covenant, and the Preſbyterians, than he was at that very time known to do, and laughed at them then, as much as ever he did afterwards.

He was indeed a man of extraordinary parts, a pleaſant wit, a great underſtanding, which pierced into and diſcerned the purpoſes of other men with wonderful ſagacity, whilſt he had himſelf *vultum clauſum*, that no man

man could make a gueſs of what he intended. He was of a temper not to be moved, and of rare diſſimulation, and could comply when it was not ſeaſonable to contradict, without loſing ground by the condeſcenſion; and if he were not ſuperior to Mr. Hambden, he was inferior to no other man, in all myſterious artifices. There need no more be ſaid of his ability, than that he was choſen to cozen and deceive a whole nation, which was thought to excel in craft and cunning: which he did with notable pregnancy and dexterity, and prevailed with a people, that could not otherwiſe be prevailed upon than by advancing their idol Preſbytery, to ſacrifice their peace, their intereſt, and their faith, to the erecting a power and authority that reſolved to perſecute Preſbytery to an extirpation; and, in proceſs of time, very near brought their purpoſe to paſs.

The nation of Scotland, in general, had been ſo fully ſatisfied in all that they could pretend to deſire, that they were very well diſpoſed to be ſpectators of what was done in England, without engaging themſelves in the quarrel; and though there were ſome powerful men amongſt them, whoſe guilt would not ſuffer them to believe that they could be otherwiſe ſecure, than by the King's want of power to call them to juſtice, yet their number was not thought ſo great, as to be able to corrupt the people into a barefaced act of rebellion: nor had they any ſuch face of authority, as to invite them to it. Without a Parliament, they could not propoſe it; the King had abſolutely refuſed to call a Parliament, and it was yet above a year to come, before a Parliament could be aſſembled without the King's conſent; and in that time, the King might have the better of his enemies. However, the commiſſioners of the Parliament had not been long at Edinburgh, before they prevailed with the Council

Council to call a Parliament; which Duke Hamilton, and others, who pretended great devotion to the King, and were of the Council, had promiſed the King to oppoſe, and ſaid, "they were powerful enough to prevent "it." When it came to the point, Duke Hamilton, being, one way or other, perſuaded himſelf, perſuaded others, "that the abſolute refuſal to ſuffer a Parliament "to be called, would not quiet the debate, nor ſecure the "King, but more inflame thoſe who deſired it; who "would take ſome other time, when many of them who "oppoſed it ſhould be abſent, to propoſe it; and ſo "would carry it: and that therefore they were better be "abſent at firſt, whereby the others might, without op-"poſition, ſend out their ſummons for a Parliament to "aſſemble, at the day they thought fit; and that, as "they who would ſerve the King would not be there, ſo "they ſhould prevail with as many others as they could, "not to be there likewiſe; whereby the number which "appeared would be ſo inconſiderable, that they would "not dare to ſit, but perfectly diſperſe; and this diſap-"pointment would for ever quaſh that deſign, and ren-"der thoſe who adviſed it odious to the people; as men "who deſired illegally to engage the nation in unjuſtifi-"able ways, to diſturb the public peace."

A Parliament ſummoned by the Covenanters in Scotland.

A ſummons was accordingly ſent out to call a Parliament, to meet at a day appointed; before which time, thoſe of the nobility and gentry, who did really deſire to ſerve the King, applied themſelves to Duke Hamilton, (whoſe advice and orders the King himſelf had required them to obſerve; unhappily ſtill believing him to be faithful), to know what they ſhould do: many of the principal of them declaring their opinions to him, "that "they ſhould take an opportunity to meet together, and "bring their friends with them, whereby they might "make

" make a good body of horſe, and ſo, with their arms " in their hands, they would declare againſt the legality " of that Parliament, and the meeting in it:" and named a fit opportunity to him for ſuch a meeting at the funeral of a lady, which was to be within ſome days, when, according to the cuſtom of that people, great numbers of perſons of quality uſe to aſſemble, to do honour to the dead in the laſt obſequies. He told them, " he be- " lieved it muſt come ſhortly to that remedy, but con- " ceived it not yet time, and that ſuch a meeting would " frighten the people, and increaſe the number in Par- " liament, and make many reſort to them for their di- " rections." He likewiſe ſaid, " he had changed his " former opinion, concerning their own being abſent at " that time of the meeting of the Parliament, ſince their " mere abſence would not be diſcountenance enough, " and that they who ſat, would carry the reputation of " a Parliament, and the people would be guided by them, " if there were nothing but their abſence to work upon " their inclinations and affections."

He propoſed therefore to them, " that they would all " reſolve to be preſent, and take their places; and that, " when the Houſe ſhould be ſat, and any man ſhould " ſtand up to propoſe the taking any buſineſs into con- " ſideration, he (the Duke) would firſt make his pro- " teſtation againſt proceeding in ſo illegal a conven- " tion, and then they ſhould all make the ſame proteſta- " tion; and he did hope, that the number of the pro- " teſters would be great enough to diſſolve the meeting; " and thus they ſhould put the beſt end to the matter " that could be deſired: but if it ſhould ſucceed other- " wiſe, then would be the time to withdraw and put " themſelves in arms; towards which he would make " the beſt preparation he could; and deſired them to

" do

" do the like." The Earl of Kinoul, and ſome others, made exception againſt this expedient, and preſſed the former meeting at the funeral, till the Duke told them, " the King liked the other way better;" and pulled a letter out of his pocket, which he had received from his Majeſty, and read them ſo much of it, as contained his approbation, " that they ſhould meet in the Parliament;" in which determination they could not but acquieſce, though they thought at the ſame time, that his Majeſty was betrayed.

The Parliament met at the day; and Duke Hamilton, according to his promiſe, took an opportunity to ſay ſomewhat that ſeemed to imply a proteſtation againſt the meeting; upon which, many of the Lords, who had been always moſt engaged againſt the King, were very warm; and demanded, " that he ſhould declare himſelf " clearly, whether he did proteſt againſt the Parliament;" whereupon his brother the Earl of Lanrick, who was Secretary of State to the King, ſtood up, and ſaid, " that " he hoped that noble Lord's affection to his country " was better known, than that any man could imagine " he would proteſt againſt the Parliament of the king- " dom;" and then the Duke explained, and excuſed himſelf; and ſaid, " he meant no ſuch thing:" and ſo they declared, " that they would treat with the com- " miſſioners, who were ſent from the Parliament of " England;" and appointed commiſſioners for that purpoſe.

Some are of opinion, that, even at this time, they did not intend to engage in the war againſt the King; but that, as a few men cozened the Parliament at Weſtminſter, by perſuading them, " that they deſired only a ſafe " peace," till, by multiplication of indignities, they made it impoſſible to make a peace that would appear ſafe;

ſo

ſo there was as ſmall a number in Scotland, that over-reached the Parliament there, by perſuading, "that they "never intended to do any thing againſt the King, but "that it would be too ingrateful a thing, and render "them very odious to the whole Engliſh nation, if, after "they had received ſo many obligations from the Par-"liament there, to whoſe protection they owed their re-"ligion, and all that they enjoyed, they ſhould refuſe ſo "much as to treat with them, and to aſſiſt them, by "their interpoſition, to procure a good peace for them "with the King; which would be a great honour to "them; and would be as great an obligation to his "Majeſty, as to the Parliament." That this was all that was in their thoughts; and that they would avoid any engagement in a war, not by rejecting the propoſition, but by making ſuch demands, as they knew well would never be accepted by the Parliament at Weſtminſter. Thereupon they told the commiſſioners from that Parliament, "that it would be impoſſible to engage their "nation in a joint concurrence with them, againſt the "King, but by the influence and authority of their "Kirk; and that it would be as impoſſible to procure "the conſent of their Kirk, except by making it evident "to them, that the government of the Church in "England ſhould be reduced to the ſame model with "theirs in Scotland; and that epiſcopacy ſhould be to-"tally extirpated; and that Deans and Chapters ſhould "be utterly aboliſhed; without which," they ſaid, "they "could never think their own government ſecurely "eſtabliſhed; but if ſuch a promiſe might be ſolemnly "made, their Kirk would be throughly engaged, and "the nation, to a man, would enter into the quarrel."

Sir Harry Vane was not ſurpriſed with the propoſition, which he had long foreſeen, and came reſolved to pay their

their own price for their friendſhip. Thereupon, as hath been already ſaid, the Covenant was prepared, and other propoſitions made for the preſent furniſhing a great ſum of money, to enable them to begin their levies; and many other extravagant conditions propoſed on the Scots' part, for the payment of the army, and other vaſt expences, that they did not believe the commiſſioners would yield, or that the Parliament would perform, if they were yielded unto. Nothing of money, or honour, made any delay; and they came provided with ſome letters of credit, that as little time might be loſt as was poſſible, in making all neceſſary preparations. The Covenant was the matter of difficulty; they knowing well, that many of their greateſt friends, both in the Parliament and the army, had not any mind to change the government of the Church; to which the people of England were not generally diſaffected.

Sir Harry Vane therefore (who equally hated epiſcopacy and preſbytery, ſave that he wiſhed the one aboliſhed with much impatience, believing it much eaſier to keep the other from being eſtabliſhed, whatever they promiſed, than to be rid of that which was ſettled in the kingdom) carefully conſidered the Covenant, and after he had altered and changed many expreſſions in it, and made them doubtful enough to bear many interpretations, he, and his fellow commiſſioners, ſigned the whole treaty; whereby it was provided, "That the Covenant "ſhould be taken throughout all his Majeſty's domi- "nions; that a committee of the Scots ſhould always "ſit with the cloſe committee at Weſtminſter for the "carrying on of the war with equal authority; that "there ſhould be no treaty of peace with the King, "without the joint conſent of the Parliaments of both "kingdoms;" and many other particulars, very derogatory

The ſubſtance of the treaty between the Engliſh commiſſioners and the Scots.

tory to the honour of the Engliſh nation; and with all poſſible expedition ſent it to the cloſe committee at Weſtminſter; in the time of their conſternation, and before the relief of Glouceſter; which tranſmitted it preſently back to them, allowed and confirmed.

And thereupon the Parliament at Edinburgh reſolved to raiſe a great army, and to invade England; and their old General Leſley, who had ſo ſolemnly promiſed the King, not only "never to bear arms againſt him, but to "ſerve him, let the cauſe be what it would," without any heſitation undertook the command of it. All this time, Duke Hamilton looked on, and ſometimes ſate with them; and when the firſt proclamation was prepared, in the King's name, for a general rendezvous of all men, from ſuch an age to ſuch an age, at ſuch a time and place, that ſo their army might be preſently formed, the Earl of Lanrick put the King's ſignet, with the keeping whereof he was truſted, to the ſaid proclamation: and all this being done, both the brothers left Scotland, to give the King an account at Oxford of all the proceedings: many of the nobility of that kingdom, who did heartily wiſh well to the King, being gone from thence, after the firſt day's meeting of their Parliament, (when the Duke had broken his promiſe to them), and informed his Majeſty at large of that which they thought foul infidelity.

The Scots raiſe an army under Leſley.

The diſcompoſures, jealouſies, and diſguſts, which reigned at Oxford, produced great inconveniences; and as, many times, men in a ſcuffle loſe their weapons, and light upon thoſe which belonged to their adverſaries, who again arm themſelves with thoſe which belonged to the others, ſuch, one would have thought, had been the fortune of the King's army in the encounters with the enemy's: for thoſe under the King's commanders

Diviſions amongſt the councils at Oxford.

grew

grew inſenſibly into all the licenſe, diſorder, and impiety, with which they had reproached the rebels; and they, into great diſcipline, diligence, and ſobriety; which begot courage and reſolution in them, and notable dexterity in achievements and enterpriſes. Inſomuch as one ſide ſeemed to fight for monarchy, with the weapons of confuſion, and the other to deſtroy the King and government, with all the principles and regularity of monarchy.

In the beginning of the troubles, the King had very prudently reſolved with himſelf, to confer no honours, or beſtow any offices or preferments, upon any, till the end and concluſion of the ſervice; and if that reſolution had continued, he would have found much eaſe by it, and his ſervice great advantage. The neceſſity and exigents of the war, ſhortly after, made ſome breach into this ſeaſonable reſolution, and, for ready money to carry on the war, his Majeſty was compelled, againſt his nature, to diſpenſe ſome favours, which he would not willingly have ſuffered to be purchaſed, but by virtue and high merit. Then all men thought money and money-worth to be all one; and that whoſoever, by his ſervice, had deſerved a reward of money, had deſerved any thing that might be had for money. And when it was apparent, that the war was like to prove a buſineſs of time, it was thought unreaſonable, that the King ſhould not confer rewards on ſome, which he was able to do, becauſe he could not do it on all, which was confeſſedly out of his power. And ſo, by importunity, and upon the title of old promiſes, and ſome conveniences of his ſervice, he beſtowed honours upon ſome principal officers of his army, and offices upon others; to which, though, in the particulars, no juſt exceptions could be taken, yet many were angry to ſee ſome preferred; and

not ſo much extolling their own merit and ſervice, as making it equal to thoſe whom they ſaw advanced, every man thought himſelf neglected and ſlighted, in that another was better eſteemed.

And this poiſon of envy wrought upon many natures, which had ſkill enough not to confeſs it: the ſoldiers, albeit they were emulous amongſt themſelves, and very unſatisfied with one another, (there being unhappy animoſities amongſt the principal officers), yet they were too well united, and reconciled againſt any other body of men; and thinking the King's crown depended wholly on the fortune of their ſwords, believed no other perſons to be conſiderable, and no councils fit to be conſulted with, but the martial; and thence proceeded a fatal diſreſpect and irreverence to the council of ſtate, to which, by the wholeſome conſtitution of the kingdom, the militia, garriſons, and all martial power is purely and naturally ſubordinate; and by the authority and prudence whereof, proviſion could be only reaſonably expected, for the countenance and ſupport of the army.

The General and Prince Rupert were both ſtrangers to the government and cuſtom of the kingdom, and utterly unacquainted with the nobility, and the King's miniſters, or with their rights: and the Prince's heart was ſo wholly ſet upon actions of war, that he not only neglected, but too much contemned, the peaceable and civil arts, which were moſt neceſſary even to the carrying on of the other. And certainly, ſomewhat like that which Plutarch ſays of the Roman auguries, "that "Octavius loſt his life by truſting to them, and that "Marius proſpered the better, becauſe he did not alto-"gether deſpiſe them," may be ſaid of popularity: though he that too immoderately and importunately affects it (which was the caſe of the Earl of Eſſex) will hardly

hardly continue innocent; yet he who too affectedly deſpiſes or neglects what is ſaid of him, or what is generally thought of perſons or things, and too ſtoically contemns the affections of men, even of vulgar, (be his other abilities and virtues as great as can be imagined), will, in ſome conjuncture of time, find himſelf very unfortunate. And it may be, a better reaſon cannot be aſſigned for the misfortunes that hopeful young Prince (who had great parts of mind, as well as vigour of body, and an incomparable perſonal courage) underwent, and the kingdom thereby, than that unpoliſhed roughneſs of his nature; which rendered him leſs patient to hear, and conſequently leſs ſkilful to judge of thoſe things, which ſhould have guided him in the diſcharge of his important truſt: and making an unſkilful judgment of the unuſefulneſs of the councils, by his obſervation of the infirmities and weakneſs of ſome particular counſellors, he grew to a full diſeſteem of the acts of that board; which muſt ever be reſpected, as long as the regal power is exerciſed in England.

I cannot but, on this occaſion, continue this digreſſion thus much farther, to obſerve, that they who avoid public debates in council, or think them of no moment, upon undervaluing the perſons of ſome counſellors, and from the particular infirmities of the men, the heavineſs of this man, the levity of another, the weakneſs and ſimplicity of a third, conclude, that the advice and opinions of many are not requiſite to any great deſign, are exceedingly deceived; and will perniciouſly deceive others who are miſled by thoſe concluſions. For it is in wiſdom, as it is in beauty, a face that, being taken in pieces, affords ſcarce one exact feature, an eye, or a noſe, or a tooth, or a brow, or a mouth, againſt which a viſible juſt exception may not be taken, yet altogether, by a

gracefulneſs and vivacity in the whole, may conſtitute an excellent beauty, and be more charming than another, whoſe ſymmetry is more faultleſs; ſo there are many men, who in one particular argument may be unſkilful, in another affected, who may ſeem to have ſome levity, and vanity, or formality, in ordinary and curſory converſation, (a very crooked rule to meaſure any man's abilities, as giving a better meaſure of the humour, than of the underſtanding), and yet in formed counſels, deliberations, and tranſactions, are men of great inſight, and wiſdom, and from whom excellent aſſiſtance may be contributed.

No queſtion, all great enterpriſes and deſigns, that are to be executed, have many parts, even in the projection, fit for the ſurvey and diſquiſition of ſeveral faculties and abilities, equally for the deciſion of ſharper and more phlegmatic underſtandings. And we often hear, in debates of great moment, animadverſions of more weight and conſequence, from thoſe whoſe ordinary converſation may not be ſo delightful, than from men of more ſublime parts. Certainly Solomon well underſtood himſelf, when he ſaid, *In the multitude of counſellors there is ſafety*. And though it be confeſſed, that reaſon would be better diſcovered, and ſtated, and right concluſions eaſier made by a few, than by a greater number, yet when the execution depends on many, and the general interpretation ſo much depends on the ſucceſs, and the ſucceſs on the interpretation, we ſee thoſe counſels uſually moſt proſperous, whereof the conſiderations and deliberations have been meaſured by that ſtandard which is moſt publicly acknowledged and received. He has had but ſmall experience in the managing affairs, who is not able experimentally to name to himſelf ſome very good and uſeful concluſions, which have therefore only miſ-

miſcarried, becauſe they were not communicated to thoſe, who thought they had reaſon to believe themſelves competent parties to the ſecret. There was ſeldom ever yet that public-heartedneſs ſunk into the breaſts of men, as to be long willing to be left out in thoſe tranſactions, to the privacy whereof they had a right. And therefore men have been often willing enough, any ſingle advice ſhould miſcarry, of whatſoever general concernment, rather than contribute to the fame of ſome one man, who has thought their approbation not worth the providing for. And though the advantage of ſecreſy and diſpatch ſeems to favour a ſmall number of counſellors, yet (except in ſome few caſes, which in their own nature are to be both conſulted, and acted together, and the full execution whereof may be by a few) I am not ſure that the inconveniency will be greater by the neceſſary delays, occaſioned by the number, or even by ſuch a diſcovery, as may be ſuppoſed to proceed from the levity of any of them, than by wanting the approbation and concurrence of thoſe, who will unavoidably know it ſoon enough to add to, or take from, the ſucceſs, at leaſt the reputation, of any public buſineſs. Much of the negligence and diſreſpect towards the civil councils proceeded from theſe unhappy cauſes. For as all corporations, tribes, and fraternities, ſuffer moſt by the malignity of ſome of their own members; ſo the jealouſy and indiſpoſition of ſome counſellors contributed much to the diſregard which fell upon the order; and in them, upon the King.

Among thoſe who were next the King's truſt, and to whom he communicated the greateſt ſecrets in his affairs, there were ſome, who from private, though very good, conditions of life, without ſuch an application to court as uſually uſhered in thoſe promotions, were aſ-

cended to that preferment; and were believed to have an equal intereſt with any, in their Maſter's eſtimation. Theſe were ſure to find no more charity from the court, than from the army; and they having had lately ſo many equals, it was thought no preſumption, freely to cenſure all they did, or ſpoke; what effect ſoever ſuch freedom had upon the public policy and tranſactions. It were to be wiſhed, that perſons of the greateſt birth, honour, and fortune, would take that care of themſelves by education, induſtry, literature, and a love of virtue, to ſurpaſs all other men in knowledge, and all other qualifications, neceſſary for great actions, as far as they do in quality and titles, that princes, out of them, might always chooſe men fit for all employments, and high truſts; which would exceedingly advance their ſervice; when the reputation and reſpect of the perſon carries ſomewhat with it, that facilitates the buſineſs. And it cannot eaſily be expreſſed, nor comprehended by any who have not felt the weight and burthen of the envy, which naturally attends upon thoſe promotions, which ſeem to be *per ſaltum*, how great ſtraits and difficulties ſuch miniſters are forced to wreſtle with, and by which the charges, with which they are entruſted, muſt proportionably ſuffer, let the integrity and wiſdom of the men be what it can be ſuppoſed to be. Neither is the patience and dexterity, to carry a man through thoſe ſtraits, eaſily attained; it being very hard, in the morning of preferment, to keep an even temper of mind, between the care to preſerve the dignity of the place committed to him, (without which he ſhall expoſe himſelf to a thouſand rude attempts, and diſhonour the judgment that promoted him, by appearing too mean for ſuch a truſt), and between the caution, that his nature be not really exalted to an overweening pride and folly,

folly, upon the privilege of his great place; which will expoſe him to much more contempt than the former; and therefore is, with a more exact guard, to be avoided: the errors of gentleneſs and civility being much more eaſily reformed, as well as endured, than the other of arrogance and oſtentation.

The beſt proviſion that ſuch men can make for their voyage, beſides a laſting ſtock of innocency, and a firm confidence in God Almighty, that he will never ſuffer that innocency to be utterly oppreſſed, or notoriouſly defamed, is, an expectation of thoſe guſts and ſtorms of rumour, detraction, and envy; and a reſolution not to be over ſenſible of all calumnies, unkindneſs, or injuſtice; but to believe, that, by being preferred before other men, they have an obligation upon them, to ſuffer more than other men would do; and that the beſt way to convince ſcandals, and miſreports, is, by neglecting them, to appear not to have deſerved them. There is not a more troubleſome paſſion, or that often draws more inconveniences with it, than that which proceeds from the indignation of being unjuſtly calumniated, and from the pride of an upright conſcience; when men cannot endure to be ſpoken ill of, if they have not deſerved it: in which diſtemper, though they ſhould free themſelves from the errors, or infirmities, with which they were traduced, they commonly diſcover others, of which they had never been ſuſpected. In a word, let no honeſt man, that is once entered into the liſt, think he can by any ſkill, or comportment, prevent theſe conflicts and aſſaults; or that he can, by any ſtubborn or impetuous humour, ſuppreſs and prevail over them: but let him look upon it as purgatory he is unavoidably to paſs through, and depend upon Providence, and time, for a vindication; and by conſtantly performing all the

duties of his place with juſtice, integrity, and uprightneſs, give all men cauſe to believe, he was worthy of the firſt hour; which is a triumph very lawfully to be affected.

As theſe diſtempers, indiſpoſitions, and infirmities of particular men had a great influence upon the public affairs, and diſturbed and weakened the whole frame and fabric of the King's deſigns; ſo no particular man was more diſquieted by them, than the King himſelf; who, in his perſon, as well as in his buſineſs, ſuffered all the vexation of the rude, petulant, and diſcontented humours of court and army. His Majeſty now paid intereſt for all the benefit and advantage he had received in the beginning of the war, by his gentleneſs, and princely affability to all men, and by deſcending ſomewhat from the forms of Majeſty, which he had, in his former life, obſerved with all punctuality. He vouchſafed then himſelf to receive any addreſſes, and overtures for his ſervice, and to hold diſcourſe with all men who brought devotion to him; and he muſt be now troubled with the complaints, and murmurs, and humours of all; and how frivolous and unreaſonable ſoever the cauſe was, his Majeſty was put both to inform and temper their underſtandings. No man would receive an anſwer but from himſelf, and expected a better from him, than he muſt have been contented to have received from any body elſe. Every man magnified the ſervice he had done, and his ability and intereſt to do greater, and propoſed honour and reward equal to both in his own ſenſe. And if he received not an anſwer to his mind, he grew ſullen, complained, "he was neglected," and reſolved, or pretended ſo, "to quit the ſervice, "and to travel into ſome foreign kingdom." He is deceived that believes the ordinary carriage and ſtate of a King

King to be matters of indifferency, and of no relation to his greatneſs. They are the outworks, which preſerve Majeſty itſelf from approaches and ſurpriſal. We find that the Queen of Sheba was amazed at the meat of Solomon's table, and the ſitting of his ſervants, and the attendance of his miniſters, and their apparel, and his cupbearers, &c. as ſo great inſtances of Solomon's wiſdom, that *there was no more ſpirit in her*. And no doubt, what Prince ſoever inconſiderately departs from thoſe forms, and trappings, and ornaments of his dignity and preeminence, will hardly, at ſome time, be able to preſerve the body itſelf of Majeſty, from intruſion, invaſion, and violation.

And let no man think, that the King had now no hard taſk to maſter theſe troubles, and that a ſhort and ſharp blaſt of royal ſeverity would eaſily have diſperſed theſe clouds. The diſeaſe was too violent and catching, and the contagion too univerſal, to be cured by that remedy; neither were the ſymptoms, or effects, the ſame in all conſtitutions. It cannot be imagined, into how many ſeveral ſhapes men's indiſpoſitions were put, and how many artifices were uſed to get honours, offices, preferments, and the waywardneſs and perverſeneſs, which attended the being diſappointed of their own hopes. One man had been named for ſuch a place, that is, himſelf and his friends had given it out, that he ſhould have it, when, it may be, he was too modeſt to pretend to it; and upon this vogue he had a title; and if it ſhould be conferred upon another, it would be a mark of the King's diſfavour to him; and thereby he ſhould loſe the ability, and credit, without which he could do no farther ſervice. Another ſuggeſted, that his friends and companions in conſort had all received ſome obligation, and if he alone ſhould remain without ſome teſtimony of favour,

favour, it would be a brand upon him of ſome ſignal unworthineſs. No man was ſo hard hearted to himſelf, as not to be able to give a reaſon for any thing he deſired; and he commonly had beſt ſucceſs, who proſecuted his own wiſhes with moſt boldneſs and importunity; neither was there a better, or another reaſon for ſome men's preferment, than that they had ſet their hearts upon it, and would have it. And it was a great temptation to modeſt natures, to find forward men had ſo good fortune, that the want of ſucceſs begun to be imputed to want of wit.

I remember, about this time, a perſon of good quality, and of a good name in action, came to me very penſive, and told me, "how conſcientiouſly he had ſerved "the King, without any private deſigns, or other "thoughts, than the diſcharge of his own duty, and "rendering the performance of that duty acceptable to "his Majeſty; yet that, to his unſpeakable diſcomfort, "he found, he had been miſrepreſented to the King, "and that his Majeſty had entertained a ſiniſter opinion "of him, and deſired me to learn what the ground of "the prejudice was, and by my good teſtimony to en-"deavour to remove it." I had a very good opinion of the perſon, and believed the King had ſo, and therefore perſuaded him, that the jealouſy was groundleſs, and preſſed to know, from whence he received thoſe impreſſions; he excuſed himſelf in the particular, and aſſured me, "that he had his advertiſement from a ſure hand, "which was to be concealed, and not doubted; that, "upon my enquiry, I would find it true, though he "could not imagine the cauſe." I promiſed him, "I "would preſs the King very heartily in it, and if there "were any thing that ſtuck with him, I preſumed his "Majeſty would be ſo gracious to let me know it;" and accord-

accordingly, having ſhortly after an opportunity to wait on his Majeſty, I told him the true narrative of what had paſſed, with my obſervation of the general comportment of that gentleman, and beſought his Majeſty, "if any ill offices had been done him, or that any pre-"judice towards him was lodged in his royal breaſt, that "he would graciouſly vouchſafe to tell me what it was, "and that he would allow him an acceſs, to clear him-"ſelf from any imputations." The King very cheerfully aſſured me, "that he had not only a very good "opinion of that gentleman, but that he was moſt aſ-"ſured, he had no real ſuſpicion to the contrary;" and therefore bid me "proceed to the other part of my bu-"ſineſs." I told him, "I had no more, and that I was "ſure, I ſhould make a very happy man by ſatisfying "him of what I found." Then ſaid the King, "You "are not throughly inſtructed, for the other half of "this buſineſs muſt be a ſuit." I replied, "if that "were ſo, I was yet more ignorant than I ſuſpected "myſelf." The gentleman ſhortly after came to me, in pain, as I thought, with the jealouſy of being in umbrage; and when I gave him pregnant aſſurance to the contrary, with the mention of ſome expreſſions the King had uſed, which were indeed very gracious, he ſeemed to receive it with ſuch a countenance and guſto, that I verily believed he had had his heart's deſire. But, the next morning, he came to me again, and told me, "that "I had made him abundantly happy, and that he "doubted not there was no juſt ground for the other "reports, but only the malice of thoſe who wiſhed them "true; yet, that they had leſſened his credit abroad, "even with his friends; and that he found there was no "way to keep up his reputation and intereſt in the "world, whereby he might be able to do the King ſer-"vice,

" vice, (which was all he looked after), but the receiving " ſome teſtimony of the King's good opinion, which " would be a public evidence, that the other diſcourſes " were falſe." I was ſurpriſed, and as much out of countenance, as he ſhould have been; and adviſed him " to patience, and to expect the King's own time, and " method, rather than to quicken him by any importu- " nity, which would give an ill reliſh to any obligation." He would not underſtand that philoſophy, but ſhortly after found ſome other means to preſs the King very roundly for a place, upon the title of that good opinion he had declared to me to hold of him; not without ſome implication, " that, without ſome ſuch earneſt of " his Majeſty's goodneſs, he ſhould not be able to con- " tinue in his ſervice;" which probably was one of the modeſteſt addreſſes, which were made to him at that time. And it cannot be denied, this way the King's trouble was ſo great, that he many times ſuffered more vexation from the indiſpoſition and humours of his own people, than from the enemy, or the apprehenſion of their counſels: which hath made me enlarge this digreſſion ſo much; conceiving it no leſs to be a part of hiſtory, and more uſeful to poſterity, to leave a character of the times, than of the perſons, or the narrative of the matters of fact, which cannot be ſo well underſtood, as by knowing the genius that prevailed when they were tranſacted.

The beſt expedient his Majeſty could find to diſpel theſe fumes, was motion and action; and therefore, though the ſeaſon of the year was too far ſpent, and too many officers hurt, for the taking the field again; beſides that many regiments were returned to their old poſts, (as the Welſh to defend their own country from the incurſions from Glouceſter, and to reduce ſome towns

in

in Pembrokeſhire, which, lying on the ſea, by the help of the Parliament ſhips, begun to fortify and gather ſtrength), yet he reſolved his forces about Oxford ſhould not lie ſtill.

In the beginning of October, Prince Rupert, with a ſtrong party of horſe, foot, and dragoons, marched into Bedfordſhire, and took the town of Bedford, and in it a party of the enemy, who uſed it only as a ſtrong quarter. This expedition was principally to countenance Sir Lewis Dives, whilſt he fortified Newport Pannel, where he hoped to fix a garriſon; which would have made a more direct line of communication with the northern parts, and reſtrained the commerce between London and their aſſociated counties; which they well underſtood; and therefore, upon the firſt news of it, the Earl of Eſſex removed his head-quarters from Windſor to St. Alban's; and the Trained Bands of London, and their auxiliary regiments, marched again to him for his recruit; upon the advancement whereof, and a miſtake of orders from Oxford, Sir Lewis Dives drew off his forces from Newport Pannel; and the enemy preſently poſſeſſed themſelves of it, and made it a very uſeful garriſon. Upon which, Prince Rupert fortified Toſſliter, a town in Northamptonſhire, and left a ſtrong garriſon there; which, though it infeſted the enemy ſomewhat, and took great revenge upon thoſe counties, which had expreſſed a violent affection to the Parliament, in truth, added little ſtrength to the King; for he loſt many horſe by the labour of duty, the greateſt part of the body of his horſe being forced to quarter near that place, for the ſecurity of the foot, till the works about the town were in ſuch a forwardneſs, that they needed not fear their neighbours at St. Alban's.

In the mean time, the power of the Parliament was leaſt The King's affairs in the Weſt.

leaſt manifeſt in the Weſt, where their party was reduced to a lowneſs, and confined within narrow limits after the taking of Exeter; the gentlemen of that county having been generally well devoted to the King's ſervice, though never able ſafely to declare it, at leaſt to appear in a poſture of oppoſing the violence of the other party. Prince Maurice found a general concurrence to advance the great work, by levies of money, men, and all offices that could be expected; inſomuch as, within very few days after the ſurrender of that town, his army of foot, by the new levies, contained no fewer than ſeven thouſand men, (which was a body the Weſt had not before ſeen), beſides a body of horſe, at leaſt proportionable to the other; and all in excellent equipage for action. And at the ſame time, Colonel John Digby was before Plymouth, with above three thouſand foot, and ſix hundred horſe, and had taken a work from the enemy of great importance, called Mount Stamford in honour of that Earl during the time of his abode there, within half a mile of the town, and which commanded ſome part of the river; the loſs whereof gave the town a marvellous diſcouragement.

The firſt error the Prince committed after the reducing of Exeter, was ſtaying too long there before he advanced, for victorious armies carry great terror with them, whilſt the memory and fame of the victory is freſh. The next, that he moved not directly towards Plymouth, when he did move; which, in all probability, would have yielded upon his approach: for the town was full of diſtraction, and jealouſy amongſt themſelves, as well as unprovided for the reception of an enemy. It was a rich and populous corporation, being, in time of peace, the greateſt port for trade in the Weſt; and, except Briſtol, then more conſiderable than all the reſt.

There

There was in it a caſtle very ſtrong towards the ſea, with good platforms and ordnance; and little more than muſquet-ſhot from the town, was an iſland with a fort in it, much ſtronger than the caſtle; both which were, before the troubles, under the command of a captain, with a garriſon of about fifty men at the moſt; and were only intended for a ſecurity, and defence of the town againſt a foreign invaſion; the caſtle and the iſland together having a good command of the entrance into the harbour, but towards the land there was very little ſtrength. This command was in the hands of Sir Jacob Aſhley, and as unprovided to expect or reſiſt an enemy, as the other caſtles and forts of the kingdom; leſs for the receiving a recruit; there being only ordnance and ammunition, without any other proviſions for the ſupport of the ſoldiers within the walls; and the garriſon itſelf being by time, marriages, and trade, incorporated into the town, and rather citizens than ſoldiers; ſo that Sir Jacob Aſhley being ſent for to the King, before his ſetting up his ſtandard, as ſoon as there was any apprehenſion of a party for the King in Cornwall, after the appearing of Sir Ralph Hopton, and thoſe other gentlemen there, the mayor and corporation of Plymouth quickly got both the caſtle and iſland into their own power.

It will be wondered at by many hereafter, that thoſe, and the like places of ſtrength in England, being under the command of perſons entirely of his Majeſty's nomination, were not put into a good poſture of defence, when it grew firſt evident, that there would be ſhortly occaſion to uſe them; for according to the old ſtory in Ælian, that when in one of the ſtates of Greece, Micippus's ſheep brought forth a lion, it was generally and juſtly concluded, that that portended a tyranny, and change of the ſtate from a peaceable to a bloody government;

ment; ſo when the two Houſes of Parliament firſt produced a ſovereign power, to make, and alter, and ſuſpend laws, before they raiſed an army, or made a general, or declared war; when that mild and innocent ſheep, that legal regular convention of a ſober and modeſt council, had once brought forth that lion which ſought whom he might devour, it might be eaſily and naturally concluded by all wiſe and ſober men, that the bleſſed calm, and temperate ſtate of government, by which every man eat the fruit of his own vine, was at an end; and rapine, blood, and deſolation, to ſucceed; and therefore that thoſe holds ſhould, in reaſon, have been then provided for.

But I ſhall ſay here once for all, that from the time that there was any reaſonable jealouſy of a war, it was never in the King's power to mend the condition of any of thoſe places; and if he had attempted it, with what caution or ſecreſy ſoever, the inconvenience he muſt have ſuſtained by it, beſides the failing of his end, would have been much greater than the advantage which could have accrued, if he had done what he deſired. I have very ill deſcribed the times we have paſſed through, if that be not apparent; and that it was rather an error of the former times, that thoſe places needed any ſupply, than that it was not applied to them in the ſucceeding.

The Parliament was very glad Plymouth was thus ſecured; and, as well to put an obligation upon all corporations, by ſhewing they thought them capable of the greateſt truſts, as becauſe they could not, in truth, more reaſonably confide in any other, they committed the government thereof to that Mayor; who was well enough inſtructed, what reſpect to pay to their committee; which was appointed to reſide there for his aſſiſtance, and to conduct the affairs in thoſe parts. Of that committee,

Sir

Sir Andrew Carew was one; a gentleman of a good fortune in Cornwall, who ſerved in Parliament as knight for that county, and had, from the beginning of the rliament, concurred in all concluſions with the moſt olent, with as full a teſtimony of that zeal and fury, o which their confidence was applied, as any man. To im the cuſtody and government of that fort and iſland, which was looked upon as the ſecurity of the town, was committed; and a ſufficient garriſon put into it. The Mayor commanded the caſtle and the town, about which a line was caſt up of earth, weak and irregular.

After the battle of Stratton, and the King's forces prevailing ſo far over the Weſt, that Briſtol was taken by them, and Exeter cloſely beſieged, Sir Alexander Carew begun to think his iſland and fort would hardly ſecure his eſtate in Cornwall; and underſtood the law ſo well (for he had had a good education) to know, that the ſide he had choſen would be no longer the better, than it ſhould continue the ſtronger; and having originally followed no other motives, than of popularity and intereſts, reſolved now to redeem his errors; and found means to correſpond with ſome of his old friends and neighbours in Cornwall, and, by them, to make a direct overture to ſurrender that fort and iſland to the King, upon an aſſurance of his Majeſty's pardon, and a full remiſſion of his offences. Sir John Berkley, who then lay before Exeter, was the next ſupreme officer, qualified to entertain ſuch a treaty; and he, inſtantly, by the ſame conveyance, returned him as ample aſſurance of his own conditions as could be; with advice, "that he ſhould "not, upon any defect of forms, (which, upon his en- "gagement, ſhould be ſupplied with all poſſible expe- "dition, to his own ſatisfaction), defer the conſummating

Sir Alexander Carew treats to ſurrender the fort of Plymouth to the King's forces, but is ſurpriſed.

" the work; which hereafter, poſſibly, might not be in " his power to effect:" deſigns of that nature being to be conſulted and executed together; for in thoſe caſes, according to Mutianus in Tacitus, *Qui deliberant, de- verunt*; and the greateſt danger attends the not going on. But he was ſo ſottiſhly and dangerouſly wary of his own ſecurity, (having neither courage enough to obey his conſcience, nor wickedneſs enough to be proſperous againſt it), that he would not proceed, till he was ſufficiently aſſured, that his pardon was paſſed the Great Seal of England; before which time, though all imaginable haſte was made, by the treachery of a ſervant whom he truſted, his treaty and deſign was diſcovered to the Mayor, and the reſt of the committee; and, according to the diligence uſed by that party, in caſes of ſuch concernment, he was ſuddenly, and without reſiſtance, ſurpriſed in his fort, and carried priſoner into Plymouth; and from thence, by ſea, ſent to London; where what became of him, will be remembered in its place.

Shortly after this accident, Colonel Digby came before the town; and though the great damage was by this means prevented, yet it cannot be imagined, but the people were in great diſtraction, with the apprehenſion of the danger they had eſcaped; and thoſe diſcoveries bring always that melancholy with them, that men are not quickly again brought to a confidence in one another. For no man had, to common underſtanding, better deſerved to be truſted, or given leſs argument for ſuſpicion: and upon ſuch a defection, who could hope to ſtand free from jealouſy? Beſides, he could not but have had much familiarity with many in the town, which muſt ſubject them to ſome ſuſpicion, or, at leaſt, make them ſuſpect that they were ſuſpected; and, without doubt, it awakened many to apprehend the immediate hand

hand of God in the judgment, that he would not ſuffer a man to recover the ſecurity and comfort of his allegiance, who had ſo ſignally departed from it againſt the light of his own conſcience; and that a man, who had been before precipitate againſt all reaſon, ſhould periſh by conſidering too much, when precipitation was only reaſonable.

The fame of the winning of Exeter, by which a victorious army was at liberty to viſit them, and then the loſs of Mount Stamford, which was their only conſiderable fortification to the land, with thoſe other diſcompoſures, wrought a wonderful conſternation amongſt them; and made them conſider, that if they could hold out, and defend their town, the country being all loſt, they muſt loſe all their trade, and ſo from merchants become only ſoldiers; which was not the condition they contended for. Inſomuch as the Mayor himſelf was not without a propenſity to ſend for a treaty, upon which the town might be delivered to the King: and it was by many then believed, that if Prince Maurice had then marched from Exeter before it, that treaty would infallibly have enſued. But when I ſay it was an error that he did not, I intend it rather as a misfortune than a fault; for his Highneſs was an utter ſtranger in thoſe parts; and therefore was not, without great appearance of reaſon, perſuaded firſt to bend his courſe to Dartmouth; which was looked upon "as an eaſy work, and a harbour, "which being got, would draw a very good trade: and "that ſhort work being performed, Plymouth would "have the leſs courage to make reſiſtance; and if it "ſhould, it were much fitter for the winter, which was "now drawing on," (for it was more than the middle of September), "than the other, by reaſon of the con-"veniency of good accommodation for the ſoldiers,

"near about it; which could not be had about Dart-"mouth."

Upon theſe reaſons, he marched directly to Dartmouth, which, how unfit ſoever to make a defence againſt ſuch an army, by the diſadvantage of ſituation, and the want of all thoſe helps which uſe to make a garriſon confident, he found in no temper and diſpoſition to yield; ſo that he ſate down before it. And ſhortly after, there came ſo violent a ſeaſon of rain, and foul weather, that very many of his men, with lying on the ground, fell ſick, and died; and more run away. Yet, after near a month's ſiege, and the loſs of many good men, (whereof the ſame Colonel Chudleigh, of whom we ſpoke before, was one, a gallant young gentleman, who received a ſhot with a muſquet in the body, of which he died within few days, and was a wonderful loſs to the King's ſervice), it was given up on fair conditions; and then the Prince, having placed a garriſon there, under the command of Colonel Seymour, a gentleman of principal account and intereſt in Devonſhire, loſt no more time, but, with all convenient expedition, marched to Plymouth; which was not now in the ſtate it had been; for the Parliament, being quickly informed how terrible an impreſſion the loſs of almoſt all other parts of the Weſt had made upon the ſpirits of that people, had before this time ſent a recruit of five hundred men, and a Scotch officer to be Governor; who eaſed the Mayor of that unequal charge, and quickly made it evident, that nothing but a peremptory defence was thought of. So the Prince ſate down before it with an army much inferior, after he had joined with Colonel Digby, to that with which he had marched from Exeter to Dartmouth; yet with much confidence to reduce that town, before the winter ſhould be over.

Prince Maurice ſits down before Dartmouth; and takes it:

Sits down before Plymouth too late.

Though the King's ſucceſs, and good fortune, had met

met with a check in the relief of Glouceſter, and the battle of Newbury, yet his condition ſeemed mightily improved by the whole ſummer's ſervice. For whereas he ſeemed before confined, upon the matter, within Oxfordſhire and half Berkſhire, (which half was loſt too upon the loſs of Reading in the ſpring), and the parties, which appeared for him in other counties, ſeemed rather ſufficient to hinder a general union againſt him, than that they were like to reduce them to his devotion; he was now, upon the matter, maſter of the whole Weſt; Cornwall was his own without a rival; Plymouth was the only place, in all Devonſhire, unreduced; and thoſe forces ſhut within their own walls: the large rich county of Somerſet, with Briſtol, entirely his: in Dorſetſhire, the enemy had only two little fiſher-towns, Poole and Lyme; all the reſt was declared for the King. And in every of theſe counties, he had plenty of harbours and ports, to ſupply him with ammunition, and the country with trade. In Wiltſhire the enemy had not the leaſt footing, and rather a town or two in Hampſhire, than any poſſeſſion of the county; that people being generally undevoted to them: the whole principality of Wales, except a ſea town or two in Pembrokeſhire, was at his devotion; and that unfortunately obſtinate town of Glouceſter only kept him from commanding the whole Severn. The Parliament was nothing ſtronger in Shropſhire, Cheſhire, and Lancaſhire, than they were in the beginning of the year. And albeit the Marquis of Newcaſtle had been forced to riſe as unfortunately from Hull, as the King had been from Glouceſter, yet he had ſtill a full power over Yorkſhire, and a greater in Nottinghamſhire, and Lincolnſhire, than the Parliament had. So that he might be thought to be now ſtrong enough to make war; the contrary opinion whereof had been one

of the greateſt reaſons that there was no peace. And therefore many believed, that, what appearance ſoever there was of obſtinacy, the winter would produce ſome overtures of accommodation; and that all the noiſe of preparation from Scotland, was only to incline the King to the greater condeſcenſions; and that, in truth, they who had pretended the concurrent deſire of the people, as the beſt reaſon for whatſoever they had propoſed, and traduced the King with a purpoſe of bringing foreign forces to awe and impoſe upon his own ſubjects, would not now have the hardineſs to bring in a ſtranger nation to invade their country, and to compel that people, by whoſe affections they would be thought to be guided, to ſubmit to changes they had no mind to receive. And the arrival of the Count of Harcourt, as extraordinary ambaſſador from the Crown of France, was looked upon as an expedient to uſher in ſome treaty, and to remove thoſe ceremonies, and preliminary propoſitions, which, by reaſon of the mutual declarations and proteſtations againſt each other, might be thought of greater difficulty, than any real differences between them.

The Conte d'Harcourt arrives ambaſſador from France.

The King himſelf was not without expectation of notable effects from this embaſſy; for the ſtate of France ſeemed to be much altered from what it was at the beginning of theſe troubles. Cardinal Richelieu, who, the King well knew, had more than fomented the troubles both in England and Scotland, was now dead; and the King of France himſelf likewiſe; and thoſe old miniſters of ſtate who had been long in the Baſtile, or baniſhed, were now ſet at liberty, and recalled, and in favour; the Queen Mother made Regent; who profeſſed great perſonal kindneſs to the Queen of England, and ſo great a ſenſe of the indignities the King and ſhe ſuffered, that ſhe ſeemed ſenſible, that France had contributed

too

too much to them, and to think, that the intereſt, as well as honour, of that Crown was concerned to buoy up the monarchy of England; with intimations, "that the "King himſelf ſhould direct what way he would be "ſerved by that Crown." The firſt evidence they gave of meaning as they ſaid, was the revocation of Monſieur la Ferté Senneterre, the ambaſſador then reſident in England; who had contracted a wonderful familiarity with the fierceſt managers of the Parliament, and done the King all imaginable diſſervice; inſomuch as he had induſtriouſly perſuaded ſome Engliſh prieſts and jeſuits, to engage thoſe of the Romiſh perſuaſion, by no means to aſſiſt the King; with a full aſſurance, "that the Par-"liament would allow them liberty of conſcience." This miniſter his Majeſty deſired might be recalled; which was not only ſuddenly done, but a private intimation likewiſe given to our Queen, "that ſhe ſhould "nominate what perſon was to be employed in his place; "who ſhould wholly guide himſelf by her inſtructions:" and her Majeſty was led to make choice of Monſieur le Conte d'Harcourt, one of the principal perſons of that kingdom, being a Prince of the Houſe of Lorraine, and ſo allied to the King, and Grand Eſcuier; and had been their late fortunate General in Catalonia, where he had given the Spaniard the greateſt defeat they had received; which was not thought an unreaſonable qualification in an ambaſſador, whoſe buſineſs was to mediate a peace.

His reception at London was with much ſolemnity, that he might not find there was any abſence of ceremony or ſtate, by the abſence of the King; yet when he had a ſafe conduct for Oxford, his carriages were ſtopped at the going out of London, and his own coach, as well as all other places, ſearched with great and unuſual rudeneſs, upon ſuſpicion that he carried letters; and

though he expoſtulated the affront, as a high violation of his honour and privilege, he received no manner of reparation, or the officer, that did it, any reprehenſion; which made many believe that he would have been very keen in the reſentment. The King expected that, by this ambaſſador, the Crown of France would have made a briſk declaration on his Majeſty's behalf; and if the Parliament ſhould not return to their regular obedience, that they ſhould have found no correſpondence or reception in that kingdom; and that they would really aſſiſt his Majeſty, in ſuch a manner as he ſhould propoſe; which declaration, he thought, would prove of moment with the city of London, in reſpect of their trade; but more with the Scots, who were underſtood to have an eſpecial dependence upon France.

When the ambaſſador returned from his audience at Oxford, where he ſtayed not many days, he ſent a paper to the Earl of Northumberland, by which he deſired his Lordſhip, "to impart to the Meſſieurs of Parliament, "that he had made known to their Majeſties, the affec- "tionate deſire the King his maſter, and the Queen his "miſtreſs, had to contribute all good offices, in the "procurement of peace and tranquillity in this kingdom; "to which he found the deſires of their Majeſties well "diſpoſed; and therefore he deſired to know, whether "his Lordſhip thought the two Houſes did correſpond "in the ſame intention: if they did, after they ſhould "make him underſtand the ſubject that had obliged "them to take up arms, he would interpoſe to pacify "the differences, by ſuch expedients, as ſhould be moſt "conformable to the ancient laws and cuſtoms of the "realm."

After the Earl of Northumberland had informed the Houſe of Peers of this repreſentation, it was, at a confe-

rence,

rence, imparted to the Houſe of Commons, and an anſwer was framed by joint agreement, to be returned by the Earl of Northumberland to the ambaſſador. In the form of it, they gave him the title of *Prince of Harcourt*, and *Grand Eſcuier of France*; but omitted that of *Extraordinary Ambaſſador in England*, becauſe it did not appear to the Parliament, by letters of credence, or the ſight of his inſtructions from the King, or Queen Regent of France, that he was by them employed Extraordinary Ambaſſador into England.

The anſwer itſelf was, "that the Lords and Commons "in Parliament did, with all due reſpects, accept of the "affectionate deſires of the King, and Queen Regent of "France, to contribute good offices towards the pro-"curing a happy peace; and that, when the ſaid Mon-"ſieur le Prince d'Harcourt ſhould make any ſuch pro-"poſitions to the Parliament, by authority from their "Majeſties of France, they would give then ſuch an "anſwer to the ſame, as might ſtand with the intereſt of "both kingdoms, and their late ſolemn League and Co-"venant." The Lords propoſed, "that there might be "a committee appointed to treat with the ambaſſador:" but the Commons would by no means conſent to it, "till he ſhould make it manifeſt, that he had authority "from his Maſter to treat with the Parliament;" and withal they declared, "that if he had, at any time, any "thing farther to offer to them, they would not receive "it from any particular member of either Houſe; but "that he ſhould apply himſelf by writing, or otherwiſe, "to the Speaker of either or both Houſes of Parlia-"ment; otherwiſe, they would hold no correſpondence "with him." The ground of this reſolution was, that they might draw from the ambaſſador (which they preſumed could not be without the privity and approbation

of

of the King) an addreſs, and acknowledgment that they were a Parliament, againſt the freedom whereof, and conſequently the preſent being, his Majeſty had, by his late proclamation, declared. So the ambaſſador, after a journey or two to Oxford, and ſome perfunctory addreſſes to the Houſes, returned to France *re infecta*, and without the leaſt expreſſion of diſlike, on his Maſter's behalf, of their proceedings.

Returns into France without any good effect to the King.

Some were ſcrupulous in believing that France really intended to repair the miſchief it had done; and obſerved, that though there were ſome plauſible compliances, in point of ceremony, with particular perſons, after the death of the former Cardinal; yet, that the main counſels were carried on upon the rules and directions he had left; and that the Cardinal Mazarin, a perſon who had been of the higheſt truſt with the other, wholly now preſided over thoſe counſels; and conſidered, how much France might imagine it would conduce to their intereſt, that the King of England ſhould not have all his ſubjects in perfect obedience, leſt he might offer to be an arbiter of their great differences: I ſay, theſe men believed Count Harcourt's inſtructions privately were no other, than the laſt ambaſſador's; whom the King had cauſed to be recalled. And it cannot be denied, that they who were inclined to that jealouſy, had arguments enough to increaſe it.

When this extraordinary ambaſſador was appointed to come for England, Mr. Mountague was in the Court of France, very much truſted by both their Majeſties, and by his quality, and near relation to ſo great a truſt, his long converſation in that Court, and a ſingular dexterity in his nature, adorned with excellent parts, was thought to have a very good place in the favour and particular eſtimation of that Queen Regent, and in the opinion of the

the Cardinal; to whom he had been uſeful. With this gentleman moſt of the concluſions had been tranſacted, which were preparatory to the ambaſſador's journey; and it was thought fit, that he ſhould at the ſame time come into England; and, in ſuch a diſguiſe, as might eaſily conceal a man better known in France than in his own country, in the ambaſſador's train find a ſafe paſſage to Oxford; which was carried with ſo much ſecrecy, that, beſides to the ambaſſador himſelf, he was known to very few of his retinue. The Count of Harcourt was not landed four and twenty hours, but in his journey towards London, a meſſenger from the Parliament apprehended Mr. Mountague, and carried him a priſoner to the Houſes; by whom he was committed to the Tower; and though the ambaſſador made a great ſhew of reſenting it, he never claimed him in ſuch a manner as to procure his enlargement; which made men believe the Cardinal liked well his confinement, and deſired not he ſhould be either at Oxford or Paris.

At the ambaſſador's firſt coming to Oxford, after general overtures, and declarations of the reſolution of that Crown, "to give his Majeſty all poſſible aſſiſtance for "his reeſtabliſhment," he propoſed a league offenſive and defenſive with the King. His Majeſty, that knew well ſuch an offer was not to be rejected, leſt they ſhould from thence take an occaſion to refuſe thoſe things he ſhould propoſe, appointed a committee of his council (according to the uſual courſe) to treat with the ambaſſador, upon all neceſſary articles, which ſhould attend ſuch a treaty; declaring an inclination to enter into ſuch a league as was propoſed; and thereupon deſired "a "preſent loan of money, and a ſupply of a good pro- "portion of arms and ammunition; and likewiſe that "the Crown of France would declare againſt the ſub- "jects

" jects of England and Scotland, who ſhould perſiſt in " rebellion; according to an article ratified in the laſt " treaty now in force."

The ambaſſador, who, it ſeems, expected that there ſhould have been more pauſes in the overture of the league offenſive and defenſive, for the preſent declined the treating with the committee; alleging, " that he " was, upon the matter, a miniſter of both their Majeſ- " ties; and was to receive command from them, and " wholly to attend their ſervice; and therefore that he " deſired wholly to communicate with their Majeſties " themſelves:" and ſhortly after waved any farther mention of the league, with an affected compliment, " that " it would not appear a generous thing, to preſs the " King to any act in this his diſtreſs, which he had made " ſcruple of conſenting to heretofore, when the fortune " of both Crowns were equally proſperous: but that his " Maſter and Miſtreſs would frankly contribute all that " could be reaſonably expected from them towards his " Majeſty's reſtoration and eſtabliſhment; and afterwards " expect ſuch a return of affection from his Majeſty, as " the greatneſs of the obligation ſhould merit in his " princely eſtimation." And at the ſame time, the Queen Regent and Cardinal poſitively denied to the Lord Goring, ambaſſador extraordinary then from his Majeſty in France, that ever the Count of Harcourt had any inſtruction to mention a league offenſive and defenſive. Theſe particular carriages, and his not reſenting the indignities offered to him by the Parliament, made many men believe, that this ambaſſador, notwithſtanding all the ſpecious profeſſions, was ſent rather to foment, than extinguiſh, the fire that was kindled. Certain it is, during his ſtay in England, he did not, in the leaſt degree, advance the King's ſervice; and, at his return, left the Parliament

liament more united amongſt themſelves againſt the King, and the Scots more advanced towards their coming in, than he found them; there being at the ſame time likewiſe a French agent in Scotland; who produced no alteration in the affections of that people, to the King's advantage.

The return of the three earls, formerly mentioned, to London in the winter, who ſo ſolemnly applied themſelves to the King in the ſpring, contributed exceedingly to the union of the two Houſes at Weſtminſter. The other two ſtayed longer; and retired with much more decency, if not with a tacit permiſſion. But the Earl of Holland, when he ſaw his place in the Bedchamber conferred upon the Marquis of Hertford, in much diſcontent, found an opportunity, which was not difficult, to remove out of the King's quarters; and before he was miſſed at Oxford, intelligence was brought that he had rendered himſelf to the Parliament at London; and to make his return the more conſcientious, he declared, as hath been ſaid, "that the ground of his deſerting "them formerly, and going to the King, was a hope to "incline his Majeſty to a treaty of peace; but that he "found he was miſtaken in the temper of the Oxford "councils; and that the King had ſtill about him ſome "counſellors, who would never conſent to a ſafe and "well-grounded peace; and that he heard they had "perſuaded the King to make a ceſſation with the Re-"bels in Ireland; which affected his conſcience ſo much, "that, though he had been ſure to have loſt his life by "it, he would return to the Parliament;" profeſſing exemplary fidelity to them, if they would again receive him into their favour.

It may be, his diſcourſe of Ireland, or the King's averſeneſs to peace, wrought upon very few; but the evidence

evidence of the King's averſion ſo far to forgive and forget former treſpaſſes, as to receive them into favour and truſt again, made a deep impreſſion upon many. For it is undoubtedly true, that many of the principal and governing members of both Houſes, that is, of them who had governed, and done as much miſchief as any, either out of apprehenſion that the King would prevail, or that they ſhould not prevail ſoon enough, or the animoſity againſt thoſe who had outgrown their government, and followed new leaders of their own, and to other ends than had been originally propoſed, or out of ſome motions of conſcience, were quite weary of the Parliament, and deſirous to obtain a fair admiſſion to the King; and looked only upon the footing which thoſe doves, which went firſt out of the ark, ſhould find; and ſurely, if that expedient had been dexterouſly managed, it had been the moſt probable way to have drawn the Parliament into ſuch contempt, that it muſt have fallen of itſelf: a way, that in no civil war, which is arrived to any vigour and power of contending, ought to be declined. For a body, that is not formed by policy, with any avowed and fixed principles of government, but by the diſtempered affections, ambition, and diſcontent of particular perſons, who rather agree againſt a common adverſary, than are united to one juſt intereſt, cannot ſo eaſily be diſſolved, as by treating with particular perſons, and rending thoſe branches from the trunk, whoſe beauty and advantage conſiſts only in the ſpreading.

The reaſons were unanſwerable, which the old conſul Fabius in Livy, lib. 24. gave, in the caſe of Caſſius Altinius, who, after the defeat of Cannæ, deſerted the Romans, and fled to Hannibal, by which he got the city of Arpos; and when the condition of the Romans was

again

again recovered and flouriſhing, came again to the Roman army, and offered to betray that city into their hands. Many were of opinion, "that he ſhould be "looked upon as a common enemy; and bound, and "ſent to Hannibal, as a perfidious perſon, who knew "neither how to be a friend, nor an enemy." Fabius reprehended the unſeaſonable ſeverity of thoſe who conſidered, and judged *in medio ardore belli, tanquam in pace libera*, and told them, "that their principal care muſt "be, that none of their friends and allies might forſake "them; the next, that they who had forſaken them, "might return again into their obedience and protection: "for, *ſi abire a Romanis liceat, redire ad eos non liceat*, "it could not be, but the ſtate of Rome, from which, "in the late misfortunes, many had revolted, muſt be-"come very deſperate."

Such was the King's condition, the number of the guilty being ſo much ſuperior to the innocent, that the latter could reaſonably expect only to be preſerved by the converſion and reduction of the former. Neither did the King not foreſee, or abhor this expedient; but the temper and ſpirit of the time was ſo averſe from the ſtratagem, that it was evident his preſent loſs would be as great, by practiſing it, as his future advantage was like to improve by it. Whatſoever damage his Majeſty ſuſtained, that unfortunate Earl received no acknowledgment, or encouragement from the other party, who had the benefit of his return; but as his eſtate was ſequeſtered as ſoon as he left them, ſo he was now committed to priſon, and that ſequeſtration continued; neither was it, in a long time after, taken off, nor himſelf ever after admitted to his place in their council, notwithſtanding all the interceſſion of very powerful friends, or to any reputation of doing farther good or hurt.

Certainly

Certainly, there muſt be thought to be ſome extraordinary diſlike, in the very primary law of nature, of ſuch tergiverſation and inconſtancy; ſince we ſcarce find, in any ſtory, a deſerter of a truſt or party, he once adhered to, to be long proſperous, or in any eminent eſtimation with thoſe to whom he reſorts; though, in the change, there may appear evident arguments of reaſon and juſtice; neither hath it been in the power or prerogative of any authority, to preſerve ſuch men from the reproach, and jealouſy, and ſcandal, that naturally attends upon any defection: *I have not found evil in thee, ſince the day of thy coming unto me, unto this day; nevertheleſs, the Lords favour thee not*, was the profeſſion of King Achiſh, when he diſmiſſed David himſelf from marching with the army of the Philiſtines; and that expoſtulation of thoſe Lords, *wherewith ſhould he reconcile himſelf unto his maſter? ſhould it not be with the heads of theſe men?* will be always an argument to raiſe a diſtruſt of thoſe who have eminently quitted their party: and the judgment of Fabius himſelf, which we touched before, of Caſſius Altinius, was not much in their favour; for though he reprehended the propoſition of ſending him to Hannibal, yet he concluded, "that he would have no truſt repoſed "in him, but that he ſhould be kept in ſafe cuſtody, "with liberty to do any thing but go away, till the war "was ended; *tum conſultandum, utrum defectio prior plus "merita ſit pœnæ, an hic reditus veniæ.*" As it falls out thus in civil affairs, and the breach of moral obligations, ſo it happens in ſpiritual defections, and alterations in religion: for as, among the Jews, the proſelytes were civilly and charitably treated, without upbraidings or reproaches; yet it was provided, "that no proſelyte ſhould be eligible "into the court of their Sanhedrim;" and in their very converſation, they had a caution of them; *Vel ad decimam*

1 Sam. xxix. 6.

uſque

uſque generationem a Proſelytis cave, was an aphoriſm amongſt them. And our own obſervation and experience can give us few examples of men who have changed their religion, and not fallen into jealouſy and diſtruſt, or diſreputation, even with thoſe with whom they ſide; that have made their future life leſs pleaſant and delightſome; which, it may be, happens only becauſe we have rare inſtances of men of extraordinary parts, or great minds, who have entertained thoſe converſions.

The Lords and Commons were all now of a mind, and no other contention amongſt them, than who ſhould moſt advance the power which was to ſuppreſs the King's: new and ſtricter orders were made for the general taking the Covenant; and an ordinance, "that no man ſhould "be in any office or truſt in their armies, or the king-"dom, or of the Common Council of London, or ſhould "have a voice in the election of thoſe officers, but ſuch "who had taken the Covenant; nor even they who had "taken the Covenant, if they had been formerly impri-"ſoned, or ſequeſtered for ſuſpicion of malignancy, or "adhering to the King." And that they might as well provide for their ſovereign juriſdiction in civil matters, as their ſecurity in martial, they again reſumed the conſideration of the Great Seal of England. The Commons had often preſſed the Houſe of Peers to concur with them, "in the making a new Great Seal; as the "proper remedy againſt the miſchiefs, which, by the "abſence of it, had befallen the commonwealth;" declaring, "that the Great Seal of England, of right, ought "to attend upon the Parliament;" in which the Peers as often refuſed to join with them, being ſtartled at the ſtatute of the 25th of Edward III. by which, the counterfeiting

terfeiting the Great Seal of England is, in expreſs terms, declared to be high treaſon; and it had been in all times before underſtood to be the ſole property of the King, and not of the kingdom, and abſolutely in the King's own diſpoſal, where it ſhould be kept, or where it ſhould attend.

The Commons vote a new Broad Seal: the Lords concurred with them.

This diſſent of the Lords hindered not the buſineſs; the Commons frankly voted, "that a Seal ſhould be "provided," and accordingly took order that one was engraven, and brought into their Houſe, according to the ſame ſize and effigies, and nothing differing from that which the King uſed at Oxford. Being in this readineſs, and obſerving the Lords to be leſs ſcrupulous than they had been, about the middle of November they ſent again to them, to let them know, "they "had a Great Seal ready, which ſhould be put into the "cuſtody of ſuch perſons as the two Houſes ſhould ap-"point; and if they would name ſome Peers, a propor-"tionable number of the other body ſhould join in the "executing that truſt." All objections were now paſſed over, and without any heſitation their Lordſhips not only concurred with them to have a Seal in their own diſpoſal, but in a declaration and ordinance; by which they declared, "all letters patents, and grants made by the "King, and paſſed the Great Seal of England, after the "22d of May, in the year 1642, (which was the day "the Lord Keeper left the Houſe, and went with the "Great Seal to York to the King), to be invalid, and "void in law; and henceforward, that their own Great "Seal ſhould be of the like force, power, and validity, "to all intents and purpoſes, as any Great Seal of Eng-"land had been, or ought to be; and that whoſoever, "after publication of that ordinance, ſhould paſs any

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" thing under any other Great Seal, or ſhould claim any " thing thereby, ſhould be held and adjudged a public " enemy to the ſtate."

At the ſame time, the Earls of Rutland and Bullingbrook, of the Peers, Mr. Saint-John, (whom they ſtill entitled the King's Solicitor General, though his Majeſty had revoked his patent, and conferred that office upon Sir Thomas Gardner; who had ſerved him faithfully, and been put out of his Recorder's place of London, for having ſo done), Serjeant Wild, (who, being a Serjeant at Law, had with moſt confidence averred their legal power to make a ſeal), Mr. Brown, and Mr. Prideaux, two private practiſers of the law, were nominated " to have the keeping, ordering, and diſpoſing " of it, and all ſuch, and the like power and authority, " as any Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, or Commiſ- " ſioner of the Great Seal, for the time being, had had, " uſed, or ought to have." The Earl of Rutland was ſo modeſt, as to think himſelf not ſufficiently qualified for ſuch a truſt; and therefore excuſed himſelf in point of conſcience: whereupon they nominated, in his room, the Earl of Kent, a man of far meaner parts, who readily accepted the place.

The Seal then was delivered, in the Houſe of Commons, to their Speaker; and by him, with much ſolemnity, the Houſe attending him, to the Speaker of the Peers, at the bar in that Houſe. The ſix Commiſſioners were then, in the preſence of both Houſes, ſolemnly ſworn " to execute the office of Keepers of the Great " Seal of England, in all things according to the orders " and directions of both Houſes of Parliament." And thereupon the Seal was delivered by the two Speakers to them, who carried it, according to order, to the houſe of the Clerk of the Parliament, in the old Palace; where it

The Seal delivered to ſix Commiſſioners.

was kept locked up in a cheſt; which could not be opened but in the preſence of three of them, and with three ſeveral keys. This work being over, they appointed, for the firſt exerciſe of this kind of ſovereignty, a patent to be ſealed to the Earl of Warwick, of Lord High Admiral of England; which was done accordingly; by which many concluded, that the Earl of Northumberland, who had been put out of that great office for their ſakes, was not reſtored to their full confidence; others, that he deſired not to wear their livery.

About the ſame time, to ſhew that they would be abſolute, and not joint ſharers in the ſovereign power, they gave an inſtance of boldneſs mingled with cruelty, that made them appear very terrible. The King had publiſhed ſeveral proclamations, for the adjournment of the term from London to Oxford, which had been hitherto fruitleſs, for want of the neceſſary legal form of having the writs read in court; ſo that the Judges at Oxford, who were ready to perform their duty, could not regularly keep the courts there; which elſe they would have done, notwithſtanding the order and declarations publiſhed by the two Houſes to the contrary; they who were learned in the law believing that aſſumption to be unqueſtionably out of their juriſdiction. Theſe writs of adjournment had never yet been delivered ſeaſonably, to be read in court, or into the hands of either of the ſworn Judges who yet attended at Weſtminſter; of which there were three in number, Juſtice Bacon in the King's Bench, Juſtice Reeve in the Common Pleas, and Baron Trevor in the Exchequer; who, how timorous ſoever, and apprehenſive of the power and ſeverity of the Parliament, knowing the law and their duties, men believed, would not have barely declined the execution of thoſe commands they were ſworn to obſerve.

ſerve. Several meſſengers were therefore ſent from Oxford with thoſe writs; and appointed, on or before ſuch a day, (for that circumſtance was penal), "to find an "opportunity to deliver the writs into the hands of the "ſeveral Judges." Two of them performed their charges, and delivered the writs to Juſtice Reeve, and Baron Trevor; who immediately cauſed the meſſengers to be apprehended.

The Houſes, being informed of it, gave direction, "that they ſhould be tried by a council of war, as ſpies;" which was done at Eſſex-houſe. The meſſengers alleged, "that they were ſworn ſervants to his Majeſty "for the tranſaction of thoſe ſervices, for which they "were now accuſed; and that they had been legally "puniſhable, if they had refuſed to do their duties; the "term being to be adjourned by no other way." Notwithſtanding all which, they were both condemned to be hanged as ſpies; and that ſuch a ſentence might not be thought to be only *in terrorem*, the two poor men were, within few days after, carried to the old Exchange, where a gallows was purpoſely ſet up; and there one of them, one Daniel Kniveton, was without mercy executed; dying with another kind of courage than could be expected from a man of ſuch condition and education, did not the conſcience of being innocent beget a marvellous ſatisfaction in any condition. The other, after he had ſtood ſome time upon, or under the gallows, looking for the ſame concluſion, was reprieved, and ſent to Bridewell; where he was kept long after, till he made an eſcape, and returned again to Oxford. This example begot great terror in all the well-affected about London, and ſo much the more, becauſe, about the ſame time, an ordinance was made, "that whoſoever went to Oxford, "or into any of the King's quarters, without leave from

" one of the Houſes, or a paſs from their General, or " whoſoever had any correſpondence with any perſon in " the King's quarters, by writing letters, or receiving " letters from thence, ſhould be proceeded againſt as a " perſon diſaffected to the ſtate; and his perſon com- " mitted, and his eſtate ſequeſtered; and ſhould be liable, " according to the circumſtances, (of which themſelves " would be only judges), to be tried as ſpies."

Colonel Fiennes tried for ſurrendering Briſtol, and condemned, but pardoned by the General.

As this made them exceeding terrible to thoſe who loved them not, ſo, about the ſame time, they gave another inſtance of ſeverity, which rendered their government no leſs reverenced amongſt their friends and aſſociates. The brave defence of Glouceſter, and the great ſucceſs that attended it, made the loſs of Briſtol the more felt by the Parliament; and conſequently the delivery, and yielding it up, the more liberally ſpoken of, and cenſured. The which Colonel Fiennes having not patience to bear, he deſired, being a member of the Houſe of Commons, and of a ſwaying intereſt there, " that he might be put to give an account of it, at a " court of war, which was the proper judicature upon " treſpaſſes of that nature." And in the mean time, he was powerful enough, upon ſome collateral and circumſtantial paſſages, to procure ſome of the chief who inveighed againſt him, to be impriſoned and reprehended. This begot greater paſſion and animoſity in the perſons, that thought they ſuffered unjuſtly, and only by the authority and intereſt of the Colonel and his father; which, by degrees, brought faction into the Houſe of Commons, and the army, according to the ſeveral affections and tempers of men.

There were but two proſecutors appeared, one Mr. Walker, a gentleman of Somerſetſhire, of a good fortune, and, by the loſs of that, the more provoked; who had been

been in the town when it was loſt, and had ſtrictly obſerved all that was done, or ſaid; and the famous Mr. Pryn, who had at firſt let himſelf into the diſquiſition of that buſineſs, out of the activity and reſtleſſneſs of his nature, and was afterwards ſharpened by contempt. Theſe two, under pretence of zeal to the kingdom, and that ſuch an irreparable damage to it might not paſs away without due puniſhment, undertook the proſecution; and boldly charged the Colonel with cowardice and treachery; and gave ſeveral inſtances of great and high profeſſions, and performances faint, and not anſwerable; with ſome mixtures of pride, and love of money, throughout the courſe of his government. Colonel Fiennes, beſides the credit and reputation of his father, had a very good ſtock of eſtimation in the Houſe of Commons upon his own ſcore; and truly he had very good parts of learning and nature, and was privy to, and a great manager in, the moſt ſecret deſigns from the beginning; and if he had not incumbered himſelf with command in the army, to which men thought his nature not ſo well diſpoſed, he had ſure been ſecond to none in thoſe councils, after Mr. Hambden's death. This made him too much deſpiſe thoſe who appeared his adverſaries, and others whom he knew to be ſuch, though they appeared not, (for he looked upon Sir William Waller as an enemy, who, by his misfortune at Roundway-Down, having brought that ſtorm upon Briſtol, was induſtrious to make the ſecond loſs to be apprehended only as the effect of the other's want of courage and conduct), and being ſure, that he was very free from wiſhing well to the King, he thought no defect would be farther imputed to him, than might well be anſwered by the having done his beſt; and that the eminency of his perfect zeal againſt

his Majeſty, would weigh down all objections of diſ-ſervice to the Parliament.

But notwithſtanding all this, after a long and ſolemn hearing before the court of war, at St. Alban's, where the Earl of Eſſex then lay, which took up many days, he was condemned to loſe his head, "for not having "defended Briſtol ſo well, and ſo long, as he ought to "have done." And though he had afterwards a pardon for his life, granted to him by the prerogative of the General, under his hand and ſeal, yet the infamy of the judgment could not be taken off; by which he became unfit to continue an officer of the army; and the ſhame of it perſuaded him to quit the kingdom; ſo that he went for ſome time into foreign parts, retaining ſtill the ſame full diſaffection to the government of the Church and State, and only grieved that he had a leſs capacity left to do hurt to either. Many looked upon this example as a foundation of great awe and reverence in the army, that the officers might ſee, that no titles or relations ſhould be able to break through the ſtrict diſcipline of war. For this gentleman was a perſon of ſingular merit, and fidelity to the party that he ſerved, and of extraordinary uſe to them in thoſe counſels that required the beſt underſtandings. Others thought it an act of unadviſed ſeverity, to expoſe ſo eminent a perſon, who knew all their intrigues, upon the importunity of uſeleſs and inconſiderable perſons, to infamy; whilſt others conſidered it as a judgment of Heaven upon a man who had been ſo forward in promoting the public calamities: and no doubt, it increaſed much the factions and animoſities, both in the Parliament and the army; and might have done them farther miſchief, if it had not fallen on a man ſo throughly engaged, that no provocations

vocations could make him leſs of their party, or leſs concerned in their confederacy.

At this time, nothing troubled the King ſo much, as the intelligence he received from Scotland, that they had already formed their army, and reſolved to enter England in the winter ſeaſon. All his confidence, which he had founded there upon the faith and moſt ſolemn profeſſions of particular men, without whom the nation could not have been corrupted, had deceived him to a man; and he found the ſame men moſt engaged againſt him, who had, with moſt ſolemnity, vowed all obedience to him. The circumſtance of the time made the danger of the invaſion the more formidable; for the Earl of Newcaſtle, lately created a Marquis, had been compelled with his army, as much by the murmurs and indiſpoſition of the officers, as by the ſeaſon of the year, to quit his deſign upon Hull, and to retire to York; and the garriſon of Hull had made many ſtrong infalls into the country, and defeated ſome of his troops; ſo that the Scots were like to find a ſtrong party in that large county. However, the Marquis ſent a good body of horſe towards the borders, to wait their motion; and no ſooner heard of their march, which begun in January, in a great froſt and ſnow, than himſelf marched into the biſhopric of Durham to attend them. The particulars of all that affair, and the whole tranſaction of the northern parts, where the writer of this Hiſtory was never preſent, nor had any part in thoſe counſels, are fit for a relation apart; which a more proper perſon will employ himſelf in.

The Scots enter England in Jan. 1643.

In theſe ſtraits, the King conſidered two expedients which were propoſed to him, and which his Majeſty directed ſhould be both conſulted in the council. The one was, "that all the Peers who were then in Oxford,

"or

" or in the King's ſervice, might ſubſcribe a letter to the " Council of State in Scotland; whereby it would appear, " by the ſubſcription, that above five parts of ſix of the " whole Nobility, and Houſe of Peers, were in the King's " ſervice, and diſavowed all thoſe actions which were done " againſt him, by the pretended authority of the two " Houſes; which poſſibly might make ſome impreſſion " upon the nation of Scotland, though it was well enough " known before to their ſeducers." A letter was prepared accordingly, expreſſing " the foulneſs of the rebellion in " England, under the reputation of the Houſes of Par- " liament, and the carrying on the ſame, when they had " driven away, by force, much the major part of the " members of both Houſes, and expreſsly againſt all the " laws of the land:" it put them in mind of " their " obligation to the King," and pathetically concluded " with conjuring them to deſiſt from their unjuſt and " unwarrantable purpoſe; ſince they could have no ex- " cuſe for proſecuting the ſame, from the authority of " Parliament." The letter was peruſed, and debated in the Council, and afterwards in the preſence of all the Peers; and being generally approved without any diſſenting voice, it was ordered to be engroſſed, and ſigned by all thoſe Peers, and Privy Counſellors, who were then in Oxford, and to be ſent to thoſe who were abſent in any of the armies, or in the King's quarters, and to be then ſent to the Marquis of Newcaſtle; who, after he had ſigned it, with thoſe Peers who were in thoſe parts, was to tranſmit it into Scotland by a trumpet; all which was done accordingly.

A letter from the Peers on the King's ſide to the Council in Scotland.

Of all the Peers who followed the King, there was only one who refuſed to ſign this letter, the Earl of Leiceſter; who, after many pauſes and delays, whether he had not yet digeſted his late depoſal from the Lieutenancy of Ireland,

Ireland, to which the Marquis of Ormond was deputed, and thought the diſobligation of it not capable of a reparation, or whether he thought the King's fortune deſperate, and reſolved not to ſacrifice himſelf to any popular diſpleaſure, and not to provoke the Parliament farther than by not concurring with them; or whether he had it then in his purpoſe to be found in their quarters, as ſhortly after he was, did in the end poſitively refuſe to ſubſcribe the letter; and thereby was the occaſion of a miſchief he did not intend. For both their Majeſties, in their ſecret purpoſe, had deſigned him to ſucceed the Marquis of Hertford in the government of the Prince; for which he would have been very proper; but upon this ſo affected a diſcovery of a nature, and mind, liable to no kind of compliance, the King could not proſecute his purpoſe; and ſo the government of that hopeful and excellent Prince was committed to the Earl of Berkſhire, for no other reaſon but becauſe he had a mind to it, and his importunity was very troubleſome: a man of any who bore the name of a gentleman, the moſt unfit for that province, or any other that required any proportion of wiſdom and underſtanding for the diſcharge of it.

But it was the unhappy diſtemper of the Court at that time, to think that it was no matter who was employed in that office; for the King nor Queen were not at all deceived, nor was the Earl leſs fit than they thought him to be; but they thought his want of parts (his fidelity there was no cauſe to ſuſpect) to be of little importance: and a Counſellor, much truſted, ſpeaking at that time with the Lord Jermyn, "how aſtoniſhing a thing it was "to all the nation, to ſee the Prince committed to ſuch "a governor," he ſmiled, according to his cuſtom, when he could not anſwer; and ſaid, "it was of no moment,

"who

" who had the name and ſtile of governor, ſince the " King and Queen meant to be his governor, and firmly " reſolved that he ſhould never be out of their preſence, " or of one of them:" when, within little more than a year after, the King found it neceſſary to ſever the Prince from himſelf, and lived not to ſee him again: and his Majeſty then found, and lamented, that he had deputed ſuch a governor over him.

The other expedient propoſed was, " that ſince the " whole kingdom was miſled by the reverence they had " to Parliaments, and believed that the laws and liber- " ties of the people could not be otherwiſe preſerved, " than by their ſole authority, and that it appeared to be " to no purpoſe to perſuade men that what they did was " againſt law, when they were perſuaded that their very " doing it made it lawful, it would be therefore neceſ- " ſary, and could be only effectual to convince them, " that they who did thoſe monſtrous things were not " the Parliament, but a handful of deſperate perſons, " who, by the help of the tumults raiſed in the city of " London, had driven away the major part of the Par- " liament, and called themſelves the Parliament, whilſt " they were, in truth, much the leſs, and the leaſt con- " ſiderable part of it; which would appear manifeſtly, " if the King would iſſue out a proclamation, to require " all the members who had left the Parliament at Weſt- " minſter, to repair to Oxford by ſuch a day; where " his Majeſty would be willing to adviſe with them in " matters of the greateſt importance, concerning the " peace, and diſtractions of the kingdom: by this means " he might, in many things, ſerve himſelf by their aſ- " ſiſtance, and it would evidently appear by the number " of both Houſes, whoſe names would be quickly known " and publiſhed, how few remained at Weſtminſter, who

" carried

" carried on the devouring war, ſo grievous to the whole " kingdom."

The King was at firſt in ſome apprehenſion, that ſuch a conflux of perſons together of the Parliament, who would look to enjoy the privileges of it in their debates, might, inſtead of doing him ſervice, do many things contrary to it, and exceedingly apprehended, that they would immediately enter upon ſome treaty of peace, which would have no effect; yet, whilſt it was in ſuſpence, would hinder his preparation for the war; and though nobody more deſired peace, yet he had no mind that a multitude ſhould be conſulted upon the conditions of it: imagining, that things of the greateſt importance, as the giving up perſons, and other particulars of honour, would not ſeem to them of moment enough to continue a war in the kingdom; which would have been true, if, as hath been ſaid before, the governors of the Parliament had not themſelves been too fearful of a peace, to truſt any to make politic propoſitions, which, upon refuſal, might have done good, but being conſented to had undone them, and fruſtrated all their deſigns.

The Council ſeemed much inclined to the expedient, and many conveniences were in view; and it might be reaſonably hoped, and preſumed, " that perſons, who " had that duty to obey his Majeſty's ſummons, in com- " ing thither, which would be none but ſuch as had " already abſented themſelves from Weſtminſter, and " thereby incenſed thoſe who remained there, would " not bring ill and troubleſome humours with them, to " diſturb that ſervice which could only preſerve them: " but, on the contrary, would unite, and conſpire together, " to make the King ſuperior to his and their enemies. " And as to the advancing any propoſitions of peace,

" which

"which there could be no doubt but they would be in-
" clined to, nor would it be fit for his Majeſty to op-
" poſe, there could be no inconvenience; ſince their
" appearing in it would but draw reproach from thoſe at
" Weſtminſter, who would never give them any anſwer,
" or look upon them under any notion, but as private
" perſons, and deſerters of the Parliament, without any
" qualification to treat, or to be treated with: which
" would more provoke thoſe at Oxford, and, by degrees,
" ſtir up more animoſities between them." The King diſcovered more of hope than fear from ſuch a convention; and ſo, with a very unanimous conſent and approbation, a proclamation was iſſued out, containing the true grounds and motives, and mentioning the league of Scotland to invade the kingdom; which was the moſt univerſally odious and deteſtable; and ſummoned all the members of both Houſes of Parliament, except only ſuch as, having command in his Majeſty's armies in the North, and in the Weſt, could not be diſpenſed with, to be abſent from their charges, to attend upon his Majeſty in Oxford, upon a day fixed in January next.

The King's Proclamation for aſſembling the members of Parliament at Oxford.

The King was not all this while without a due ſenſe of the dangers that threatened him in the growth and improvement of the power and ſtrength of the enemy, and how impoſſible it would be for him, without ſome more extraordinary aſſiſtance, to reſiſt that torrent, which, he foreſaw, by the next Spring, would be ready to overwhelm him, if he made not proviſion accordingly. And finding, by degrees, that it was not in his power to compoſe the diſturbances of England, or to prevent thoſe of Scotland, and abhorring the thought of introducing a foreign nation to ſubdue his own ſubjects, he began to think of expedients which might allay the diſtempers in Ireland; that ſo, having one of his kingdoms in peace,

he

he might apply the power of that, towards the procuring it in his other dominions. He was not ignorant, how tender an argument that buſineſs of Ireland was, and how prepared men were to pervert whatſoever he ſaid or did in it; and therefore he reſolved to proceed with that caution, that whatſoever was done in it ſhould be by the counſel of that ſtate, who were underſtood to be moſt ſkilful in thoſe affairs.

The Lords Juſtices, and Council, had ſent a ſhort petition to his Majeſty, which was preſented to them, in the name of his Catholic ſubjects, then in arms againſt him; by which they only deſired, with full expreſſions of duty and ſubmiſſion to his Majeſty, "that he would "appoint ſome perſons to hear what they could ſay for "themſelves; and to preſent the ſame to his Majeſty." Hereupon the King authoriſed by his commiſſion the Lord Marquis of Ormond, and ſome others, to receive what they were ready to offer, but without the leaſt authority to conclude any thing with them upon it. And after the receipt of this commiſſion, the Marquis, finding that this petition was proſecuted with leſs ingenuity than it ſeemed to have been preſented, was ſo far from being indulgent to them under that notion, that he even then advanced againſt them with his army, and gave them a very ſignal defeat; which reformed their application, and made it more ſubmiſs.

In the mean time (though in all actions and counſels, the Lords Juſtices, and Council there, had yielded punctual obedience to all directions from the Parliament) the affairs of that kingdom ſuffered exceedingly for want of proviſions, money, and ammunition, out of England; which the two Houſes of Parliament were obliged, and were, to that purpoſe, enabled by his Majeſty to ſend. Inſomuch as that Board, by their letters of the fourth of April,

April, this preſent year, advertiſed the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, "that they had been compelled, "for the preſervation of the army, to take money from all "who had it, and to wreſt their commodities from the "poor merchants, whom they had now, by the law of ne-"ceſſity, utterly undone, and diſabled from being here-"after helpful to them, in bringing them in victuals, or "other needful commodities: and that there were few "of themſelves, or others, that had not felt their "parts in the enforced rigour of their proceedings, ſo "as, what with ſuch hard dealing, no leſs grievous to "them to do, than it was heavy to others to ſuffer, and "by their deſcending, againſt their hearts, far below the "honour and dignity of that power they repreſented "under his Royal Majeſty, they had, with unſpeakable "difficulties, prevailed ſo as to be able to find bread for "the ſoldiers for the ſpace of one month: that they were "then expelling thence all ſtrangers, and muſt inſtantly "ſend away for England thouſands of poor deſpoiled "Engliſh, whoſe very eating was now inſupportable to "that place; and therefore, they ſaid, they did again "earneſtly and finally deſire (for their confuſions would "not now admit the writing of many more letters, if any) "ſome ſupplies of victual and munition might, in pre-"ſent, be haſtened thither to keep life, until the reſt "might follow; there being no victuals in ſtore; nor one "hundred barrels of powder; which, according to the "uſual neceſſary expences, beſides extraordinary acci-"dents, would not laſt above a month."

A copy of this letter they likewiſe ſent to Mr. Secretary Nicholas, that his Majeſty might be informed of the ſadneſs of their condition, and, with it, a copy of a paper that morning preſented to the Board (which was likewiſe ſent in their letter to the Speaker) from the offi-

cers

cers of the army; who, after ſharp expreſſions of the miſeries they ſuſtained, and expoſtulations thereupon, concluded, "that if their Lordſhips would take them "into their timely conſiderations, before their urgent "wants made them deſperate, they would ſerve them "readily and faithfully; but if their Lordſhips would "not find a way for their preſervations there, they hum-"bly deſired they might have leave to go where they "might have a better being; and if they refuſed to "grant that, they themſelves muſt then take leave to "have recourſe to that firſt and primary law, which "God had enduced all men with, the law of nature; "which taught all men to preſerve themſelves."

The King was exceedingly perplexed at the receipt of this advertiſement; apprehending the ſtate of his Proteſtant ſubjects in that kingdom to be almoſt deſperate, the rebels receiving daily encouragement and aſſiſtance from foreign parts; and thereupon growing ſtrong and bold; yet he forbore to interpoſe his own ſovereign power, hoping this laſt clear repreſentation would have made ſo deep an impreſſion in the two Houſes of Parliament, that they would have ſent ſuch a full ſupply, that at leaſt the rebels might make no farther progreſs in victory, againſt his Proteſtant ſubjects. About the end of May, the Lords Juſtices and Council, having received no probable hope of aſſiſtance from the Parliament, ſent an addreſs immediately to his Majeſty, that himſelf might conclude, in that exigent, what was to be done for preſervation of one of his three kingdoms. This letter, ſubſcribed by the Lords Juſtices, and every member of the Council-Board, being the ground and foundation of the reſolutions which his Majeſty afterwards took, I think neceſſary to inſert in the terms of which it conſiſted; which were theſe:

May it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty:

An Addreſs of the Lords Juſtices and the Council in Ireland to the King.

"As ſoon as we your Majeſty's Juſtices entered into "the charge of this government, we took into our con- "ſiderations, at the Board, the ſtate of your army here; "which we find ſuffering under unſpeakable extremity "of want of all things neceſſary to the ſupport of their "perſons, or maintenance of the war, here being no "victuals, clothes, or other proviſions requiſite towards "their ſuſtenance; no money to provide them of any "thing they want; no arms in your Majeſty's ſtores to "ſupply their many defective arms; not above forty "barrels of powder in your ſtores; no ſtrength of ſer- "viceable horſes being now left here; and thoſe few "that are, their arms for the moſt part loſt, or unſer- "viceable; no ſhips arrived here to guard the coaſt, "and conſequently no ſecurity rendered to any that "might, on their private adventures, bring in proviſions "of victuals, or other neceſſaries towards our ſubſiſtence; "and, finally, no viſible means, by ſea or land, of being "able to preſerve for you this kingdom, and to render "deliverance from utter deſtruction to the remnant of "your good ſubjects yet left here.

"We find, that your Majeſty's late Juſtices, and this "Board, have often, and fully, by very many letters, ad- "vertiſed the Parliament in England of the extremities "of affairs here, and beſought relief with all poſſible "importunity; which alſo have been fully repreſented "to your Majeſty, and to the Lord Lieutenant, and Mr. "Secretary Nicholas, to be made known to your Ma- "jeſty: and although the winds have of late for many "days, and often formerly, ſtood very fair for acceſſions "of ſupply forth of England hither, and that we have "ſtill, with longing expectations, hoped to find provi-

"ſions

" ſions arrive here, in ſome degree anſwerable to the ne-
" ceſſities of your affairs; yet now, to our unſpeakable
" grief, after full ſix months waiting, and much longer
" patience, and long ſuffering, we find all our great ex-
" pectations anſwered in a mean and inconſiderable
" quantity of proviſions, viz. threeſcore and fifteen bar-
" rels of butter, and fourteen tun of cheeſe; being but
" the fourth part of a ſmall veſſel's lading, which was
" ſent from London, and arrived here the fifth day of
" this month, which is not above ſeven or eight days
" proviſion, for that part of the army which lies in
" Dublin, and the out-garriſons thereof; no money or
" victual (other than that inconſiderable proportion of
" victual) having arrived in this place, as ſent from the
" Parliament of England, or from any other fort of
" England, for the uſe of the army, ſince the beginning
" of November laſt.

" We have, by the bleſſing of God, been hitherto
" proſperous and ſucceſsful in your Majeſty's affairs
" here, and ſhould be ſtill hopeful, by the mercy of God,
" under the royal directions of your ſacred Majeſty, to
" vindicate your Majeſty's honour, to recover your rights
" here, and take due vengeance on thoſe traitors, for
" the innocent blood they have ſpilled, if we might be
" ſtrengthened, and ſupported therein, by needful ſup-
" plies forth of England; but theſe ſupplies having
" been hitherto expected to come from the Parliament
" of England, (on which if your Majeſty had not relied,
" we are aſſured you would, in your high wiſdom, have
" found out ſome other means to preſerve this your
" kingdom), and ſo great and apparent a failure having
" happened therein, and all the former, and late, long con-
" tinuing eaſterly winds, bringing us no other proviſions,

" than thoſe few cheeſes and butter, and no advertiſe-
" ments being brought us of any future ſupply to be
" ſo much as in the way hither, whereby there might be
" any likelihood that conſiderable means of ſupport for
" your Majeſty's army might arrive here, in any reaſon-
" able time, before we be totally ſwallowed up by the
" rebels, and your kingdom by them wreſted from you:
" we find ourſelves ſo diſappointed of our hopes from
" the Parliament, as muſt needs trench to the utter loſs
" of the kingdom, if your Majeſty, in your high wiſ-
" dom, ordain not ſome preſent means of preſervation
" for us. And conſidering that if now, by occaſion of
" that unhappy and unexpected failing of ſupport from
" thence, we ſhall be leſs ſucceſsful in your ſervices
" here againſt the rebels, than hitherto, whilſt we were
" enabled with ſome means to ſerve you, we have been,
" the ſhame and diſhonour may, in common conſtruc-
" tion of thoſe that know not the inwards of the cauſe,
" be imputed to us, and not to the failings that diſabled
" us: and conſidering principally, and above all things,
" the high and eminent truſt of your affairs here, depo-
" ſited with us by your ſacred Majeſty, we may not for-
" bear, in diſcharge of our duty, thus freely and plainly
" to declare our humble apprehenſions, to the end your
" Majeſty, thus truly underſtanding the terribleneſs of
" our condition, may find out ſome ſuch means of ſup-
" port, to preſerve to your Majeſty and your royal
" poſterity this your ancient and rightful crown and
" kingdom; and derive deliverance and ſafety to the
" remnant of your good ſubjects yet left here, as in
" your excellent judgment you ſhall find to be moſt for
" your honour and advantage. And ſo praying the
" King of kings to guide and direct you for the beſt,

" in

" in this high and important cauſe, and in all other " your counſels and actions, we humbly remain :•

From your Majeſty's Caſtle of Dublin, the 11th of May, 1643.

There was no ſober man in Ireland or England, who believed it to be in the King's power to enable this people to carry on the war; for all men too well knew, that he had neither money, victual, ammunition, or ſhipping, to ſupply them: and therefore his Majeſty could not but conclude, that, by this application of that ſtate to him, they hoped he would endeavour to extinguiſh that war which he could not maintain. And it is very true, that, at the ſame time with this letter, he received advice and information, from ſome of his prime miniſters of that kingdom, who were well known, and acknowledged, perfectly to abhor the rebellion, " that there was no " reaſonable hope of preſerving his Proteſtant ſubjects, " and his own intereſt in that kingdom, but by treating " with the rebels, and making a peace, or truce, with " them." The King well foreſaw to what reproaches he ſhould object himſelf, by entering into ſuch a treaty with thoſe rebels; and that they who had perſuaded many to believe, that he had given countenance to, if not fomented, the rebellion, againſt all human evidence that can be imagined, would more eaſily gain credit, when they ſhould be able to ſay, that he had made a peace with them: beſides that he had bound himſelf not to make a peace with the rebels in Ireland, without the conſent of his two Houſes of Parliament in England. On the other ſide, nothing was more demonſtrable, than that his Proteſtant ſubjects there could not defend the little they had left, without extraordinary aid and aſſiſtance out of England; that it was impoſſible for him

to ſend any to them, and as viſible, that the Parliament would not, or could not; ſo that it ſeemed only in his election, whether he would preſerve the remainder of his Proteſtant ſubjects there, and that whole kingdom, in dependence upon his crown, with the inconvenience of ſome perverſe and unreaſonable ſcandal; or ſuffer them to be rooted out; and undergo the perpetual obloquy of having loſt a kingdom, when it was in his own power to have retained it within his ſubjection: and whatever he had obliged himſelf to, in thoſe acts of Parliament which he had paſſed for relief of Ireland, before any rebellion in England, was not, that there might never be a peace in Ireland, but that the two Houſes might co-operate with him, whereby the rebels might be reduced to thoſe ſtraits, that they might be compelled to ſubmit to the performance of their duties: and that, inſtead of any ſuch cooperation, the two Houſes refuſed to concur with him in any thing, and had employed thoſe monies, which had been raiſed by thoſe very acts, for the relief of Ireland, in the maintenance of the armies which had given his Majeſty battle in England, expreſsly contrary to the words of thoſe acts; and therefore that his Majeſty might be reaſonably diſengaged from thoſe covenants on his part.

Upon theſe conſiderations, after two months delay, to ſee whether yet the Parliament would take care of them, and having received freſh importunities, and advices from thence, about the end of July, the King writ to the Lords Juſtices in Ireland, "that they ſhould iſſue out a "commiſſion, under the Great Seal of Ireland, to the "Marquis of Ormond, to treat and conclude a ceſſation "of arms with the rebels, upon ſuch articles and con-"ditions as he ſhould judge moſt reaſonable; and "during that ceſſation, that ſuch agents as they ſhould "make

" make choice of, ſhould have acceſs to his royal Perſon, " to preſent their own propoſitions for peace :" ſo careful was the King not to infringe that act of Parliament, which many underſtood to be diſſolved by themſelves: there being no colourable clauſe in it, by which it was not in his Majeſty's own power to make a ceſſation; and the peace itſelf he reſpited in ſuch a manner, that he might receive advice and concurrence from the Parliament, if they would not decline any farther conſideration or care of that kingdom.

Hereupon the Lord Marquis of Ormond, being then only General of the horſe there, entered upon a treaty with commiſſioners authoriſed by the council at Kilkenny; to whoſe juriſdiction the rebels had committed the whole government of their affairs; and articles of ceſſation being prepared for a year, and peruſed, and approved by the Lords Juſtices and Council, without whoſe advice the Marquis would not proceed, and all the principal officers of the army having given it under their hands, being preſent likewiſe at the treaty, " that it was " moſt neceſſary for the preſervation of that kingdom, " that a ceſſation ſhould be made for a year, upon thoſe " articles and conditions; and the rebels undertaking to " pay to his Majeſty's uſe, thirty thouſand and eight " hundred pounds ſterling, within a ſhort time; whereof " fifteen thouſand eight hundred pounds in ready money, " and the other fifteen thouſand pounds, one half in " money, and the other half in good beefs, at thirty " pounds the ſcore;" a ceſſation of arms was concluded by the Marquis; and publiſhed, with the articles and conditions, by the Lords Juſtices and Council of Ireland, to begin on the fifteenth day of September, and to continue for the ſpace of a whole year.

This ceſſation was no ſooner known in England, but

A ceſſation of arms concluded for a year in Ireland, Sept. 7. diſowned by the two Houſes at Weſtminſter.

the two Houſes declared againſt it, with all the ſharp gloſſes upon it to his Majeſty's diſhonour that can be imagined; perſuading the people, "that the rebels were "now brought to their laſt gaſp, and reduced to ſo "terrible a famine, that, like cannibals, they eat one "another, and muſt have been deſtroyed immediately, "and utterly rooted out, if, by the Popiſh counſels at "Court, the King had not been perſuaded to conſent to "this ceſſation." It is one of the inſtances of the ſtrange, fatal miſunderſtanding, which poſſeſſed this time, that, notwithſtanding all the caution the King uſed in meddling at all with the buſineſs of that kingdom from the time of the rebellion, and the clear diſcovery of all particular reaſons, grounds, and counſels, when he found it neceſſary to interpoſe in it, the calumnies and ſlanders raiſed to his Majeſty's diſſervice and diſhonour, made a more than ordinary impreſſion upon the minds of men, and not only of vulgar-ſpirited people, but of thoſe who reſiſted all other infuſions and infection. And poſterity, no queſtion, will enquire, from what riſe or ſpring this diſadvantage flowed; to which enquiry I can apply no other ſatisfaction, beſides the diſeaſe of the time; which imputed all deſigns to deſigns upon religion, and whatſoever was done by Papiſts, to the zeal of the Queen on the behalf of her own religion; then that the chief managers, and conductors of their counſels, found it neceſſary to aver many things of fact upon their own knowledge, (by which they found the underſtanding of men liable to be captivated), which in truth were not ſo: as I myſelf found by ſome ſober men, at ſuch times as there was occaſion of intercourſe, and conference with them, that they did, upon ſuch aſſurance, believe that the King had done ſomewhat in that buſineſs of Ireland, (ſome having avowed, that they had ſeen his hand to

ſuch

ſuch and ſuch letters and inſtructions), which, upon as much knowledge as any man can morally have of a negative, I am ſure he never did.

I ſhall here inſert, as the moſt natural and proper evidence of the ſtate of Ireland, at the time of the ceſſation, and of the unanſwerable motives which prevailed with the King to conſent to it, two letters; the one, of expoſtulation from the two Houſes to the Lords Juſtices and Council, which was received by them after the ceſſation agreed on, though ſeeming to be ſent before; and the anſwer of that Board thereunto; with the contents whereof, the King, nor any of his Council attending on him, was not at all acquainted, till long after their delivery. The letters were in theſe words.

To our very good Lords, the Lords Juſtices, and Council, for the kingdom of Ireland.

A letter concerning it, from the two Houſes to the Lords Juſtices, July 4, 1643.

" Our very good Lords,

" The Lords and Commons in Parliament have commanded us to let you know, they have ſeen your letter " of the tenth of June, directed to the Speaker of the " Houſe of Commons, accompanied with an act of " State, in the preamble whereof is an expreſſion to this " effect; that your preſent difficulties are occaſioned " through the failure of the Houſes of Parliament in " England, who undertook the charge of this war. This " letter, and act of Council, were ſent by his Majeſty " from Oxford; to whom they believe you have ſent " copies of both, and have juſt cauſe to ſuſpect, that " there is an impious deſign now on foot, to ſell for " nought the crying blood of many hundred thouſands " of Britiſh Proteſtants, by a diſhonourable, unſuffer- " able peace with the rebels; and then to lay the blame " and ſhame of this upon the Parliament; a plot ſuit-

" able

" able to thoſe counſels that have both projected and " fomented this unparalleled rebellion: for thoſe who " contrived the powder treaſon, intended to lay it on the " Puritans. And although they cannot think your " Lordſhips intended to further this deſign by this ex- " preſſion, yet they have cauſe to believe, you have for- " gotten the preſent condition of this kingdom; the " ſupplies they have ſent thither of all ſorts, even in the " midſt of their own wants; what relief going thither " hath been taken away by ſea and land, and by whom; " and what diſcouragements have been given them in " return: ſo that, as your Lordſhips do truly obſerve " the Proteſtant party in that city deſirous to contribute, " in all things, towards preſervation of that kingdom, " and that all the oppoſition therein is from thoſe of the " Popiſh party; ſo ought you juſtly to conclude, that " the Proteſtant party in this kingdom have contributed, " and are ſtill endeavouring to contribute, monies, am- " munition, victuals, and other neceſſaries, for the ſav- " ing of that kingdom: and that the Popiſh and Ma- " lignant party here, now in arms againſt the Parliament " and kingdom, have not aſſiſted, in the leaſt meaſure, " this pious work; but, on the contrary, do hinder and " oppoſe the ſame: neither ſhould your Lordſhips con- " ceive, that only the charge of that war was referred " to, and undertaken by, the Parliament, as if their part " was to be your bankers, only to provide money for you " to ſpend, and were not to adviſe and direct the manag- " ing of the war; although an act of Parliament hath " inveſted them with that power; which they muſt aſ- " ſume and vindicate as the means to ſave that king- " dom; and ſhall bring to condign puniſhment thoſe " there, who, in this conjuncture of affairs, have ad- " viſed the commiſſion to hear what the rebels can ſay,

" or

" or propound, for their own advantage; the letters to " diveſt their committee of an authority given them by " both Houſes; and that adviſed the late alteration of " government there; as enemies to the weal of both " kingdoms, and fautors of that rebellion. In the laſt " place, we are forbidden to tell you, what ſupplies of " money, victuals, ammunition, and other neceſſaries, " are in good forwardneſs to be ſent over, for the ſupport " of the officers and ſoldiers there, and by whoſe inceſ- " ſant care; leſt they ſhould ſeem to anſwer that ſcandal " by excuſe, which deſerves an high reſentment. This " being all we have in command for the preſent, we bid " your Lordſhips farewel, and remain,

" Your Lordſhips' friends to ſerve you,

" *Grey of Warke,*

" *Speaker of the Houſe of Lords* pro tempore;

" *William Lenthall,*

" *Speaker of the Commons Houſe in Parliament.*

" The Lords and Commons will examine the de- " meanour of the ſhips appointed to guard thoſe coaſts; " and might have expected a copy of Mountroſe's letter " to Colonel Crawford, which came to your hands before " the 10th of June; and, happily, would diſcover the " treaſon of the rebels, ſent by your enemies to deſtroy " you; as well as a complaint of thoſe ſea-captains, ſent " by your friends to defend you; whoſe neglects and " miſdeeds are notwithſtanding to be puniſhed, accord- " ing as their demerits ſhall appear."

Weſtminſter, the 4th of July, 1643.

To

To our very good Lord, the Lord Speaker of the Right Honourable the Lords Houſe of Parliament, in the kingdom of England; and to our very loving friend, William Lenthall, Eſq. Speaker of the Honourable Commons Houſe in Parliament, in the ſaid kingdom.

" Our very good Lord, and Mr. Speaker of the Com-
" mons Houſe in Parliament,

The Lords Juſtices' anſwer.

" Your joint letters of the fourth of July laſt directed
" to us, were ſo long in coming, as they came not to
" our hands until the ſixth of October. By thoſe your
" letters, you ſignify, that the Lords and Commons in
" Parliament have commanded you to let us know,
" that they have ſeen our letters of the tenth of June,
" directed to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons,
" accompanied with an act of State, in the preamble
" whereof there is an expreſſion to this effect; that our
" preſent difficulties were occaſioned through the failure
" of the Houſes of Parliament in England, who under-
" took the charge of this war: to which expreſſion, it
" ſeems, exception is taken, and interpretations made
" thereof, far otherwiſe we are ſure than was intended by
" us; and, as we conceive, otherwiſe than the true ſenſe
" of thoſe words can bear. It is true, that when we
" were neceſſitated to ſet on foot the new impoſition,
" raiſed here in nature of an exciſe, towards keeping
" this army from periſhing by famine, it became neceſ-
" ſary to expreſs, in the act of Council whereby we or-
" dered it, the reaſons inducing us to ſet on foot here a
" thing ſo unknown to his Majeſty's laws, and gracious
" government, and the difficulties wherewith we con-
" tended, which did neceſſitate that reſolution; and in
" expreſſing thoſe difficulties, we uſed that expreſſion,

" to

" to ſhew whence our difficulties were occaſioned; and " that we have therein declared the truth, we crave leave " to mind you of ſome particulars.

" If we ſhould look ſo far back as to repeat the ſub- " ſtance of many diſpatches ſent from this Board, ſince " the beginning of this rebellion; ſome to our very good " Lord, the Lord Lieutenant of this kingdom; ſome to " the Lords, and others, members of both Houſes, his " Majeſty's commiſſioners for the affairs of this king- " dom; and ſome to the Speaker of the Commons Houſe " of Parliament there; it would prove a voluminous " work; and therefore we forbear to look farther back " into thoſe diſpatches, than to the time when the com- " mittee ſent thence hither, were here; who, at their " arrival here, in the end of October 1642, brought " with them ſome money and proviſions, but far ſhort " of that which the neceſſities of this army required; " and indeed ſo inconſiderable, in reſpect of thoſe ne- " ceſſities, as even before that committee departed, they " ſaw the money they had brought, wholly iſſued; " and the high and unavoidable neceſſity of a farther, " ſpeedy, and plentiful ſupply of money, and other pro- " viſions. By letters from this Board of the 20th of " January 1642, and directed to the Speaker of the " Commons Houſe of Parliament there, it was ſignified " thither, that the proviſions of victuals here were then " at the very bottom; that that committee then here, had " certified thither thoſe wants; that if a perſonal ſupply " of victual arrived not here very ſpeedily, the army could " not ſubſiſt, but muſt have been conſtrained to diſband, " to the loſs of this kingdom, and utter deſtruction of " the few ſubjects here: that the want of treaſure here, " to pay the army, enforced this Board to iſſue victual " to the common ſoldier, and others, towards their pay,

" which

" which did the ſooner exhauſt the magazine of victual;
" that the captains, and other officers, not having relief
" that way, were reduced to great extremities, as had
" been formerly often repreſented thither; and therefore
" this Board, by the ſaid letters, then moved, that trea-
" ſure might be ſent us ſpeedily, ſo to redeem the offi-
" cers from the calamities they ſuffered, and this Board
" from their unſupportable clamours; and to enable the
" payment, in ſome part, in money to the common ſol-
" dier; ſo to make the victual we then expected, to
" hold out the longer.

" It was alſo by thoſe letters then advertiſed thither,
" that the extremities of the officers of the army had
" begotten ſo much diſcontent amongſt them, as divers
" colonels, and others of them, preſented at this Board
" a remonſtrance, whereof a copy was then ſent incloſed
" in the ſaid letters; which remonſtrance did exceedingly
" trouble and perplex us, leſt it might beget ſuch diſ-
" tractions amongſt us, as might give too much advan-
" tage to the rebels. But, after full debate thereof
" at this Board, it was here directed, that in preſent, to
" render ſome ſubſiſtence to the officers, until treaſure
" arrived forth of England, every man in this city ſhould
" bring in half of his plate, to be paid for it when trea-
" ſure arrived; whereupon ſome plate was brought in,
" and applied towards the army. This Board did alſo
" ſignify by thoſe letters, that without ſome ſpeedy re-
" lief forth of England, the burden here was become
" too heavy to be borne; and therefore, in diſcharge of
" our duty to God, to our gracious Sovereign, to that
" kingdom, and to this, we held ourſelves bound clearly
" to make known, that unleſs we were ſpeedily ſupplied
" from thence with money, arms, and victual, it would
" be impoſſible for us any farther to proſecute this war,

" or

" or to preſerve from ſudden confuſion this ſtate and go-
" vernment: ſo highly did the diſcontent of the officers,
" and the diſorder of the ſoldiers, threaten us, that it
" might be eaſily apprehended, what, in all human pro-
" bability, muſt become of us, when it was then evi-
" dent, that here was no money, nor any poſſibility of
" procuring any in this city; when our victuals were
" ſpent; when a great part of the army had no arms;
" upon which we doubted, and feared, for the reaſons in
" thoſe letters expreſſed, that the ſoldiers would make
" prey of us and this city at laſt; and when we ſaw that
" the deſtruction, then threatened againſt us, muſt then
" go farther, even to the loſs of this crown, and king-
" dom; and to the highly endangering of that kingdom
" alſo; which, for the honour of his Majeſty, and the
" Engliſh nation, we by our ſaid letters deſired might,
" by the wiſdom of that honourable Houſe, be ſpeedily
" prevented, by haſtening away, with all poſſible ſpeed,
" ſupply of money, arms, and victuals.

" By other letters of this Board, directed to Mr.
" Speaker, and dated the ſaid 20th of January 1642, it
" was advertiſed thither, that it was become of abſolute
" neceſſity, that there ſhould be ſent us from thence,
" ſpeedily, ſix hundred light geldings for recruits, to be
" defalked out of the entertainments of thoſe who
" ſhould receive them. By other letters from this Board,
" of the ſame date, directed to Mr. Speaker, it was ſig-
" nified thither, that we had contracted an agreement
" here with Theodore Schout, and Jacob Ablin, mer-
" chants, that Anthony Tyrenes, in London, or Daniel
" Wibrant, in Amſterdam, ſhould receive ſeven thou-
" ſand eight hundred fourſcore and thirteen pounds three
" ſhillings; for which the ſaid Theodore and Jacob had
" undertaken, by their agreement with us, to buy in

" Holland,

" Holland, and to tranſport from thence hither, at their " own charge and adventure, ſeveral proportions of arms " mentioned in a docket, then ſent incloſed in our ſaid " letters; and they undertook ſo to ſecure it by inſurance, " and provide ſuch a ſhip of force, as we might be " aſſured to have all thoſe arms arrive here by the tenth " of March now laſt paſt. And we, by our ſaid letters, " earneſtly beſought that the ſaid ſum of ſeven thouſand " eight hundred fourſcore and thirteen pounds three " ſhillings might, by order of that honourable Houſe, " be ſpeedily paid to the ſaid Tyrenes, or Wibrant, that " thoſe proviſions might arrive here by the tenth of " March; that we might not loſe the advantage of the " then next Spring, for recovering of ſuch of the ſea-ports, " and other places of importance, as the rebels had gotten; " and for proceeding effectually in this war. Thoſe " letters alſo moved for other proviſions of war, which " we conceived might be had in England in reaſonable " time. And we then ſent a docket of thoſe alſo; " deſiring earneſtly they might be ſent us ſpeedily. And " although there was an agent ſent from hence in No- " vember 1641, to ſolicit the diſpatches ſent from hence, " who attended at London, when thoſe our letters were " ſent hence; yet of ſo great importance was that diſ- " patch, requiring inſtant and ſpeedy anſwer and ſupply " from thence, as we adjudged it neceſſary to give ſpecial " inſtructions to the Lord Conway, and others, (beſides " that agent then there attending), to move his Majeſty, " and ſolicit the Houſes of Parliament, to haſten unto " us, with all poſſible ſpeed, the proviſions in thoſe " letters contained: and that there might nothing be " omitted, that by ſolicitation could be obtained, there " were agents alſo ſent thither from the army to ſolicit " for them. By letters from this Board of the twentieth

" of

" of February 1642, directed to Mr. Speaker, we again " defired, with all poſſible earneſtneſs, that the proviſions " of all ſorts, expreſſed in thoſe three letters of the " twentieth of January, and the dockets therewith ſent, " might be haſtened to us; and that the ſaid ſeven " thouſand eight hundred fourſcore and thirteen pounds " three ſhillings, for arms to be provided in Holland, " might be ſpeedily paid. And in thoſe laſt letters we " again ſignified our miſerable and unſpeakable want of " victuals, arms, munition, money, ſhoes, and other " neceſſaries; and that if the ſupplies we moved for " came not ſpeedily, we were unavoidably in danger to " be as much devoured by our own wants, as by the " ſword of the rebels; and that our want of corn was " ſo much the more, in regard that, in confidence to be " plentifully ſupplied forth of England, we cauſed great " deſtruction to be made of corn; there being in- " deed nothing conducing more to the deſtruction of " rebels, than the burning of all corn.

" We alſo then ſignified the neceſſity of ſending a " farther ſupply of powder and match; and we declared, " that no words could ſufficiently expreſs the greatneſs " of the danger we ſhould incur, if our ſupplies came " not ſpeedily: that the plate brought in amounted not " to one thouſand two hundred pounds; a ſum very in- " conſiderable towards relief of the officers. By letters " of this Board of the twenty-fifth of February 1642, " directed to Mr. Speaker, we ſignified, that when our " means from thence failed, and our credits could hold " out no longer, we were conſtrained, towards relief of " the army, to force from the Proteſtant merchants here, " as well Engliſh as ſtrangers, not only the commodities " they had brought hither, but the native commodities " alſo; undertaking to them that they ſhould receive

" payment at London; which failing, that thoſe that " would ſupply us were diſheartened, and durſt not " come hither with commodities; wherefore we again, " by thoſe letters, beſought ſpeedy ſupply from thence; " declaring that otherwiſe the army and we muſt " periſh; and ſo far we were tranſported with grief, in " the conſideration of the high extremities of this " kingdom, and army, as we did, by thoſe letters, la- " ment for the ſhame and diſhonour, which we then " foreſaw would reflect upon the Engliſh nation, if then, " after ſo long and often forewarnings, given by us to " that honourable Houſe, this kingdom were loſt, and " that for want of ſupplies from thence; wherein we " then declared, that all the comfort left us was, that " we had done our parts, and diſcharged our duties to " God, to his Majeſty, and to all his kingdoms, who " muſt have borne their parts with us in ſo heavy a " loſs.

" By letters from this Board, dated the twenty-third of " March 1642, directed to Mr. Speaker, we ſignified " that our wants enforced us to diſtribute the ſoldiers, " for their victuals, in and throughout this city and " ſuburbs; which, we ſignified, could not long hold, " conſidering the poverty of this place; and therefore, " to avoid utter confuſion, we did again and again beſeech " moſt earneſtly, that, above all things, victuals and " munition might be ſent us ſpeedily; and that money, " arms, clothes, ſhoes, and other proviſions might alſo " be ſent; declaring, that if they yet came ſpeedily, the " kingdom, and his Majeſty's forces here, might be " thereby redeemed out of part of their diſtreſſes; and " we enabled, by the bleſſing of God, to give his Ma- " jeſty ſuch an account of this kingdom, as would be " for the glory of the King our maſter, and the honour " of

" of the Engliſh nation, in the ſubduing this horrid " rebellion; which, by reaſon of our wants, and in no " other reſpect, was then grown very terrible: and we " did again call for the proviſions, moved for by our " ſeveral former letters of the twentieth of January, and " twentieth of February, and for the payment of the " ſeven thouſand eight hundred fourſcore and thirteen " pounds three ſhillings, for arms to be provided in " Holland, and thoſe alſo which we expect from London; " declaring, that unleſs thoſe ſupplies came, we ſhould " be diſabled from doing ſervice on the rebels the then " next Spring, or the then ſucceeding Summer; and " muſt undoubtedly put the rebels into a condition of " prevailing againſt us, which we well believed the " kingdom of England would never have permitted " againſt ſo faithful ſervants and valiant ſoldiers, as his " Majeſty yet had here.

" By thoſe letters alſo we ſignified, that it was neceſſary " that there ſhould be here, at this harbour of Dublin, " by the middle of April, at leaſt two ſhips of good " ſtrength; and that the ſhips deſigned for guarding the " other parts of the coaſts of this kingdom, ſhould be " haſtened away with all poſſible ſpeed. By letters " from this Board directed to Mr. Speaker, dated the " fourth of April 1643, we repreſented again the un- " ſpeakable miſeries of the officers and ſoldiers, for want " of all things; and all thoſe made the more inſup- " portable, in the want of food; and that this city was " then apparently found to be unable to help us, as it " had formerly done; and repeated again, in as lively " terms as we could, the high extremities fallen, and " increaſing upon us; declaring, that we were enforced " to ſee, who had any thing yet left him not taken from " him, to help us; and that although there were but few

" ſuch, and ſome poor merchants, whom we had for-
" merly, by the law of neceſſity, utterly undone; yet,
" that we were forced to wreſt their commodities from
" them: that there were few here, of ourſelves or others,
" that had not felt their parts in the enforced rigour of
" our proceedings towards preſerving the army; and we
" earneſtly deſired, that his Majeſty, and the Engliſh
" nation, might not ſuffer ſo great, if not irrecoverable
" prejudice and diſhonour, as muſt unavoidably be the
" conſequence of our not being relieved ſuddenly; but
" that yet, although it were then even almoſt at the
" point to be too late, ſupplies of victuals, and munition,
" in preſent might be haſtened hither, to keep life,
" until the reſt might follow: declaring alſo, that there
" was no victual in the ſtore, and that there would not
" be an hundred barrels of powder left, when the out-
" garriſons, as they muſt then inſtantly have been, were
" ſupplied; and that the reſidue of our proviſions muſt
" alſo come ſpeedily after, or otherwiſe that England
" could not hope to ſecure Ireland, or ſecure themſelves
" againſt Ireland; but in the loſs of it, muſt look for
" ſuch enemies from hence, as would perpetually diſturb
" the peace of his Majeſty, and his kingdom of England;
" and among them, by ſea and land, as we had
" formerly repreſented thither; which miſchiefs
" ſignified might yet be prevented, if we were but then
" forthwith enabled, from thence, with means to over-
" come this rebellion.

" We then alſo again renewed our requeſts for the
" proviſions mentioned in our letters of the twentieth of
" January, and for the payment of the ſeven thouſand
" eight hundred fourſcore and thirteen pounds three
" ſhillings, for arms to be provided in Holland, beſides
" thoſe we expected from London; we then alſo ſent,

" incloſed

" incloſed in our letters to Mr. Speaker, a copy of " writing, ſigned by ſundry officers of the army, which " was in a ſtile threatening much danger; whereby ap- " peared the high neceſſity of haſtening treaſure hither " to pay them, and the reſt of the officers, and provide " victual for the ſoldiers. On the tenth of April 1643, " we received letters from Mr. Speaker, of the ſeventeenth " of March, in anſwer to our letters of the twentieth " and twenty-fifth of February. Thoſe letters from " Mr. Speaker adviſed free trade and truck to be given " to merchants, by taking our native commodities, that " cannot be manufactured here, for their corn, and other " victuals, and carrying them into England, or other " places not prohibited. And by our letters directed to " Mr. Speaker, dated the twenty-ſecond of April, in an- " ſwer to his ſaid letters of the ſeventeenth of March, " we made it appear, that that deſign could not hold to " derive benefit to this army. By thoſe our letters we " ſignified alſo, that the neceſſities of the army ſtill " preſſed us, by degrees, to break the merchants here, " by wreſting their commodities from them, upon promiſe " of ſatisfaction in England: that the failing of that " ſatisfaction in England, as it had undone them, ſo had " it infinitely prejudiced the ſervice here: that we en- " gaged the word of this State, to procure payment to " many others, out of the next treaſure that ſhall arrive " forth of England, (which courſes, though very hard, " did help us for a time); that when thoſe failed, we " begun at ourſelves, then at others, then at all frater- " nities, and corporations, as bakers, brewers, butchers, " vintners, and the like; then at all particular perſons " obſerved to have any viſible ſubſtance, not being able " to ſpare poor men, who (to gain a poor living) made " profeſſion, ſome of ſelling hot waters, and ſome of

" cutting tobacco: that in the end, all other means " failing, we had recourſe to the only native commodity, " hides; ſeizing on all that could be found, either on " ſhip-board, ready to be exported hence, (with purpoſe " in ſome of the owners of them to return victuals " hither; which we were not able to wait for), or on " ſhore; prepared for ſhip-board; and made uſe of " them to get the army in a few days bread, ſtill hoping " proviſions of victual might come to keep them alive; " which did draw upon us infinite clamour.

" And by the ſaid letters we earneſtly beſought, that " before we ſhould be utterly ſwallowed up in the con- " fuſion of affairs, wherewith we were beſet, the deſtruc- " tion of this ſtate, and army, and kingdom, being then " no leſs feared to ariſe from the army, though ſent " hither for their preſervation, than from the fury of the " rebels, if that honourable Houſe would not look back " into all our ſeveral letters ſent thither, which we then " declared ſhould for ever acquit us before God, and the " world; as having diſcharged our duties to God, to his " Majeſty, and to this his kingdom, in fully, and timely, " and often repreſenting thither the evils then ready to " ſeize upon this ſtate, the army, and the kingdom, and " the means of preventing them; yet at laſt they would " be pleaſed to review our ſaid ſeveral letters of the- " twentieth and twenty-fifth of February, of the twentieth " of January, twenty-third of March, and fourth of " April. We then alſo ſignified that the ſoldiers, preſſed " through wants, attempted tumults and mutiny, plun- " dered divers of the inhabitants of this city, as well " Engliſh and Proteſtants, as others: that we apprehend- " ed thoſe diſorders but beginnings of what, we doubted, " would then ſhortly enſue, even the ranſack of this " city, if, by ſupplies forth of England, it were not

" pre-

" prevented: that then there would be no refuge left,
" either for the army, or other Engliſh here: that we
" were not able to ſend out the ſoldiers, for want of
" money to furniſh ordinary neceſſities, and of ammuni-
" tion: wherefore we then again earneſtly moved, that
" ſome means might be found for complying with our
" deſires, in thoſe our ſeveral letters expreſſed; certify-
" ing, that the ſtate of affairs here could not poſſibly
" admit the leaſt deferring; and that no help was to be
" expected from hence; as we had often, and fully, in
" former letters, ſignified thither: that if it were not
" immediately ſupplied forth of England with powder,
" we ſhould not be able to defend ourſelves, or offend
" the rebels; and that, above all things, munition,
" money, and victuals, were, of neceſſity, to be ſent in
" the firſt place; and the other proviſions to be ſent
" after, which alſo we certified moſt needful to be done
" with all poſſible ſpeed.

" By our letters of the ſixth of May 1643, directed
" to Mr. Speaker, we ſignified how neceſſary it was, that
" the intended eſtabliſhment ſhould be conſidered there,
" and put into ſuch a way as to be made perfect, and,
" receiving his Majeſty's gracious approbation, might
" be ſent hither; which we deſired to be haſtened, that
" the officers, who daily labour in the public ſervices,
" might the better know what they are to have; of
" which eſtabliſhment we have not yet had any return.
" By our letters to Mr. Speaker of the 11th of May
" 1643, we ſignified, that although by letters from Mr.
" Speaker, dated the 17th day of March, it was adver-
" tiſed hither, that ſix weeks proviſion of victuals, for
" each province, was in preparing, yet that it was not
" come, or if it was come, that it was a ſupply far be-
" low that which was neceſſary to be then ſent hither.

" And we then again repeated the miſerable condition " of this army, through want of all things, eſpecially " money, victuals, clothes, arms, and munition: that " there were not above forty barrels of powder in the " ſtore, (a mean and inconſiderable quantity for this " army, on whom depends the preſervation of the king- " dom), and we again deſired, in caſe of ſo high and " eminent danger, and that with all poſſible importunity, " that a courſe might be then inſtantly taken for haſten- " ing away powder with all ſpeed, and that the other " proviſions alſo of all ſorts, mentioned in our former " ſeveral letters of the 20th of January, 20th and 25th " of February, the 23d of March, and the 4th and " 22d of April, might be alſo haſtened away; and that " the ſeven thouſand eight hundred and fourſcore and " thirteen pounds three ſhillings, for arms to be pro- " vided in Holland, beſides thoſe we expected from " London, might be paid.

" By thoſe letters alſo we ſignified, that we could not " but lament our misfortune, and the diſhonour reflect- " ing on the Engliſh nation, that the ſeaſon of the year " ſhould be ſo far entered into, and yet (notwithſtanding " all the repreſentations, often, and timely enough made " thither of affairs here) no means put into our power " to make uſe thereof, in a vigorous proſecution of the " war; but inſtead thereof, notwithſtanding all the en- " deavour and induſtry here uſed to prevent it, we then " beheld ourſelves ſunk deeply into a gulph of confu- " ſion, and diſtreſs of affairs, being equally in danger to be " devoured through our wants, or to be deſtroyed by " the rebels, for want of needful habiliments of war to " enable our defence, as had been formerly often and " fully declared thither; and therefore we again preſſed " to be redeemed from the terribleneſs of our con- " dition,

" dition, by ſuch timely acceſſions of ſupplies forth of " England, as were contained in our ſaid former diſ- " patches.

" By our letters to Mr. Speaker, dated the 16th of " May 1643, we deſired that 320l. might be paid there, " as we had formerly deſired, for ſundry particulars ne- " ceſſary for the chirurgeons of this army; there being " a great want thereof for the cures of wounded men. " And then we ſent, and employed Sir Thomas Wharton, " Knight, a member of this army, purpoſely to ſolicit " the means of our relief, that ſo we might omit nothing " that we conceived might conduce to the haſtening of " our expected ſupplies. And by our letters of the " 16th of May, then ſent to Mr. Speaker, we ſignified, " that the kingdom was then in more danger than ever " to be forced out of our hands, for want of timely ſup- " plies out of England; and we deſired moſt earneſtly, " that his diſpatch might be haſtened for our preſerva- " tion, that, if it were poſſible, the King and kingdom " of England, might yet then be preſerved from that " irrecoverable prejudice and diſhonour, which muſt " neceſſarily accompany and follow the loſs of this " kingdom.

" And here we may not omit to mention, that we " prevailed with divers perſons to advance proviſions to " us, at ſeveral times, to anſwer the crying neceſſities of " this army; and to ſome we gave our bills, in nature " of bills of exchange, and to others, our own bonds, " undertaking repayment at London by the Parliament " there; which we did in confidence to find ready pay- " ment there accordingly: and we do not yet hear that " thoſe bills of exchange, or bonds, are yet paid there; " but we find ſome of the parties ready to ſue and im-

" plead

" plead us here, for thoſe debts, though contracted only " for the public ſervice.

" Which proceeding of this Board, from time to " time, we thus at large deduce, that ſo it may appear " fully that we have diſcharged thoſe duties which we " owe to his Majeſty, and to the truſt of his Majeſty's " affairs here, in repreſenting thither fully, and timely, " and often, the wants and extremities to which this " kingdom and army were reduced, and the means re- " quiſite to be ſent for relief and preſervation of both; " and yet in all that time, namely from the ſaid " twentieth day of January 1642, to the tenth of June " 1643, which is the day of the date of our letters, to " which yours of the fourth of July is an anſwer, or " from that time to this, there arrived here, as ſent from " the Parliament of England, towards the relief of this " army, and for maintenance of this war, but the par- " ticulars following, viz. forty nine thouſand two hun- " dred forty eight pounds of butter; forty nine thouſand " ſix hundred forty nine pounds of cheeſe; four hun- " dred forty ſeven barrels and a half of wheat and rye; " three hundred threeſcore and ſeven barrels of peaſe; " and three hundred fifty ſix barrels of oats; alſo five " hundred ſuits of cloth, one thouſand caſſocks, two " thouſand eight hundred and eighteen caps; alſo eight " and twenty hundred three quarters and one pound of " match, thirty eight hundred two quarters and nine " pound of ſhot, and three hundred threeſcore and four- " teen barrels of powder; of which proviſions of muni- " tion, there were three hundred and one and forty bar- " rels of powder, and five hundred fifty five pound two " quarters and four and twenty pound of match, which " was the munition we had contracted for here, and in

" the

" the way, coming from Holland, was intercepted at ſea,
" and carried to Calais, and afterwards ſet free there by
" the mediation of his Majeſty, and the Houſes of Parlia-
" ment in England, but the price thereof ſtands charged
" on the ſaid Houſes of Parliament.

" This was not above a week's proviſion, or there-
" abouts, of victuals, for the army in Lemſter, being
" fifteen regiments of foot, and twenty two troops of
" horſe, and four troops of dragoons, beſides train of
" artillery, and four hundred firelocks; ſo as certainly
" there was a failure in ſupplying us, and that failure was
" not occaſioned through any neglect on our parts, in
" not repreſenting thither the wants and extremities en-
" dured by this army; and the means of their ſupply is,
" as we conceive, very clear by thoſe ſeveral diſpatches
" ſent from us to Mr. Speaker. And ſeeing, that the
" charge of this war was referred to, and undertaken by,
" the Houſes of Parliament of England, and that by
" thoſe diſpatches they fully underſtood the condition
" of affairs here, we offer it to any man's conſideration,
" whether or no we had not juſt cauſe to conceive, and
" accordingly to expreſs in that act of Council, that our
" difficulties, which were neceſſary to be mentioned in
" that act, were occaſioned through the failure of the
" Houſes of Parliament in England.

" And whereas you write, that the Lords and Com-
" mons in Parliament do believe we have ſent copies of
" our ſaid letters and act of Council to his Majeſty, it is
" true, that we have ſo done; and therein acquitted our-
" ſelves towards that duty which we owe him; and had
" failed in our duties, if we had done otherwiſe. But
" how from that, as we conceive, neceſſary and true ex-
" preſſion of ours in the ſaid act of Council, or from our
" ſending a copy thereof, and of our ſaid letters, to his

" Majeſty,

" Majeſty, there can be any juſt cauſe to ſuſpect (as " your letters ſeem to infer) there is ſuch an impious " deſign now on foot, as your letters mention, we con- " feſs we do not underſtand, or any deſign at all other " than the needful ſettling here of the impoſition, in " nature of an exciſe, in thoſe our letters and act of " Council mentioned; without which this army could " not have ſubſiſted to this time; and was preſſed by the " committee from the Parliament here, but then avoided; " our hopes being then more, and our neceſſities not ſo " great as they were when we laid it. And as we find " by your letters, that the Lords and Commons in Par- " liament there have done us the right, by your ſaid " letters, to ſignify that they cannot think we intended, " by that expreſſion, to farther the deſign in your letters " mentioned, ſo we hold it neceſſary to declare, that we " neither have forgotten, nor can forget, the preſent con- " dition of that kingdom; but we have a long time be- " held, and ſtill behold, and lament with bleeding hearts, " the woful condition of that kingdom, and how God's " hand is ſtill ſtretched out againſt us, in thoſe heavy " diſtractions there; yet we comfort ourſelves with hope, " that God, in mercy to his Majeſty, and to all his " kingdoms and people, will at length, in his own good " time, anſwer the prayers and tears of us his Majeſty's " ſervants, and many thouſands of others his good ſub- " jects there, and here, continually poured out for his " Majeſty, and his kingdom, in removing that heavy " judgment, and ſettling peace and tranquillity there, to " the glory of God, the honour of his Majeſty, and " the joint happineſs of all his ſubjects, in all his king- " doms and dominions.

" Nor have we forgotten the ſupplies of all ſorts ſent " hither by the Parliament, but do very well remember " them.

" them. But we confeſs we know not what relief " coming hither hath been taken away, either by ſea or " land, or by whom, or what diſcouragement hath been " given them in return: only we have heard, that the " ſhipping, employed by the rebels at Wexford, did " give them ſome interruption at ſea; and that was oc- " caſioned by neglect of duty in thoſe who commanded " the ſhips deſigned for the guard of the coaſts of this " kingdom: and the ſaid ſhip bound hither from Hol- " land with munition, which we had contracted for here, " was intercepted at ſea, and carried to Calais, and after- " wards ſet free there, by the mediation of his Majeſty " and the Houſes of Parliament in England. And we " find that ſome ſhips, ſent hither it ſeems at firſt with " proviſions from London, and other ſhips bound hither " with proviſions on private men's adventures, were " taken away even from this harbour, a few days before " the ceſſation of arms here, as they were coming in, and " carried to Liverpool, by one Captain Dauſk, a perſon " employed by the two Houſes of Parliament there, in " the command of a ſhip; and that ſhip commanded by " Dauſk, and other ſhips employed at Liverpool, do " now, and have a long time ſtayed on that ſide, laden " with proviſion of victuals, coals, and other neceſſary " relief bound from thence hither to be ſold; which, if " they had arrived here, would have brought great relief " to this army, and the inhabitants in this city, though " on the adventure of the bringers; which we hold ne- " ceſſary to repreſent thither, to the end that their un- " charitableneſs towards thoſe poor men that would ad- " venture hither to relieve us, and their inhumanity to- " wards this diſtreſſed army and city, and many of his " Majeſty's Proteſtant ſubjects therein, might appear ſo,

" as

" as they, or others, may not preſume hereafter to offend " in that kind.

" And whereas you write, that we ſhould not conceive " that only the charge of this war was referred to, and " undertaken by, the Parliament, as if their part were to " be our bankers, only to provide monies for us to ſpend, " and were not to adviſe and direct the managing of the " war; we confeſs we neither did, nor do conceive the " Parliament there to be bankers for us; but did eſteem " them, as thoſe to whom the King our maſter referred " the charge of this war, and to whom, as ſo entruſted " by his Majeſty, this Board, from time to time, made " application; and if any advice had come from them, " concerning the managing of the war, we ſhould have " endeavoured to have made the beſt uſe thereof, " for the furtherance of his Majeſty's ſervice here. And " here we hold it neceſſary to declare, that when we un- " derſtood, that his Majeſty, at the humble deſire of the " Lords and Commons of Parliament in England, had, " in April 1642, granted a commiſſion to ſome mem- " bers of both Houſes, for ordering and diſpoſing all " matters there, for the defence, relief, and recovery of " this kingdom; and that his Majeſty commanded all " his officers, miniſters, and ſubjects of his kingdoms of " England and Ireland, to be obedient, aiding, and " aſſiſting to the ſaid commiſſioners in the due execution " of the ſaid commiſſion; and that by his Majeſty's in- " ſtructions, annexed to the ſaid commiſſion, his Ma- " jeſty gave it in charge to thoſe commiſſioners, to ad- " vertiſe his Lieutenant of Ireland, the Council, and other " governors and commanders here, what they con- " ceived to be needful for the proſecution of the war in " the beſt manner, for the defence of this his kingdom,

" and

" and eaſe of the great charges and expences, which, by " occaſion of this rebellion, lay upon his loving ſubjects " of his kingdom of England: we therefore, by our " letters of the ſeventh of June 1642, directed to thoſe " his Majeſty's commiſſioners, beſought, among other " things, preſent and particular direction for the pro- " ſecution of the war; which yet we have not received: " only we had advice from thence, to ſend ſome forces " into Connaught; which was done; and for ſending " ſome forces into Munſter, which, by our letters of the " thirteenth of September 1642, to the commiſſioners " there, we ſignified was not poſſible for us to do, unleſs " we were plentifully ſupplied of thoſe things, whereof " the wants then certified thither did then diſable us.

" Concerning the commiſſion in your letters men- " tioned, it was not to hear what the rebels would ſay, " or propound for their own advantage, as your letters " mention; but his Majeſty having received an humble " petition, in the name of the Recuſants of Ireland, " deſiring to be heard, his Majeſty thought it not un- " juſt, or inconvenient for him, to receive from them " what they could ſay unto him; to whom they in- " ſinuated that they would yet yield due obedience. " And therefore his Majeſty, by his commiſſion under " the Great Seal of England, (wherein he declared his " extreme deteſtation of the odious rebellion, which the " Recuſants of Ireland have, without any ground or colour, " raiſed againſt him, his crown, and dignity), authoriſed " ſome of his miniſters here, to hear at large what the " petitioners ſhould ſay, or propound; which his Ma- " jeſty, by the ſaid commiſſion, directed that the pe- " titioners, or the principal of them, authoriſed by the " reſt, ſhould ſet down in writing under their hands; " and the commiſſioners to ſend the ſame to his Ma-

" jeſty;

" jeſty; whereupon his Majeſty by the ſaid commiſſion " declared, he would take ſuch farther conſideration, as " ſhould be juſt, honourable, and fit for his Majeſty: " and that that courſe gave not the leaſt interruption to " the proceeding of the war, appears by this, that on the " eighteenth of March (being in the time the com- " miſſioners, authoriſed by his Majeſty, gave meeting " to thoſe of the other ſide, upon that commiſſion) the " Lord Marquis of Ormond, though one of thoſe com- " miſſioners, in his return from Roſſe with about two " thouſand five hundred foot, and five hundred horſe " of his Majeſty's army, fought with the army of the " rebels, conſiſting of about ſix thouſand foot, and ſix " hundred and fifty horſe, and obtained a happy and " glorious victory againſt them; and the rebels' army " being defeated, and wholly routed, and their baggage " and munition ſeized on, his Majeſty's forces lodged " that night where they had gained the victory, as by " former letters of this Board, of the fourth of April " 1643, directed to Mr. Speaker, we formerly ſignified " thither: which we thus repeat, to manifeſt that that " commiſſion, or the meeting thereupon, gave not any " manner of interruption to the proceeding of the war.

" Concerning the letters you mention, to diveſt the " committee of both Houſes there of an authority given " them by both Houſes, we remember that his Majeſty, " by his letters of the third of February 1642, under- " ſtanding that the then Juſtices and Council had ad- " mitted, without his order or knowledge, to ſit in " council with them in this his kingdom, Mr. Robert " Goodwin and Mr. Reynolds, and that thereby they " were become ſo bold, as to take upon them to hear, " and debate of matters treated of in council, his Ma- " jeſty, by his ſaid letters, ſignified by his expreſs com-

" mand,

" mand, that they ſhould not be permitted to ſit, or be
" preſent any more at his Majeſty's Council Table here;
" but if they had any buſineſs, his Majeſty willed, that
" they ſhould attend as others of their quality: which
" his Majeſty's pleaſure was humbly obeyed by his ſaid
" Juſtices and Council, with that duty and ſubmiſſion,
" which was due from them to his royal commands.
" And as his Majeſty, by his ſaid letters, required, that,
" if thoſe perſons had any buſineſs, they ſhould attend,
" as others of their quality; ſo, if they had afterwards
" offered any buſineſs at this Board, they ſhould have
" been heard therein; which was alſo ſignified to them
" before their departure hence. And now, upon this
" occaſion, we having peruſed the copies they delivered
" at this Board, of the order of both Houſes dated the
" ſixth of October 1642, and of their inſtructions, do
" find indeed, that, by the ſaid order, the ſaid Robert
" Reynolds, and Robert Goodwin, were to have the
" credence, power, and eſteem of a committee ſent
" hither by the advice and authority of both Houſes of
" Parliament; and that, by the ſaid inſtructions, they
" were to be admitted to be preſent, and vote at all
" conſultations concerning the war; yet there is nothing
" in the ſaid order, or inſtructions, for admitting them
" to ſit, or be preſent at his Majeſty's Council Table;
" which is that which his Majeſty, by his ſaid letters,
" required, ſhould not be permitted; which cannot be
" conceived to be a diveſting them of any authority
" given them by both Houſes.

" And as to the late alteration of government here,
" expreſſed in your letters, although his Majeſty in his
" high wiſdom adjudged it fit to alter one of thoſe
" governors, which he had placed here, which was no
" more than he and his royal predeceſſors had uſually

" done in all ages, as often as they thought fit, yet that " made no alteration in the government; but it in all " times continued, and ſtill continues, the ſame, though " in other perſons.

" That part of your letters which declares, that you " are forbidden to tell us what ſupplies of money, victual, " ammunition, and other neceſſaries, were then in a good " forwardneſs to be ſent hither for the ſupport of the " officers and ſoldiers here, requires no anſwer on our " parts, other than this truth, that they are not yet " arrived here. Concerning Mountroſe's letters to " Colonel Crawford, we know of no treaſon to be diſ- " covered thereby; but for the ſea-captains in your " letters mentioned, it is certain that their neglects and " miſdeeds deſerve puniſhment, which we deſire they " may find rather to their correction, than to their " ruin.

" Thus we have given anſwer to thoſe parts of your " letters, which, we conceived, concerned us; whereby, " we hope, both Houſes of Parliament there will now " remain ſatisfied, as in the neceſſity and juſtice of our " actions, ſo in the truth and candour of our intentions, " in thoſe particulars to which your ſaid letters ſeem to " take exception. And ſo we remain,

From his Majeſty's Caſtle of Dublin 28th of Oct. 1643.

" Your Lordſhip's very loving Friends,

Jo. Borlaſe. *Hen. Tichborne.* *Rich. Bolton, Canc.*
La. Dublin. *Ormond.* *Roſcommon.*
Ant. Midenſis. *Ed. Brabazon.* *Char. Lambert.*
Geo. Shurley. *Ger. Lowther.* *Th. Rotherham.*
Fr. Willoughby. *Tho. Lucas.* *Ja. Ware.*
G. Wentworth.

The

The diſtractions in Ireland being, by means of the ceſſation, in ſome degree allayed, and both parties having time to breathe, the King, in the next place, conſidered how he might apply that ceſſation to the advancement of his affairs in England. One of the principal motives that induced that ceſſation, was the miſerable ſtate of the army there, ready, through extreme wants, to diſband; ſo that there being now leſs uſe of them there, and an impoſſibility to keep them, his Majeſty had it only in his election, whether he ſhould ſuffer them there to diſband, and diſpoſe of themſelves as they thought fit, which could not be without infinite diſorder, and might probably prove as much to his particular diſſervice; or whether he ſhould draw over ſuch a number as might be ſafely ſpared, to his own aſſiſtance in England; to which he was aſſured, that the devotion and affection of moſt of the principal or conſiderable officers there cheerfully inclined; and of this latter he made little ſcruple to make choice, when he was not only informed of the preparations and readineſs in Scotland to invade this kingdom; but that they had called over their old General, the Earl of Leven, who commanded the Scotch forces in Ireland, and many other officers and ſoldiers out of that kingdom, to form and conduct their army into this; and that there were alſo arts and induſtry uſed, by ſome agents for the Parliament, to perſuade the Engliſh officers likewiſe to bring over their men for their ſervice.

The King ſends for part of the Engliſh army out of Ireland.

So that the King directed the Marquis of Ormond, to make choice of ſuch regiments and troops as were neceſſary for the defence of the ſeveral garriſons, or as could be provided for, and ſupported in that kingdom, and that the reſt ſhould be ſent for England. To which purpoſe, ſhipping was ſent; with direction, that thoſe

from and about Dublin ſhould be ſhipped for Cheſter, to be joined to thoſe forces under the command of the Lord Capel; whereby he might be able to reſiſt the growing power of Sir William Bruerton; who, by an addition of forces from London, and with the aſſiſtance of Sir Thomas Middleton, and Sir John Gell, was grown very ſtrong; being backed by Lancaſhire, which upon the matter was wholly reduced to the obedience of the Parliament: and that the other forces out of Munſter ſhould be landed at Briſtol, to be diſpoſed by the Lord Hopton; who was forming a new army, to oppoſe Sir William Waller; who threatened an inroad into the Weſt; or rather to ſeek him out by viſiting Hampſhire and Suſſex, if the other were not ready to advance.

The Court at Oxford was much increaſed by the Queen's preſence, and the neceſſities were increaſed with the expence. All correſpondence was abſolutely broken with London, inſomuch as a ſworn meſſenger of the Chamber, ſent to London with a writ, and proclamation for the adjournment of the term to Oxford, was apprehended as a ſpy, (as hath been ſaid before), and executed by martial law; and the two Houſes had cauſed a Great Seal to be made with the King's image and inſcription, and put the ſame into the hands of commiſſioners; and ſo the courts were continued in Weſtminſter-Hall, for the diſpatch of juſtice, (as they called it), as had been formerly, notwithſtanding the King's proclamation. The money, which by the particular perſons of all conditions had been very plentifully ſupplied in the beginning of the war, now near ſpent, and the ſtopping the intercourſe with London, had ſhut the door againſt farther ſupply; ſo that all men were weary of the condition they were in, and expreſſed it, as weary men uſed to do, in murmurs and complaints. And now all the hope was

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in the convention of the members of Parliament; which, being a new thing, ſuſpended the preſent indiſpoſition, and adminiſtered ſome expectation, what they, who came from all quarters of the kingdom, would do.

According to the King's proclamation, the members of both Houſes of Parliament, who had withdrawn out of conſcience and duty from thoſe at Weſtminſter, appeared at Oxford at the day appointed; except ſuch as could not reaſonably be abſent from their commands in the counties, where the armies were. They were graciouſly and ſolemnly welcomed by his Majeſty, with that ceremony which is uſed at the opening of a Parliament; when his Majeſty told them:

The members of both Houſes met at Oxford.

"That he had called them to be witneſſes of his actions, and privy to his intentions; and that he deſired to receive any advice from them, which they thought would be ſuitable to the miſerable and diſtracted condition of the kingdom; in preſenting whereof, they ſhould uſe all that Parliamentary freedom which would be due to them if they were with him at Weſtminſter, and which, with all their other privileges, they ſhould enjoy at Oxford, though they could not in the other place:" with many expreſſions of grace towards them, and confidence in them. As ſoon as they had withdrawn to thoſe places which were aſſigned to their counſels, both Lords and Commons entered upon the deliberation of all poſſible expedients, in order to peace; moſt men believing, according to the reaſon and conſcience of their own hearts, that the difficulty was greater, to diſpoſe thoſe at London to the honeſty and confidence of a treaty, than, in that treaty, to agree on ſuch concluſions as might be ſatisfactory to all parties; judging it impoſſible, that men could deſire to bring ruin and deſolation upon their country, if they were once perſuaded that it might

The ſubſtance of the King's Speech to them.

might be prevented with their own preſervation. But how to advance to any formality, which probably might produce a diſpoſition to intercourſe, appeared very hard. When they thought of adviſing the King to ſend a gracious meſſage and overture to the two Houſes, they preſently remembered and conſidered what his Majeſty had already done that way, and how ill returns of reverence and duty he had received from them: that to the two laſt meſſages he had ſent (it being not poſſible now to ſend any more gracious and obliging) they had never returned anſwer, and that they ſtill detained his laſt meſſenger in ſtrict durance, after having expoſed him to a trial for his life at a court of war: that they had prohibited any kind of addreſs to be made to them from his Majeſty, except through the hands of the Earl of Eſſex their General. From thence thoſe at Oxford entered upon the diſquiſition, how they might engage his Lordſhip to the ſame thoughts and deſires with them; to the which they eaſily believed, experience, obſervation, and intereſt, would engage him. They perſuaded themſelves, that the principal ground which had hitherto fruſtrated all overtures from his Majeſty towards peace, was the conſcience thoſe at Weſtminſter had of their own guilt, and the jealouſy that proceeded from thence, that no peace could ſecure them, whilſt there was power left in his Majeſty; but that they could not poſſibly ſuſpect the performance and exact obſervation of any agreement, which ſhould be concluded upon the interceſſion of all the King's party; which muſt be ſecurity for the accompliſhment of it. From the reaſonableneſs of this aſſertion, they entertained an aſſurance, that the Earl of Eſſex would as greedily embrace the opportunity, and concur with them in promoting the overture; which was all they deſired: for that would remove thoſe forms, which,

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as ſo many rocks, were in the way. Hereupon the Lords and Commons, the members of both Houſes, reſolved to write a letter to the Earl of Eſſex, in their own names, which, with the King's conſent, was by trumpet ſent to him, within four days after their meeting. The letter was in theſe very terms.

"My Lord,

"His Majeſty having, by his proclamation of the twenty-ſecond of December, (upon the occaſion of the invaſion threatened, and in part begun, by ſome of his ſubjects of Scotland), ſummoned all the members of both Houſes of Parliament, to attend him here at Oxford, we whoſe names are underwritten are here met and aſſembled, in obedience to thoſe his Majeſty's commands. His Majeſty was pleaſed to invite us, in the ſaid proclamation, by theſe gracious expreſſions, that his ſubjects ſhould ſee, how willing he was to receive advice, for the preſervation of the religion, laws, and ſafety of the kingdom, and, as far as in him lay, to reſtore it to its former peace and ſecurity (his chief and only end) from thoſe whom they had truſted; though he could not receive it in the place where he appointed. This moſt gracious invitation hath not only been made good unto us, but ſeconded and heightened by ſuch unqueſtionable demonſtrations of the deep and princely ſenſe, which poſſeſſes his royal heart, of the miſeries and calamities of his poor ſubjects in this unnatural war, and of his moſt entire and paſſionate affections to redeem them from that ſad and deplorable condition, by all ways poſſible, conſiſtent either with his honour, or with the future ſafety of the kingdom, that as it were impiety to queſtion the ſincerity of them, ſo were it great want of duty and faith-

They ſend a letter to the Earl of Eſſex.

" fulneſs in us, (his Majeſty having vouchſafed to de-
" clare, that he did call us to be witneſſes of his actions,
" and privy to his intentions), ſhould we not teſtify, and
" witneſs to all the world, the aſſurance we have of the
" piety and ſincerity of both. We being moſt entirely
" ſatisfied of this truth, we cannot but confeſs, that
" amidſt our higheſt afflictions, in the deep and piercing
" ſenſe of the preſent miſeries and deſolations of our
" country, and thoſe farther dangers threatened from
" Scotland, we are at length erected to ſome cheerful and
" comfortable thoughts, that poſſibly we may yet (by
" God's mercy, if his juſtice have not determined this
" nation, for its ſins, to total ruin and deſolation) hope
" to be happy inſtruments of our country's redemption,
" from the miſeries of war, and reſtitution to the bleſſing
" of peace.

" And we being deſirous to believe your Lordſhip,
" however engaged, a perſon likely to be ſenſibly
" touched with theſe conſiderations, have thought fit to
" invite you to that part in this bleſſed work, which is
" only capable to repair all our misfortunes, and to buoy
" up the kingdom from ruin; that is, by conjuring you
" by all the obligations that have power upon honour,
" conſcience, or public piety, that laying to heart, as
" we do, the inward bleeding condition of your country,
" and the outward more menacing deſtruction by a
" foreign nation, upon the very point of invading it,
" you will cooperate with us to its preſervation, by
" truly repreſenting to, and faithfully and induſtriouſly
" promoting with, thoſe by whom you are truſted, this
" following moſt ſincere and moſt earneſt deſire of ours;
" that they joining with us in a right ſenſe of the paſt,
" preſent, and more threatening calamities of this deplora-
" ble kingdom, ſome perſons be appointed on either part,

" and

" and a place agreed on, to treat of ſuch a peace, as may " yet redeem it from the brink of deſolation.

" This addreſs we ſhould not have made, but that " his Majeſty's ſummons, by which we are met, moſt " graciouſly proclaiming pardon to all without exception, " is evidence enough, that his mercy and clemency can " tranſcend all former provocations; and that he hath " not only made us witneſſes of his princely intentions, " but honoured us alſo with the name of being ſecurity " for them. God Almighty direct your Lordſhip, and " thoſe to whom you ſhall preſent theſe our moſt real " deſires, in ſuch a courſe as may produce that happy " peace, and ſettlement of the preſent diſtractions; " which is ſo heartily deſired, and prayed for, by us, and " which may make us,

" Your &c.

From Oxford 29th of Jan. 1643.

This letter was ſubſcribed by his highneſs the Prince, the Duke of York, and three and forty Dukes, Marquiſes, Earls, Viſcounts, and Barons, and one hundred and eighteen members of the Houſe of Commons; there being ſuch expedition uſed in the diſpatch, that it was not thought fit to be deferred for a greater ſubſcription: albeit it was known that many Lords and Commoners were upon the way, who came within few days; and there were, at that time, near twenty Peers abſent with his Majeſty's leave, and employed in his affairs and armies, in the kingdom; and ten at the ſame time in the parts beyond the ſeas. So that the numbers at London were very thin; for there were not above two and twenty Peers, who either ſat in the Parliament, or were engaged in their party; that is to ſay, the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Eſſex, Kent, Lincoln, Rutland, Saliſbury,

bury, Suffolk, Warwick, Mancheſter, Mulgrave, Denbigh, Stamford, Bullingbrook; the Lords Say, Dacres, Wharton, Grey of Warke, Willoughby of Parham, Howard of Eſcrick, Rochfort, and Robarts; who were preſent, or had proxies there.

The trumpeter found the Earl of Eſſex at his houſe in London; where he was detained three or four days; during which time, the committee of both Houſes, that committee which they called the Committee of Safety for the two kingdoms, (the Scottiſh commiſſioners being a part of it), reſorted to the Earl for his advice: and in the end, the trumpeter returned with this ſhort letter to the Earl of Forth, the King's General.

" My Lord,

The Earl of Eſſex's anſwer directed to the Earl of Forth, with the two following Declarations.

" I received this day a letter, of the twenty-ninth of " this inſtant, from your Lordſhip, and a parchment " ſubſcribed by the Prince, Duke of York, and divers " other lords and gentlemen; but it neither having ad- " dreſs to the two Houſes of Parliament, nor therein, there " being any acknowledgment of them, I could not com- " municate it to them. My Lord, the maintenance of " the Parliament of England, and of the privileges there- " of, is that for which we are reſolved to ſpend our " blood; as being the foundation whereupon all our " laws and liberties are built. I ſend your Lordſhip " herewith a national Covenant, ſolemnly entered into " by both the kingdoms of England and Scotland; and " a Declaration paſſed by them both together, with " another Declaration of the kingdom of Scotland, I " reſt

" Your Lordſhip's &c."

What the Covenant was, being the ſame particularly ſet down before, I need not mention; and the Declarations are

are as public, and would be thought too large to be in this place inſerted, to the interruption of the thread of this diſcourſe; yet it cannot be amiſs to make a ſhort extract of ſome particular heads or concluſions of them; that the world may ſee what kind of reaſoning this time had introduced, and that they were as bold with God as with the King.

An extract of the Declaration of the kingdom of Scotland.

That Declaration of the kingdom of Scotland alone, was, to juſtify their preſent expedition into England; in which they ſaid, "It was moſt neceſſary, that every one, "againſt all doubting, ſhould be perſuaded in his mind "of the lawfulneſs of his undertaking, and of the good- "neſs of the cauſe maintained by him; which they ſaid "was no other, than the good of religion in England, "and the deliverance of their brethren out of the "depths of affliction; the preſervation of their own re- "ligion, and of themſelves from the extremity of miſery, "and the ſafety of their native King, and his kingdoms, "from deſtruction and deſolation. Any one of which, "(they ſaid), by all law divine and human, was too juſt "cauſe of taking of arms; how much more, when all of "them were joined in one? And therefore, they wiſhed "any man, who did withdraw and hide himſelf in ſuch "a debate and controverſy, to conſider, whether he were "not a hater of his brethren, againſt Chriſtian and com- "mon charity; an hater of himſelf and his poſterity, "againſt the law and light of nature; an hater of the "King, and his kingdoms, againſt loyalty, and common "duty; and a hater of God, againſt all religion, and "peace."

They ſaid, "the queſtion was not, nor need they diſ- "pute, whether they might propagate their religion by "arms; but whether, according to their power, they "ought to aſſiſt their brethren in England, who were

"calling

" calling for their help, and were ſhedding their blood " in defence of that power, without which religion could " neither be defended nor reformed; nor unity of reli- " gion with them, and other reformed Kirks, be attained. " So that, they ſaid, the queſtion was no ſooner rightly " ſtated, but it was as ſoon reſolved; and concluded, " *that the Lord would ſave them from the curſe of Meroz,* " *who came not to help the Lord againſt the mighty.* " They ſaid, the queſtion could not be, as their enemies " would make it, whether they ſhould enter into Eng- " land, and lift arms againſt their own King, who had " promiſed and done as much, as might ſecure them in " their own religion, and liberties: but whether againſt " the popiſh, prelatical, and malignant party, their ad- " herents prevailing in England and Ireland, they were " not bound to provide for their own preſervation. " That they might well have known, from their conti- " nual experience, ever ſince the time of their firſt refor- " mation, eſpecially after the two kingdoms were united " under one head and monarch, and from the principles " of their own declarations, in the time of their late trou- " bles and dangers, that they could not long, like Go- " ſhen, enjoy their light, if darkneſs ſhould cover the " face of other reformed Kirks: that Judah could not " long continue in liberty, if Iſrael were led away in " captivity; and that the condition of the one Kirk and " kingdom, whether in religion or peace, muſt be com- " mon to both.

" They ſaid, the queſtion was not, whether they " ſhould preſume to be arbitrators in the matter, now " debated by fire and ſword, betwixt his Majeſty and " the Houſes of Parliament; which might ſeem to be " foreign and extrinſical to that nation, and wherein " they might be conceived to have no intereſt; but

" whether,

" whether, their mediation and interceſſion being re-
" jected by the one ſide, upon hope of victory, or ſuppoſe
" by both ſides, upon confidence of their own ſtrength
" and ſeveral ſucceſſes, it were not their duty, it being in
" their power, to ſtop or prevent the effuſion of Chriſtian
" blood; or whether they ought not to endeavour to
" reſcue their native King, his crown, and poſterity, out
" of the midſt of ſo many dangers, and to preſerve his
" people and kingdom from ruin and deſtruction. If
" every private man were bound in duty to interpoſe
" himſelf as a reconciler and ſequeſtrator between his
" neighbours, armed to their mutual deſtruction; if the
" ſon ought to hazard his own life for the preſervation
" of his father and brother, at variance one againſt the
" other, ſhould a kingdom ſit ſtill, and ſuffer their King
" and neighbouring kingdom to periſh in an unnatural
" war? In the time of animoſity, and appetite of revenge,
" ſuch an interpoſing might be an irritation; but after-
" wards, when the eyes of the mind, no more blood-run
" with paſſion, did diſcern things right, it would be no
" grief or offence of heart, but matter of thankſgiving
" to God, and to the inſtruments which had kept from
" ſhedding blood, and from Avenge."

With this kind of divinity, and this kind of logic, to ſhew that they had a clear proſpect of whatever could be ſaid againſt them, they reſolved to invade their neighbour nation, and to interpoſe themſelves as reconcilers, by joining againſt their native and natural King, with his rebellious ſubjects, in all the acts of animoſity and blood, which have been ever practiſed in the moſt raging and furious civil war.

The other Declaration, mentioned in the Earl's letter, was a Declaration paſſed, and publiſhed in the name of both kingdoms, England and Scotland. after their mar-

An extract of the Declaration of England and Scotland.

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riage by their new League and Covenant, and about the very time that this very overture for peace came from Oxford. They were now both equally inſpired with the Scottiſh dialect and ſpirit; talked, "how clearly the light "of the Goſpel ſhined amongſt them; that they placed "not their confidence in their own counſels and ſtrength; "but their confidence was in God Almighty, the Lord "of Hoſts, who would not leave nor forſake his people. "It was his own truth and cauſe, which they maintained "againſt the hereſy, ſuperſtition, and tyranny of Anti-"chriſt: the glory of his name, the exaltation of the "kingdom of his Son, and the preſervation of his Church, "was their aim, and the end which they had before their "eyes. It was his Covenant, which they had ſolemnly "in both nations ſworn, and ſubſcribed; which he "would not have put in their hearts to do, if he had "been minded to deſtroy them. Upon theſe and the "like grounds and conſiderations, being confident that "this war, wherein both nations were ſo firmly united, "and deeply engaged, was of God, they reſolve with "courage and conſtancy to the end to do their part; and "the Lord, who had ſtirred up their ſpirits, diſplayed his "banner before them, and given the alarm, do that "which ſeemeth him good."

They gave now "public warning to all men to reſt "no longer upon their neutrality, or to pleaſe themſelves "with the naughty and ſlothful pretext of indifferency; "but that they addreſs themſelves ſpeedily to take the "Covenant, and join, with all their power, in the defence "of this cauſe againſt the common enemy; and by "their zeal, and forwardneſs hereafter, to make up what "had been wanting through their lukewarmneſs; this "they would find to be their greateſt wiſdom and ſafety; "otherwiſe they did declare them to be public enemies

"to

" to their religion and country; and that they were to " be cenſured and puniſhed, as profeſſed adverſaries, and " Malignants."

Then they proclaimed " a pardon to all thoſe who " would before ſuch a day deſert the King, and adhere " to them, and take the Covenant;" and concluded, " that they made not that declaration from any pre- " ſumption, or vain glorying in the ſtrength of their " armies and forces, but from the ſenſe of their duty, " which was required and expected from the high places, " and public relations, wherein they ſtood; and from the " aſſurance they had of the aſſiſtance of God, by whoſe " providence, the truſt and ſafety of thoſe kingdoms was " put into their hands at this time; having, after long " and grave conſultation, reſolved and decreed never to " lay down arms, till truth and peace, by the bleſſing of " God, be ſettled in this iſland, upon a firm foundation " for the preſent and future generations; which, they " ſaid, ſhould be eſteemed of them an abundant reward " of all that they could do, or ſuffer in that cauſe."

Theſe were the Declarations which the Earl of Eſſex, together with the Covenant, ſent, as an anſwer to that letter from the Prince of Wales, and thoſe lords and gentlemen; which might have been the foundation of an honeſt and honourable peace to all the King's dominions. And I cannot but obſerve, that after this time that the Earl declined this opportunity of declaring himſelf, he never did proſperous act in the remainder of his life; but whereas before, he had throughout the courſe of his command, how unwarrantably ſoever undertaken, behaved himſelf with very ſignal courage and conduct, and at this time was adorned with the teſtimony of friends and enemies, of a right good General, upon the concluſion of the buſineſs of Glouceſter; he never, after his taking this

Covenant,

Covenant, and writing this letter, did one ſucceſsful thing; but proved unfortunate in all he went about, even to his death; of which we ſhall ſay more in its place.

We the rather extracted theſe ſhort clauſes of thoſe two Declarations, that poſterity may obſerve the divine hand of Almighty God upon the people of theſe miſerable kingdoms; that after they had broken looſe from that excellent form and practice of religion, which their anceſtors and themſelves had obſerved and enjoyed, with a greater meaſure of happineſs, than almoſt any nation lived under, ſo long a time; and after they had cancelled and thrown off thoſe admirable and incomparable laws of government, which was compounded of ſo much exact reaſon, that all poſſible miſchiefs were foreſeen, and provided againſt by it; they ſhould be now captivated by a profane and preſumptuous entitling themſelves to God's favour, and uſing his holy name in that manner, that all ſober Chriſtians muſt ſtand ſcandalized, and amazed at; and ſhould be deluded by ſuch a kind of reaſoning and debate, as, one would think, could only impoſe upon men unnurtured, and unacquainted with any knowledge or ſcience.

There wanted not a juſt indignation at the return of this trumpet; and yet the anſwer being ſo much in that popular road, of ſaying ſomething plauſibly to the people, it was thought fit again to make an attempt, that at leaſt the world might ſee, that they did, in plain Engliſh, refuſe to admit of any peace. So the Earl of Forth was adviſed to write again to the other General, for a ſafe conduct for two gentlemen then named, againſt whom no imaginable exception could be taken, to and from Weſtminſter, to be ſent by his Majeſty concerning a treaty of peace. To this the Earl of Eſſex returned anſwer, "that whenſoever he ſhould receive any direc-

"tions

" tions to thoſe who had intruſted him, he ſhould uſe " his beſt endeavours; and when a ſafe conduct ſhould " be deſired for thoſe gentlemen, mentioned in his letter, " from his Majeſty to the Houſes of Parliament, his " Lordſhip would, with all cheerfulneſs, ſhew his willing- " neſs to farther any way that might produce that hap- " pineſs, which all honeſt men prayed for; which is a " true underſtanding between his Majeſty, and his " faithful and only council, the Parliament."

This expreſſion of his reſolution of interpoſing, if he had a letter from his Majeſty to the Houſes of Parliament, (together with ſome intimation in letters from London, which at theſe ſeaſons never wanted), perſuaded many, that the Earl wanted only an opportunity to poſſeſs the Houſes with the overture, and if it were once within the walls, there were ſo many well affected to peace, that the propoſition would not be rejected; though no particular perſon, or combination of men, had the courage, of themſelves, to propoſe it. And therefore at the ſame time, making all poſſible preparations for the field, as the ſcene where the differences were like to be decided, his Majeſty was prevailed with, though he concluded it would be rejected, to ſend this enſuing meſſage, which was incloſed to the Earl of Eſſex, to be by him managed.

The King's meſſage to both Houſes.

" Out of our moſt tender and pious ſenſe of the ſad " and bleeding condition of this our kingdom, and our " unwearied deſires to apply all remedies, which, by the " bleſſing of Almighty God, may recover it from an " utter ruin, by the advice of the Lords and Commons " of Parliament, aſſembled at Oxford, we do propound, " and deſire, that a convenient number of fit perſons

" may be appointed, and authoriſed by you, to meet, " with all convenient ſpeed, at ſuch place as you ſhall " nominate, with an equal number of fit perſons whom " we ſhall appoint, and authoriſe to treat of the ways " and means to ſettle the preſent diſtractions of this our " kingdom, and to procure a happy peace: and par- " ticularly, how all the members of both Houſes may " ſecurely meet in a full and free convention of Parlia- " ment, there to treat, conſult, and agree upon ſuch " things, as may conduce to the maintenance and " defence of the true reformed Proteſtant religion, with " due conſideration to all juſt and reaſonable eaſe of " tender conſciences; to the ſettling and maintaining of " our juſt rights and privileges, of the rights and privi- " leges of Parliament, the laws of the land, the liberty " and property of the ſubject, and all other expedients, " that may conduce to that bleſſed end of a firm and " laſting peace both in Church and State, and a per- " fect underſtanding betwixt us and our people: where- " in no endeavours or concurrence of ours ſhall be " wanting: and God direct your hearts in the way of " peace."

Given at our Court at Oxford, 3d March 1643.

This meſſage being ſigned by his Majeſty, was ſuper-ſcribed to the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſ-ſembled at Weſtminſter; which, though it was a ſtyle they could not reaſonably except againſt, was yet no other than the Lords and Commons at Oxford took upon themſelves, as they well might. After two or three debates in the Houſes, and with the Scottiſh com-miſſioners, without whoſe concurrence nothing was tranſacted, this anſwer was returned to his Majeſty; which

which put a period to all men's hopes, who imagined that there might be any diſpoſition in thoſe councils to any poſſible and honeſt accommodation.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty:

"We the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the "Parliament of England, taking into our conſideration a "letter ſent from your Majeſty, dated the 3d of March "inſtant, and directed to the Lords and Commons of "Parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter, (which, by the "contents of a letter from the Earl of Forth unto the "Lord General the Earl of Eſſex, we conceive was "intended to ourſelves), have reſolved with the concurrent "advice and conſent of the commiſſioners of the king-"dom of Scotland, to repreſent to your Majeſty, in all "humility and plainneſs, as followeth: That as we have "uſed all means for a juſt and ſafe peace, ſo will we "never be wanting to do our utmoſt for the procuring "thereof; but when we conſider the expreſſions in that "letter of your Majeſty's, we have more ſad and deſpair-"ing thoughts of attaining the ſame than ever, becauſe "thereby, thoſe perſons now aſſembled at Oxford, who, "contrary to their duty, have deſerted your Parliament, "are put into an equal condition with it. And this "preſent Parliament, convened according to known and "fundamental laws of the kingdom, (the continuance "whereof is eſtabliſhed by a law conſented to by your "Majeſty), is in effect denied to be a Parliament; the "ſcope and intention of that letter being to make pro-"viſion how all the members, as is pretended, of both "Houſes may ſecurely meet in a full and free convention "of Parliament; whereof no other concluſion can be "made, but that this preſent Parliament is not a full, "nor free convention; and that to make it a full and

The two Houſes anſwer.

" free convention of Parliament, the preſence of thoſe is " neceſſary, who, notwithſtanding that they have deſerted " that great truſt, and do levy war againſt the Parlia- " ment, are pretended to be members of the two Houſes " of Parliament.

" And hereupon we think ourſelves bound to let your " Majeſty know, that ſeeing the continuance of this " Parliament is ſettled by a law, which (as all other laws " of your kingdom) your Majeſty hath ſworn to main- " tain, as we are ſworn to our allegiance to your Majeſty, " (theſe obligations being reciprocal), we muſt in duty, " and accordingly are reſolved, with our lives and for- " tunes, to defend and preſerve the juſt rights and full " power of this Parliament; and do beſeech your Ma- " jeſty to be aſſured, that your Majeſty's royal and " hearty concurrence with us herein will be the moſt " effectual and ready means of procuring a firm and " laſting peace in all your Majeſty's dominions, and " begetting a perfect underſtanding between your Ma- " jeſty and your people: without which, your Majeſty's " moſt earneſt profeſſions, and our moſt real intentions " concerning the ſame, muſt neceſſarily be fruſtrated. " And in caſe your Majeſty's three kingdoms ſhould, by " reaſon thereof, remain in this ſad and bleeding con- " dition, tending, by the continuance of this unnatural " war, to their ruin, your Majeſty cannot be the leaſt " nor the laſt ſufferer. God in his goodneſs incline your " royal breaſt, out of pity and compaſſion to thoſe deep " ſufferings of your innocent people, to put a ſpeedy " and happy iſſue to theſe deſperate evils, by the joint " advice of both your kingdoms, now happily united in " this cauſe by their late ſolemn League and Covenant; " which as it will prove the ſureſt remedy, ſo it is the " earneſt prayer of your Majeſty's loving ſubjects, the

" Lords

" Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament of " England.

" *Grey of Warke*,

" *Speaker of the Houſe of Peers in Parliament* pro tempore;

" *William Lenthall*,

" *Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in Parliament*."

Weſtminſter the 9th of Mar. 1643.

Means agreed upon by the Lords and Commons at Oxford to raiſe money.

The hope of peace, by this kind of interpoſition, did not in any degree make the counſels remiſs for the providing of money to ſupply the army: upon which they had more hope than from a treaty. But the expedients for money were not eaſily thought on; though there was a conſiderable part of the kingdom within the King's quarters, the inhabitants were frequently robbed and plundered by the incurſions of the enemy, and not very well ſecured againſt the royal troops, who begun to practiſe all the licenſe of war. The nobility and gentry, who were not officers of the army, lived for the moſt part in Oxford; and all that they could draw from their eſtates, was but enough for their own ſubſiſtence; they durſt not enter upon charging the people in general, leſt they ſhould be thought to take upon them to be a Parliament; and their care was, that the common people might be preſerved from burdens; and they were as careful not to expoſe the King's honour, or name, to affronts and refuſals; but were willing that the envy and clamour, if there ſhould be any, ſhould fall upon themſelves.

They appointed all the members of the Commons, " to bring in the names of all the gentlemen of eſtate, " and other perſons who were reputed to be rich, within " their ſeveral precincts; and what ſum of money every " body might be well able to ſupply the King with, in

" this exigent of the public ſtate." And then a form of a letter was conceived, which ſhould be ſent to every one of them, for ſuch a ſum; " the letter to be ſub-" ſcribed by the two Speakers of the Houſes, to the end " that the people might know, that it was by the advice " of the members of Parliament aſſembled there; which " was as much the advice of Parliament, as could be " delivered at that time in the kingdom." When the way and method of this was approved by the Lords, and his Majeſty likewiſe conſented to it; they begun, the better to encourage others, with themſelves; and cauſed letters to be ſigned and delivered to the ſeveral members of both Houſes, " for ſuch ſums as they were well diſpoſed " to furniſh;" which were to that proportion as gave good encouragement to others; and the like letters to all perſons of condition who were in the town. And by this means, there was a ſum raiſed in ready money, and credit, that did ſupply many neceſſary occaſions, near the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds, whereof ſome came in every day, to enable the King to provide for the next campaign; which, the ſpring coming on, was to be expected early; the Parliament at Weſtminſter having raiſed vaſt ſums of money, and being like to bring many armies into the field. All, who were to furniſh money upon theſe letters, had liberty to bring, or ſend it in plate, if that was for their convenience; the King having called the officers and workmen of his Mint to Oxford, who coined ſuch plate as was brought in; his Majeſty likewiſe made a grant of ſome foreſts, parks, and other lands, to certain perſons in truſt, for the ſecuring of ſuch money as ſhould be borrowed, or thoſe perſons who ſhould be bound for the payment of ſuch money; and by this means likewiſe many conſiderable ſums of money were procured,

and

and cloth, and ſhoes, and ſhirts, were provided for the army.

The two Houſes at Weſtminſter, who called themſelves, and they are often called in this diſcourſe, the Parliament, had at this time by an ordinance, that is an order of both Houſes, laid an impoſition, which they called an exciſe, upon wine, beer, ale, and many other commodities, to be paid in the manner very punctually and methodically ſet down by them, for the carrying on the war. This was the firſt time that ever the name of payment of exciſe was heard of or practiſed in England; laid on by thoſe who pretended to be moſt jealous of any exaction upon the people: and this pattern being then printed, and publiſhed at London, was thought by the members at Oxford, as a good expedient to be followed by the King; and thereupon it was ſettled, and to be governed and regulated by commiſſioners, in the ſame method it was done at London. And in Oxford, Briſtol, and other garriſons, it did yield a reaſonable ſupply for the proviſion of arms and ammunition; which, for the moſt part, it was aſſigned to; both ſides making ample declarations, with bitter reproaches upon the neceſſity that drew on this impoſition, "that it ſhould be "continued no longer than to the end of the war, and "then laid down, and utterly aboliſhed;" which few wiſe men believed it would ever be.

The two Houſes at Weſtminſter impoſe an exciſe.

The two Houſes at Oxford follow the example.

The high and inſolent proceedings at Weſtminſter made no impreſſion at Oxford towards the ſhaking the allegiance and courage of thoſe, whom his Majeſty had called to adviſe him. But when they found the temper of the other ſo much, above belief, averſe to peace, and intending utter ruin to the King, the Church, and all who ſhould continue true Engliſhmen and ſubjects, they

reſolved as frankly to declare their reſolutions, that the people might ſee the iſſue they were at; and therefore they publiſhed a Declaration of the grounds and motives which had forced them to leave the Parliament at Weſtminſter; in which they mentioned "all the indirect paſſages, and the acts of violence, by which they had been "driven thence; and the obligations upon them in conſcience, and law, to adhere to his Majeſty; and the "miſery which the other party had already brought upon "the kingdom, and the deſolation which muſt inevitably "follow thoſe concluſions; and with a greater unanimity "and conſent, than was ever known in ſo great a coun-"cil, where there were ſo many perſons of honour, and "judges, and others learned in the law, among whom "there was ſcarce one diſſenting voice, they declared,

The ſubſtance of the Declaration of the Lords and Commons at Oxford.

1. "That all ſuch ſubjects of Scotland, as had con-"ſented to the Declaration, entitled the Declaration of "the kingdom of Scotland concerning the preſent ex-"pedition into England, had thereby denounced war "againſt the kingdom of England, and broke the act of "Pacification.

2. "That all his Majeſty's ſubjects of the kingdom of "England and dominion of Wales are both by their "allegiance, and the act of Pacification, bound to reſiſt "and repreſs all thoſe of Scotland as had, or ſhould "enter upon any part of his Majeſty's realm and do-"minions, as traitors, and enemies to the ſtate; and "that whoſoever ſhould abet, aid, or aſſiſt the Scots in "their invaſion, ſhould be deemed as traitors, and ene-"mies to the ſtate.

3. "That the Lords and Commons remaining at Weſt-"minſter, that had given their votes, or conſent, to the "raiſing of forces under the command of the Earl of "Eſſex,

" Eſſex, or had been abetting, aiding, or aſſiſting there-
" unto, had levied and raiſed war againſt the King, and
" were therein guilty of high treaſon.

4. " That thoſe Lords and Commons remaining at
" Weſtminſter, that had given their votes and conſents
" for the making and uſing a new Great Seal, had there-
" by counterfeited the King's Great Seal, and therein
" committed high treaſon.

5. " That the Lords and Commons remaining at
" Weſtminſter, who had given their conſents to the pre-
" ſent coming in of the Scots in a warlike manner, had
" therein committed high treaſon: and that in theſe
" three laſt crimes, they had broken the truſt repoſed
" in them by their country, and ought to be proceeded
" againſt as traitors to the King and kingdom."

So that the engagements ſeemed fuller of animoſity on both ſides than ever; and the King exceedingly ſtrengthened by the Lords and Commons having more poſitively and concernedly wedded his cauſe, than they were before underſtood to have done; and in truth, in the civil counſels, nothing was left undone to give it all imaginable advancement.

It had been very happy for the King, if the winter had been ſpent only in thoſe counſels which might have provided money, and facilitated the making his army ready to take the field in the ſpring; when he was ſure to have occaſion enough to uſe it; and to be in great diſtreſs, if it ſhould not be then in a condition to march: but the invaſion, which the Scots made in the depth of winter, and the courage the enemy took from thence, deprived his Majeſty even of any reſt in that ſeaſon. Upon the Scots unexpected march into England in January, in a moſt violent froſt and ſnow, hoping to reach Newcaſtle before it could be fortified, and perſuading their

their common ſoldiers, that it would be delivered to them as ſoon as required; thither the vigilant Sir Thomas Glemham had been before ſent to attend their coming; and the Marquis of Newcaſtle with his army, upon the fame of their invaſion, marched thither with a reſolution to fight with them before they ſhould be able to join with the Engliſh rebels; leaving in the mean time the command of York, and the forces for the guard of that county, to Colonel John Bellaſis, ſon to the Lord Falconbridge, a perſon of great intereſt in the country, and of exemplary induſtry and courage. But by this means, and the remove of the Marquis with his army ſo far north, the enemy grew to a great ſtrength in thoſe parts; and not only able to diſquiet Yorkſhire, but drawing a great body of horſe and foot out of Derbyſhire, Staffordſhire, and Lincolnſhire, ſat down before his Majeſty's garriſon of Newark upon Trent, with a full confidence to take it, and ſo to cut off all correſpondence between his Majeſty and the Marquis of Newcaſtle. And Sir Thomas Fairfax from Hull, in the head of a ſtrong party, had fallen upon a quarter not far from York, commanded by Colonel John Bellaſis at Selby, and had totally defeated it, taken the cannon, and many officers priſoners, and amongſt thoſe the Colonel himſelf. This was the firſt action for which Sir Thomas Fairfax was taken notice of; who in a ſhort time grew the ſupreme General under the Parliament: This defeat, which was great in itſelf, was made much greater by the terrible apprehenſions the city of York had upon it; inſomuch that the Marquis of Newcaſtle, who till then had kept the Scots at a bay, found it neceſſary to withdraw his army, and with great part of it to make haſte into York, to prevent any farther miſchief there; by which means the Scots were at liberty to advance as they pleaſed;

The Marquis of Newcaſtle marches to oppoſe the Scots.

Sir Thomas Fairfax defeats and takes Colonel Bellaſis at Selby.

Whereupon the Marquis of Newcaſtle retires to York.

pleaſed; and Fairfax improved his reputation by a ſpeedy and unlooked for march into Cheſhire.

Upon the ceſſation in Ireland, the King made the Marquis of Ormond his Lieutenant of that kingdom; and appointed him to make uſe of the winter ſeaſon (when the Parliament ſhips could not attend that coaſt) to tranſport thoſe regiments of foot which might be well ſpared during the ceſſation, and which could not be ſupported there, to Cheſter; from whence his Majeſty could eaſily draw them in the ſpring to Oxford; and were, in truth, the principal recruit, upon which he depended to enable him to take the field. The Lord Byron then commanded Cheſter, and that county; and was appointed to take care for the reception and accommodation of thoſe troops; which was a right good body of foot, and being excellent men, both officers and ſoldiers, carried great terror with them from the time of their landing; and quickly freed North Wales from the enemy; who at that time begun to have great power there. It was towards the end of November when they landed, and being a people who had been uſed to little eaſe in Ireland, the King having given the Lord Byron leave to employ them in ſuch ſervices as might ſecure that country, the ſeaſon of the year made little impreſſion on them; they were always ready, and deſirous of action; and in the ſpace of a month reduced, by aſſault and ſtorm, many places of notable importance, as Howarden-Caſtle, Beeſton Caſtle, Crew-Houſe, and other places of ſtrength; and encountering the whole body of the rebels, at Middlewich in Cheſhire, broke and defeated them with great ſlaughter; and drove all that ſurvived, and were at liberty, into Nantwich; the ſingle garriſon they had then left in Cheſhire: into which the whole party was retired, and which had been fortified and garriſoned from

The Marquis of Ormond made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, ſends the King aſſiſtance.

from the beginning of the troubles, as the only refuge for the diſaffected in that county, and the counties adjacent. The pride of the late ſucceſs, and the terror the ſoldiers believed their names carried with them, carried them at this moſt unſeaſonable time of the year thither; for it was about the firſt week in January when the Lord Byron came with his army before the town, and ſummoned it. It cannot be denied the reducing of that place at that time would have been of unſpeakable importance to the King's affairs, there being, between that and Carliſle, no one town of moment (Mancheſter only excepted) which declared againſt the King; and thoſe two populous counties of Cheſter and Lancaſhire, if they had been united againſt the Parliament, would have been a ſtrong bulwark againſt the Scots.

Theſe conſiderations, and an opinion that the town would yield as ſoon as ſummoned, brought the army firſt thither; and then a paſſionate deſire of honour, and contempt of the enemy within, or of any other who could undertake their relief, engaged them to a farther attempt; and ſo they raiſed batteries, and undertook a formal ſiege againſt the town. The ſeventeenth day of January they made a general aſſault upon five ſeveral quarters of the town, ſomewhat before day-break, but were with equal courage oppoſed from within, and near three hundred men loſt, or wounded in the ſervice; which ſhould have prevailed with them to have quitted their deſign. But thoſe repulſes ſharpen rather than abate the edge and appetite to danger; and the aſſailants, no leſs than the beſieged, deſiring an army would come for their relief, both with equal impatience longed for the ſame thing; the Iriſh (for under that name, for diſtinction ſake, we call that body of foot, though there was not an Iriſhman amongſt them) ſuppoſing themſelves ſuperior

to

to any that would encounter them in the field, and the horſe being ſuch as might as reaſonably undervalue thoſe who were to oppoſe them.

In this their confidence, ſupply came too ſoon to the town, and confuſion to the King's forces: for Sir Thomas Fairfax, upon his victory at Selby, brought out of Yorkſhire a good body of horſe to Mancheſter; and, out of that place, and the neighbour places, drew near three thouſand foot, with which joining with Sir William Bruerton, and ſome other ſcattered forces from Staffordſhire and Derby, who had been routed at Middlewich, he advanced near Nantwich, before he was looked for; the Iriſh being ſo over-confident that he would not preſume to attack them, that, though they had advertiſement of their motion, they ſtill believed that his utmoſt deſign was by alarms to force them to riſe from the town, and then to retire without fighting with them. This made them keep their poſts too long; and when they found it neceſſary to draw off, a little river, which divided their forces, on a ſudden thaw, ſo much ſwelled above its banks, that the Lord Byron, with the greateſt part of the horſe, and the foot which lay on one ſide of the town, were ſevered from the reſt, and compelled to march four or five miles before he could join with the other; before which time the other part, being charged by Sir Thomas Fairfax on the one ſide, and from the town on the other, were broken; and all the chief officers forced to retire to a church called Acton church, where they were caught as in a trap, and, the horſe, by reaſon of the deep ways with the ſudden thaw, and narrow lanes, and great hedges, not being able to relieve them, were compelled to yield themſelves priſoners to thoſe whom they ſo much deſpiſed two hours before. There were taken, beſides all the chief and conſiderable officers

The Iriſh forces routed by Sir Thomas Fairfax at Nantwich.

officers of foot, near fifteen hundred ſoldiers, and all their cannon and carriages: the Lord Byron with his horſe, and the reſt of his foot, retiring to Cheſter. There cannot be given a better, or it may be another reaſon for this defeat, beſides the providence of God, which was the effect of the other, than the extreme contempt and diſdain this body had of the enemy; and the preſumption in their own ſtrength, courage, and conduct; which made them not enough think, and rely upon him who alone diſpoſes of the event of battles: though it muſt be acknowledged, moſt of the officers were perſons of ſignal virtue and ſobriety; and, in their own natures, of great modeſty and piety; ſo hard it is to ſuppreſs thoſe motions, which ſucceſs, valour, and even the conſcience of the cauſe, is apt to produce in men not overmuch inclined to preſumption.

There was another reſult of council at Oxford, in this winter ſeaſon, which deſerves to be mentioned; and the rather, becauſe all the inducements thereunto were not generally underſtood, nor known to many; and therefore grew afterwards to be the more cenſured. When the Scots were viſibly armed, and upon their march into England, which the King was the laſt man in believing; and when there was no way to ſtop or divert them, his Majeſty was the better inclined to hearken to ſome men of that nation, who had been long propoſing a way to give them ſo much trouble at home, that they ſhould not be at leiſure to infeſt or trouble their neighbours; to which propoſitions leſs care had been given, out of too much confidence in perſons, upon whoſe integrity or intereſt there had been too great a dependence. The Earl of Mountroſe, a young man of a great ſpirit, and of the moſt ancient nobility, had been one of the moſt principal and active Covenanters in the beginning of the troubles; but

The Earl of Mountroſe comes to the King, and informs him of the ſtate of Scotland.

but ſoon after, upon his obſervation of the unwarrantable proſecution of it, he gave over that party, and his command in that army; and at the King's being in Scotland, after the pacification, had made full tender of his ſervice to his Majeſty; and was ſo much in the jealouſy and deteſtation of the violent party, whereof the Earl of Argyle was the head, that there was no cauſe or room left to doubt his ſincerity to the King.

Upon the beginning of the Parliament at Edinburgh, and the manifeſtation that Duke Hamilton would give no oppoſition to the proceedings thereof, (as hath been mentioned before), the Earl privately withdrew out of Scotland, and came to the King few days before the ſiege was raiſed from Glouceſter, and gave his Majeſty the firſt clear information of the carriage and behaviour of Duke Hamilton, and of the poſture that kingdom would ſpeedily be in, and of the reſolutions that would be there taken; and made ſome ſmart propoſitions to the King for the remedy; which there was not then time to conſult: but as ſoon as the King retired to Oxford, after the battle of Newbury, and had had fuller intelligence, by the reſort of others of that nobility who deſerved to be truſted, how the affairs ſtood in Scotland; and heard that Duke Hamilton, and his brother, the Earl of Lanrick, were upon their way as far as York towards Oxford; his Majeſty was very willing to hearken to the Earl of Mountroſe, and the reſt, what could be done to prevent that miſchief that was like to enſue. But they all unanimouſly declared, "that they durſt make no propoſitions "for the advancement of the King's ſervice, except they "might be firſt aſſured, that no part of it ſhould be "communicated to Duke Hamilton; nor he ſuffered to "have any part or ſhare in any action that ſhould de-"pend upon it; for they were moſt aſſured that he had "always

" always betrayed his Majeſty; and that it had been ab-
" ſolutely in his power to have prevented this new com-
" bination, if he would reſolutely have oppoſed it. But
" if they might be ſecure in that particular, they would
" make ſome ſuch attempt under his Majeſty's commiſ-
" ſion in their own country, as might poſſibly make
" ſome diſturbance there." His Majeſty thought he had much leſs reaſon to be confident of the Duke than formerly; for he had expreſsly failed of doing ſomewhat which he had promiſed to do; yet he thought he had not ground enough to withdraw all kind of truſt from him, except he did, at the ſame time, ſecure him from being able to do him farther miſchief; towards which kind of ſeverity, he did not think he had evidence enough. Beſides he had a very good opinion of the Earl of Lanrick, as a man of much more plainneſs and ſincerity than his brother; as in truth he was. That he might bring himſelf to a full reſolution in this important affair, his Majeſty appointed the Lord Keeper, his two Secretaries, the Maſter of the Rolls, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to examine the Earl of Mountroſe, the Earl of Kinnoul, the Lord Ogilby, and ſome others, upon oath, of all things they could accuſe Duke Hamilton, or his brother Lanrick of; and to take their examinations in writing; that ſo his Majeſty might diſcover, whether their errors proceeded from infidelity, and conſider the better, what courſe to obſerve in his proceedings with them; and this was carried with as much ſecreſy, as an affair of that nature could be, wherein ſo many were truſted.

Upon their examination, there appeared too much cauſe to conclude, that the Duke had not behaved himſelf with that loyalty, as he ought to have done. The Earl of Mountroſe, whilſt he had been of that party, had

had been privy to much of his correſpondence and intelligence. But moſt of the particulars related to the time when he commanded the fleet in the Frith, and when he had many conferences with his mother, (who was a woman moſt paſſionate in thoſe contrivances), and with others of that party; and when he did nothing to hurt or incommodate the enemy; all which was expreſsly pardoned by the act of oblivion, which had been paſſed with all formality and ſolemnity by the King in the Parliament of both kingdoms: and, ſo much as to queſtion what was ſo forgot, might raiſe a greater fire, than that which they deſired to quench; though the knowing ſo many particulars might be a good and proper caution. In the late tranſactions of Scotland, it was manifeſt that the Duke had abſolutely oppoſed all overtures of force, and of ſeizing thoſe perſons who could only be able to raiſe new troubles; which had been very eaſy to have done; and that he had betrayed the King, and all the Lords, in conſenting to the meeting of the Parliament, called and ſummoned againſt the King's expreſs pleaſure and command, and without any pretence of law. And to this, the King's approbation and conſent had been ſhewed to them, by the Duke, under the King's own hand; which they durſt not diſobey, though they foreſaw the miſchief.

The caſe was thus; the Duke had given the King an account, after he had himſelf promiſed him that the Parliament ſhould never be aſſembled, (which his Majeſty abhorred), "that though ſome few hot and paſſionate men "deſired to put themſelves in arms, to ſtop both elec- "tions of the members, and any meeting together in Par- "liament; yet, that all ſober men who could bear any "conſiderable part in the action, were clearly of the "opinion, to take as much pains as they could to cauſe

" good elections to be made, and then to appear themselves; and that they had hope to have such a major " part, that they might more advantageously dissolve " the meeting as soon as they came together, than prevent it; however, that then would be the fit time to " protest against it, and immediately to put themselves " into arms, for which they would be well provided at " the same time;" and to this he desired the King's positive direction. And his Majesty, in answer to it, had said, "since it was the opinion of all his friends, he would " not command them to do that which was against their " judgment; but would attend the success; and was content that they should all appear in the Parliament at " its first meeting:" and the Duke had shewed the Lords those words in the King's letter, with which they acquiesced, without knowing any thing of the ground of such his permission: whereas, in truth, there was no one person who was of that opinion, or had given that counsel, but had still detested the expedient when proposed.

Then the Duke's carriage in the Parliament, and his brother's, at their first coming together, appeared to be as is set down before, by the testimony of those who were present; and the Earl of Lanrick's applying the signet to the proclamation for that rendezvous where the army was to be compounded, was not thought capable of any excuse; and so the clear state of the evidence, upon the depositions of the persons examined, was presented to the King for his own determination. His Majesty had some thoughts of sending to the Marquis of Newcastle to stop the Duke and his brother at York, and not suffer them to come nearer; but whilst that was in deliberation, they both came to Oxford, and meant the same night to have kissed their Majesties' hands; but as soon as they arrived, they received a command from the King,

" to

"to keep their chambers;" and had a guard attended them. The King resolved to consult the whole affair then with the Council Board, whereas hitherto the examinations had been taken by a committee, to the end that he might resolve what way to proceed; and to that purpose directed that a transcript might be prepared, of all the examinations at large; and that the witnesses might be ready to appear before the Board, if it should be thought necessary; his Majesty at that time inclining to have both the Lords present, and the depositions read, and the witnesses confronted before them. But whilst this was preparing, the second morning after their coming to the town, the Earl of Lanrick, either having corrupted or deluded the guard, found a means to escape; and by the assistance of one Cunningham (a gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and of that nation) had horses ready; with which the Earl and his friend fled, and went directly to London; where he was very well received. Hereupon the King informed the Board of the whole affair; and because one of them was escaped, and the matters against the other having been transacted in Scotland, and so, in many respects, it was not a season to proceed judicially against him, it was thought enough for the present to prevent his doing farther mischief, by putting him under a secure restraint: and so he was sent in custody to the castle at Bristol, and from thence to Exeter, and so to the castle at Pendennis in Cornwall; where we shall at the present leave him. Duke Hamilton made prisoner at Oxford.

About this time the councils at Westminster lost a principal supporter, by the death of Jo. Pym; who died with great torment and agony of a disease unusual, and therefore the more spoken of, *morbus pediculosus*, as was reported; which rendered him an object very loathsome to those who had been most delighted with him. No Mr. Pym's death.

man had more to anſwer for the miſeries of the kingdom, or had his hand, or head, deeper in their contrivance. And yet, I believe, they grew much higher even in his life, than he deſigned. He was a man of a private quality and condition of life; his education in the office of the Exchequer, where he had been a clerk; and his parts rather acquired by induſtry, than ſupplied by nature, or adorned by art. He had been well known in former Parliaments; and was one of thoſe few, who had ſate in many; the long intermiſſion of Parliaments having worn out moſt of thoſe who had been acquainted with the rules and orders obſerved in thoſe conventions. This gave him ſome reputation and reverence amongſt thoſe who were but now introduced.

He had been moſt taken notice of, for being concerned and paſſionate in the jealouſies of religion, and much troubled with the countenance which had been given to thoſe opinions that had been imputed to Arminius; and this gave him great authority and intereſt with thoſe who were not pleaſed with the government of the Church, or the growing power of the Clergy: yet himſelf induſtriouſly took care to be believed, and he profeſſed to be very entire to the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church of England. In the ſhort Parliament before this, he ſpoke much, and appeared to be the moſt leading man; for beſides the exact knowledge of the former, and orders of that council, which few men had, he had a very comely and grave way of expreſſing himſelf, with great volubility of words, natural and proper; and underſtood the temper and affections of the kingdom as well as any man; and had obſerved the errors and miſtakes in government; and knew well how to make them appear greater than they were. After the unhappy diſſolution of that Parliament, he continued for the moſt part about London,

London, in converſation and great repute amongſt thoſe Lords who were moſt ſtrangers to the Court, and were believed moſt averſe to it; in whom he improved all imaginable jealouſies and diſcontents towards the ſtate; and as ſoon as this Parliament was reſolved to be ſummoned, he was as diligent to procure ſuch perſons to be elected as he knew to be moſt inclined to the way he meant to take.

At the firſt opening of this Parliament, he appeared paſſionate and prepared againſt the Earl of Strafford; and though in private deſigning he was much governed by Mr. Hambden, and Mr. Saint-John, yet he ſeemed to all men to have the greateſt influence upon the Houſe of Commons of any man; and, in truth, I think he was at that time, and ſome months after, the moſt popular man, and the moſt able to do hurt, that hath lived in any time. Upon the firſt deſign of ſoftening and obliging the powerful perſons in both Houſes, when it was reſolved to make the Earl of Bedford Lord High Treaſurer of England, the King likewiſe intended to make Mr. Pym Chancellor of the Exchequer; for which he received his Majeſty's promiſe, and made a return of a ſuitable profeſſion of his ſervice and devotion; and thereupon, the other being no ſecret, ſomewhat declined from that ſharpneſs in the Houſe, which was more popular than any man's, and made ſome overtures to provide for the glory and ſplendor of the Crown; in which he had ſo ill ſucceſs, that his intereſt and reputation there viſibly abated; and he found that he was much better able to do hurt than good; which wrought very much upon him to melancholy, and complaint of the violence and diſcompoſure of the people's affections and inclinations. In the end, whether upon the death of the Earl of Bedford he deſpaired of that preferment, or whether he was guilty of any

any thing, which, upon his converſion to the Court, he thought might be diſcovered to his damage, or for pure want of courage, he ſuffered himſelf to be carried by thoſe who would not follow him, and ſo continued in the head of thoſe who made the moſt deſperate propoſitions.

In the proſecution of the Earl of Strafford, his carriage and language was ſuch as expreſſed much perſonal animoſity; and he was accuſed of having practiſed ſome arts in it not worthy a good man; as an Iriſhman of very mean and low condition afterwards acknowledged, that being brought to him, as an evidence of one part of the charge againſt the Lord Lieutenant, in a particular of which a perſon of ſo vile quality would not be reaſonably thought a competent informer; Mr. Pym gave him money to buy him a ſattin ſuit and cloak; in which equipage he appeared at the trial, and gave his evidence; which, if true, may make many other things, which were confidently reported afterwards of him, to be believed; as that he received a great ſum of money from the French ambaſſador, (which hath been before mentioned), to hinder the tranſportation of thoſe regiments of Ireland into Flanders, upon the diſbanding that army there; which had been prepared by the Earl of Strafford for the buſineſs of Scotland; in which if his Majeſty's directions and commands had not been diverted and contradicted by the Houſes, many do believe the rebellion in Ireland had not happened.

Certain it is, that his power of doing ſhrewd turns was extraordinary, and no leſs in doing good offices for particular perſons; and that he did preſerve many from cenſure, who were under the ſevere diſpleaſure of the Houſes, and looked upon as eminent Delinquents; and the quality of many of them made it believed, that he had

had ſold that protection for valuable conſiderations. From the time of his being accuſed of high treaſon by the King, with the Lord Kimbolton, and the other members, he never entertained thoughts of moderation, but always oppoſed all overtures of peace and accommodation; and when the Earl of Eſſex was diſpoſed, the laſt ſummer, by thoſe Lords to an inclination towards a treaty, as is before remembered, Mr. Pym's power and dexterity wholly changed him, and wrought him to that temper, which he afterwards ſwerved not from. He was wonderfully ſolicitous for the Scots coming in to their aſſiſtance, though his indiſpoſition of body was ſo great, that it might well have made another impreſſion upon his mind. During his ſickneſs, he was a very ſad ſpectacle; but none being admitted to him who had not concurred with him, it is not known what his laſt thoughts and conſiderations were. He died towards the end of December, before the Scots entered; and was buried with wonderful pomp and magnificence, in that place where the bones of our Engliſh Kings and Princes are committed to their reſt.

The arrival of the Prince Elector at London was no leſs the diſcourſe of all tongues, than the death of Mr. Pym. He had been in England before the troubles, and was received and cheriſhed by the King with great demonſtration of grace and kindneſs, and ſupplied with a penſion of twelve thouſand pounds ſterling yearly. When the King left London, he attended his Majeſty to York, and reſided there with him till the differences grew ſo high, that his Majeſty found it neceſſary to reſolve to raiſe an army for his defence. Then, on the ſudden, without giving the King many days notice of his reſolution, that Prince left the Court; and taking the opportunity of an ordinary veſſel, embarked himſelf for Holland, to the wonder of all men; who thought it an nu-

The Prince Elector arrives at London.

unſeaſonable declaration of his fear at leaſt of the Parliament, and his deſire of being well eſteemed by them, when it was evident they eſteemed not the King as they ſhould. And this was the more ſpoken of, when it was afterwards known that the Parliament expreſſed a good ſenſe of his having deſerted the King, and imputed it to his conſcience, "that he knew of ſome ſuch deſigns of his "Majeſty, as he could not comply with." At this time, after many loud diſcourſes of his coming, (which were derived to Oxford, as ſomewhat that might have an influence upon his Majeſty's counſels, there being then ſeveral whiſpers of ſome high proceedings they intended againſt the King), he arrived at London, and was received with ceremony; lodged in Whitehall, and order taken for the payment of that penſion which had been formerly aſſigned to him by his Majeſty; and a particular direction by both Houſes, "that he ſhould be admitted to ſit "in the aſſembly of Divines;" where, after he had taken the Covenant, he was contented to be often preſent: of all which the King took no other notice, than ſometimes to expreſs, "that he was ſorry on his Nephew's behalf, "that he thought fit to declare ſuch a compliance."

The defeat of Colonel John Bellaſis at Selby by Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the deſtruction of all the Iriſh regiments under the Lord Byron, together with the terror of the Scottiſh army, had ſo let looſe all the King's enemies in the northen parts, which were lately at the King's devotion, that his friends were in great diſtreſs in all places before the ſeaſon was ripe to take the field. The Earl of Derby, who had kept Lancaſhire in reaſonable ſubjection, and incloſed all the enemies of that county within the town of Mancheſter, was no longer able to continue that reſtraint, but forced to place himſelf at a farther diſtance from them; which was like, in a ſhort time,

time, to increaſe the number of the rebels there. Newark, a very neceſſary garriſon in the county of Nottingham, which had not only ſubjected that little county, the town of Nottingham only excepted, which was upon the matter confined within its own walls, but had kept a great part of the large county of Lincoln under contribution, was now reduced to ſo great ſtraits by the forces of that country, under the command of Meldrum a Scotchman, with addition of others from Hull, that they were compelled to beg relief from the King at Oxford; whilſt the Marquis of Newcaſtle had enough to do to keep the Scots at a bay, and to put York in a condition to endure a ſiege, if he ſhould be forced to continue within thoſe walls.

In theſe ſtraits, though it was yet the depth of winter, and to provide the better for the ſecurity of Shrewſbury, and Cheſter, and North Wales, all which were terrified with the defeat of the Lord Byron, the King found it neceſſary to ſend Prince Rupert, with a good body of choſen horſe, and dragoons, and ſome foot, with direction, after he had viſited Shrewſbury and Cheſter, and uſed all poſſible endeavours to make new levies, that he ſhould attempt the relief of Newark: which, being loſt, would cut off all poſſible communication between Oxford and York. In Newark, the garriſon conſiſted moſt of the gentry of the county, and the inhabitants, ill ſupplied with any thing requiſite to a ſiege, but courage and excellent affections. The enemy entrenched themſelves before the town, and proceeded by approach; conceiving they had time enough, and not apprehending it poſſible to be diſturbed: and indeed it was not eaſy for the King to find a way for their relief. To ſend a body from Oxford was very hazardous, and the enemy ſo ſtrong, as they would quickly follow; ſo that

Prince Rupert is ſent to relieve Newark, and effects it.

there was no hope but from Shrewſbury and Cheſter, where Prince Rupert had given ſo much life to thoſe parts, and drawn ſo conſiderable a body together, that the enemy found little advantage by their late victory, in the enlargement of their quarters. His Highneſs then reſolved to try what he could do for Newark, and undertook it before he was ready for it, and thereby performed it. For the enemy, who had always excellent intelligence, was ſo confident that he had not a ſtrength ſufficient to attempt that work, that he was within ſix miles of them, before they believed he thought of them; and charging and routing ſome of their horſe, purſued them with that expedition, that he beſieged them in their own intrenchment, with his horſe, before his foot came within four miles. In that conſternation, they concluding that he muſt have a vaſt power and ſtrength, to bring them into thoſe ſtraits, he, with a number inferior to the enemy, and utterly unaccommodated for an action of time, brought them to accept of leave to depart, that is to diſband, without their arms, or any carriage or baggage. Thus he relieved Newark, and took above four thouſand arms, eleven pieces of braſs cannon, two mortar pieces, and above fifty barrels of powder; which was as unexpected a victory, as any happened throughout the war; with this proſperous action, which was performed on the 22d of March, we ſhall conclude the tranſactions of this year.

THE END OF THE SEVENTH BOOK.